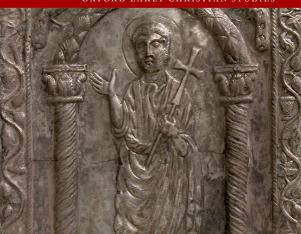
PREACHING CHRISTOLOGY IN THE ROMAN NEAR EAST

A Study of Jacob of Serugh

Philip Michael Forness

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Preaching Christology in the Roman Near East

A Study of Jacob of Serugh

PHILIP MICHAEL FORNESS





Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP, United Kingdom

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For Jen

In memory of Mary Rose Davis (1926–2016)

Acknowledgments

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The process from dissertation to book has lasted eighteen months and has profited from comments and conversations with too many colleagues to name here. I am particularly thankful for Lucas Van Rompay's assistance with expanding a kernel of idea regarding the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* into what is now Chapter 4. Comments on the dissertation from both Adam Becker and Dina Boero greatly helped me in the process of revision. In the intervening time, I have also had the opportunity to present portions of this monograph at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, the Sankt Ignatios Theological Academy of the Stockholm School of Theology, the 2017 Annual Meeting of the North American Patristics Society, and the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature.

I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to work within two dynamic academic communities in the process of transforming the dissertation into a book. Loren Stuckenbruck kindly supported me as a Fulbright Graduate Fellow for the 2015/16 academic year at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. I have fond memories of the friendships and conversations that accompanied the final stages of my doctoral program and the beginning of the revision process in Munich. Since April 2016, I have had the privilege of working as a member of the Leibniz Project "The Polyphony of Late Antique Christianity" under the leadership of Hartmut Leppin at the Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. Many colleagues and friends in Frankfurt have served as excellent conversation partners for the ideas I explore in this work. Both environments have stretched me significantly as a scholar to engage with fields beyond early Christianity, and the pages that follow only begin to show the extent to which these experiences have shaped my thought.

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I began reading large portions of Jacob of Serugh's corpus in Summer 2012 in the months leading up to the birth of my older daughter Felicity. Cici's boldness, courage, and inquisitiveness have been a great source of joy over the course of this project. I defended my dissertation three and a half weeks after Leonora was born in late Winter 2016. Nora's fearlessness, warmth, and curiosity continually surprise and inspire me. The five years in which I worked on this project have held many joyous as well as difficult experiences. Words fail to express how thankful I am to have experienced them with Jen. I dedicate this work to her, whose support, faith, and love over more than a decade leaves me—even now—misty.

Philip Michael Forness

Frankfurt am Main–Sachsenhausen November 2017

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Abbreviations

ACO 1-3, 4.2 Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, vol. 1-3, 4.2, ed. Schwartz

ACO 4.1 Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, vol. 4.1, ed. Straub

ACW Ancient Christian Writers
BP Biblioteca de Patrística

CCSG Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CFHB, SB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis

CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

EW Eusebius Werke

FOTC Fathers of the Church

GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte

GEDSH Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage

LCL Loeb Classical Library

LF A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church

MGH, AA Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi

NPNF¹ Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series
NPNF² Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series

OW Origenes Werke
PG Patrologia Graeca
PL Patrologia Latina

PLRE The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire

PLS Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum

PO Patrologia Orientalis SC Sources chrétiennes SI Scriptores Iberici SS Scriptores Syri

TTH Translated Texts for Historians

TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen

Literatur

WSA The Works of Saint Augustine

Conventions

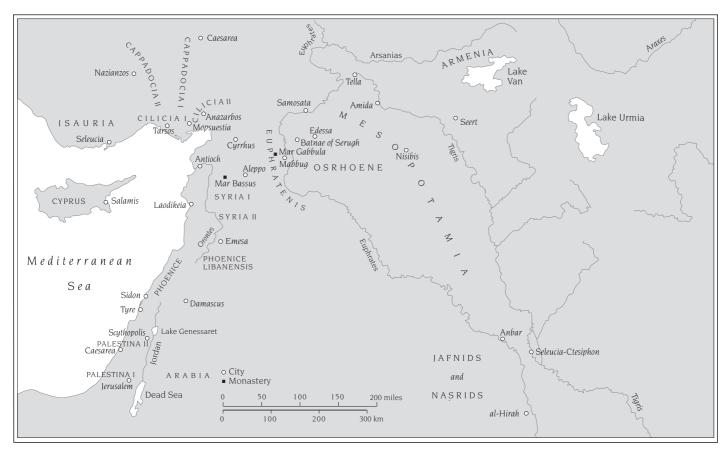
This monograph focuses on a contentious period of the history of Christianity that led to divisions which persist to the present. A variety of derogatory and inaccurate terms were once standard in scholarly literature. I use terminology that reflects modern scholarly conventions and takes into account the way that these communities self-identify today. I use the term "Church of the East" to refer to the communities that opposed the Council of Ephesus in 431 and developed an understanding of Christology related to the thought of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the past, this community was often called "Nestorian." I use the term "miaphysite" to refer to the Christology of communities that opposed the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and developed a Christology which they regarded as faithful to the thought of Cyril of Alexandria. These communities are often known as Oriental Orthodox in ecumenical discussions today. In the past, these communities were often labeled "monophysite" or "Jacobite."

The dates and spelling of the names of individuals derive from several sources. In order, I consulted *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, and then the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. In some cases, it has been necessary to modify names and dates to achieve more internal consistency.

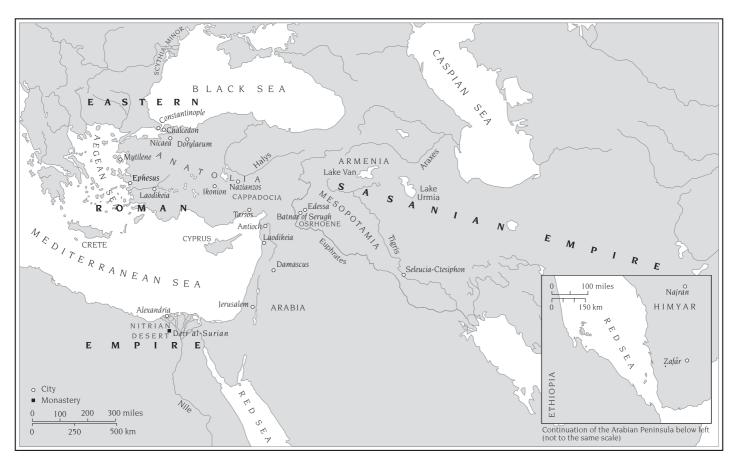
All translations in this monograph are my own, except where noted. Citations of translations in modern languages are provided to encourage engagement with these sources. In many cases, these works have of course influenced my own translations.

¹ Sebastian P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78, no. 3 (1996): 23–35.

² Dietmar W. Winkler, "Miaphysitism: A New Term for Use in the History of Dogma and Ecumenical Theology," *The Harp* 10 (1997): 33–40. See also the recent debate over this term: Philippe Luisier, "Il *miafisismo*, un termine discutible della storiografia recente: Problemi teologici ed ecumenici," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 35, no. 1 (2014): 297–307; Philippe Luisier, ed., "Diabattito sul 'miafisismo,'" *Cristianesimo nella storia* 37, no. 1 (2016): 5–51.



Map 1. The Roman Near East and Western Sasanian Empire



Map 2. The Eastern Mediterranean and Surrounding Regions

Introduction

Christology affected all levels of society in the late antique world. Emperors sought to manage tensions between communities with competing understandings of Christology. Prominent civic leaders and military officers engaged in discussions over Christology with bishops. Competing bishoprics forced clergy and monastics to declare their allegience to one side. Urban residents faced a similar dilemma. They voted with their feet when they attended one church over another. Rural communities were no less involved, and in some areas they seem to have held a firmer line than those in cities. Those enslaved likewise

- ¹ Constantine I and Justinian I are obvious examples. For recent surveys of their involvement, see Harold A. Drake, "The Impact of Constantine on Christianity," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Emmanuel Lenski, Cambridge Companions to Literature and Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 111–36; Patrick T. R. Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and their Significance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 215–38; Hartmut Leppin, *Justinian: Das christliche Experiment* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2011), 92–110, 181–91. 293–308.
- 2 See Table 1 as well as the discussion of Jacob of Serugh's letter to the $\it comes$ Bessas in Chapter 3.
- ³ On the competition for lay adherence within cities, see Stephen J. Davis, *The Early Coptic Papacy: The Egyptian Church and its Leadership in Late Antiquity*, The Popes of Egypt 1 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004); Jaclyn LaRae Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and his Congregation in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). On the intersection of monasticism and the Christological controversies, see Cornelia B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); David Allen Michelson, *The Practical Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Alexandra Hasse-Ungeheuer, *Das Mönchtum in der Religionspolitik Kaiser Justinians I.: Die Engel des Himmels und der Stellvertreter Gottes auf Erden*, Millennium-Studien 59 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 193–229.
- ⁴ On the complexity of this topic and for a prominent example, see Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 126–53.
- $^5\,$ See, for example, Leslie Dossey, $Peas ant\ and\ Empire\ in\ Christian\ North\ Africa,$ Transformation of the Classical Heritage 47 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010).

gave shape to and were affected by Christological divisions.⁶ In short, much depended on the outcomes of the Christological debates that characterized theological discourse in late antiquity.

Christological debates have long cast a shadow over intellectual histories of late antiquity.⁷ Sophisticated discussions concerning the relationship between the Father and the Son reached an apex during the fourth century. Equally intricate controversies about the proper understanding of the divinity and humanity of the Son ensued in the fifth and following centuries. Yet how did such complex topics become a concern to all levels of society? This question requires a variety of responses. A theological answer might begin with the correlation between Christology and soteriology. The afterlife and salvation indeed formed a concern common to late antique people at a variety of levels of society.⁸ Some social historical approaches focus on group dynamics. Acceptance of a creed or support for a specific theological view became markers of identity in certain settings.⁹ Other studies have explored the dynamic relationship between Christology and the liturgy,¹⁰

- ⁶ For example, the trope of women captives who convert their captors intersects debates over Christology in late antique writings. See Andrea Sterk, "Mission from Below: Captive Women and Conversion on the East Roman Frontier," *Church History* 79, no. 1 (2010): 11, 27–8.
- ⁷ For the most extensive theological examination of the Christological debates, see the ongoing Christ in Christian Tradition series by Alois Grillmeier and now edited by Theresia Hainthaler: Alois Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 1, From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451), trans. John Bowden, 2nd ed. (London: Mowbray, 1975); Alois Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604), part 1, Reception and Contradiction: The Development of the Discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian, trans. Pauline Allen and John Cawte (London: Mowbray, 1987); Alois Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604), part 2, The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century, trans. John Cawte and Pauline Allen (London: Mowbray, 1995); Theresia Hainthaler, ed., Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), part 3, The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Alois Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), part 4, The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451, trans. O. C. Dean, Jr. (London: Mowbray, 1996).
- ⁸ For recent studies on the afterlife in early Christianity, see Peter Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Outi Lehtipuu, *Debates over the Resurrection of the Dead: Constructing Early Christian Identity*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- ⁹ As noted above, Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 126–53, offers an insightful examination into the supposed correlation between the circus factions and Christological identity. For an application of social network theory to a debate over Christology, see Adam M. Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 48 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011).
- ¹⁰ See, for example, Stephen J. Davis, Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 86–107; Volker L. Menze, Justinian and the Making of the Syriac

Introduction 3

cult sites,¹¹ and art.¹² Each served as a means for a wide spectrum of society to engage with the Christological debates.

So what did it mean for an ordinary person to choose a side in these debates? What knowledge did they have of the complex theological arguments being discussed? And how did they receive any knowledge that they possessed? Historical investigations have revealed the difficulty of approaching such questions and the need for further research.¹³ The principal argument of this monograph is that preaching served as a means of communicating Christological concepts to broad audiences in late antiquity. It defends this proposition by considering the corpus of the Syriac-speaking ecclesiastical leader Jacob of Serugh (c.451-521). Through his letters, Jacob engaged in debates with fellow intellectual elites over the Christology expressed in the Henotikon of the Emperor Zeno (r. 474–91). Through his homilies, he subtely communicated the content of these debates to a wide range of society. His corpus—the third largest set of homilies from late antiquity—has resisted nearly all previous efforts of historical investigation. This difficulty calls for both a new methodology for linking homilies to historical situations and a new theoretical understanding of the audience of sermons. Thus, this treatment of Jacob of Serugh's corpus serves as a model for examining how theological debates were communicated to wide audiences in late antiquity through preaching.

Orthodox Church, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 158–75; Michelson, *The Practical Christology*, 144–77; Yonatan Moss, *Incorruptible Bodies: Christology, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity*, Christianity in Late Antiquity I (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 75–105.

- ¹¹ See Davis, *Coptic Christology*, 111–52; Phil Booth, "Orthodox and Heretic in the Early Byzantine Cult(s) of Saints Cosmas and Damian," in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. Peter Sarris, Matthew Dal Santo, and Phil Booth, Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 114–28.
- ¹² See Davis, *Coptic Christology*, 153–97. Davis highlights the particularly important image of the nursing Mary, the "Galactotrophousa," for the consideration of this theme in Egypt and Nubia, citing Paul van Moorsel, "Die stillende Gottesmutter und die Monophysiten," in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit: Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jüngsten Ausgrabungen*, ed. Erich Dinkler (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1970), 281–90; Paul van Moorsel, "Christian Subjects in Coptic Art: Galactotrophousa," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 531–2. For an integration of this image into the history of the Christology of Nubia, see also Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.4, 280–4.
- ¹³ Martin Hirschberg, Studien zur Geschichte der simplices in der Alten Kirche: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Schichtungen in der menschlichen Erkenntnis (Berlin, 1944); Michel-Yves Perrin, "À propos de la participation des fidèles aux controverses doctrinales dans l'Antiquité tardive: Considérations introductives," Antiquité Tardive 9 (2001): 179–88; Jack Tannous, "Between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2010), 215–42, 430–80; Michel-Yves Perrin, Civitas confusionis: De la participation des fidèles aux controverses doctrinales dans l'Antiquité tardive (Paris: Nuvis Editions, 2017).

JACOB OF SERUGH AND THE SYRIAC ORTHODOX CHURCH

Little is known about the life of Jacob of Serugh. Accounts of his life come from a much later time and do not provide extensive details. ¹⁴ Only two sources from his lifetime mention him by name. First, the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, written shortly after 506, emphasizes Jacob's literary output:

The honored Jacob, the *periodeutes* by whom many homilies were composed on sections of the scriptures and songs and canticles constructed for the time of the locusts, also did not turn away in this time from what was appropriate for him. Rather he wrote admonitory letters to all the cities, making them trust in the salvation of God and encouraging them not to flee.¹⁵

Pseudo-Joshua highlights well the breadth of Jacob's known corpus, which consists of between three and four hundred metrical homilies, ¹⁶ six prose homilies, forty-two letters, and various other works. ¹⁷ Second, a letter sent to Jacob from the monastery of Mar Bassus (in modern-day Batabo, Syria) outside the city of Antioch (Antakya, Turkey) appears in a collection of Jacob's letters. ¹⁸ Inquiries into Jacob's letters represent the most promising avenue for reconstructing Jacob's life. Below are three small snippets from his correspondence with the

¹⁴ On the lives of Jacob, see Arthur Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja*'qōb von Serūg, CSCO 344–5, 421–2, Subsidia 39–40, 60–1 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1973–80), 1:1–16; Arthur Vööbus, "Eine unbekannte Biographie des Ja'qōb von Serūg," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 85 (1974): 399–405; Sebastian P. Brock, "Jacob of Serugh: A Select Bibliographical Guide," in *Jacob of Serugh and his Times: Studies in Sixth-century Syriac Christianity*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 237–9. An Armenian account of Jacob's life appears in a manuscript that dates to 1701: London, British Library, Or. 4787, fol. 76r–v (Frederick C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London: British Museum, 1918], 168, 171).

¹⁶ The most recent tabulation of Jacob's homilies appears in Roger-Youssef Akhrass, "A List of Homilies of Mar Jacob of Serugh," *Syriac Orthodox Patriarchal Journal* 53 (2015): 87–161.

¹⁷ On the various works attributed to Jacob and for further bibliography, see Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide."

¹⁸ Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (Gunnar Olinder, ed., Jacobi Sarugensis epistulae quotquot supersunt, CSCO 110, SS 57 [Leuven: Peeters, 1937], 62–3).

Introduction 5

monastery of Mar Bassus that help situate him within the major developments of his time.

According to a later account of his life, Jacob was born near the Euphrates River in the Roman province of Osrhoene around the year 451.¹⁹ His correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus confirms this dating and hints at the rich Syriac intellectual culture at this time:

Forty-five years ago, I was dwelling in the city of Edessa in the study of the divine scriptures, at the time when the writings of the wicked Diodoros were being translated from Greek into Syriac. In the city there was a school of the Persians that adhered to the thought of the foolish Diodoros with much affection, and the whole East was corrupted by that school.²⁰

Jacob must have studied in Edessa sometime in the 460s or 470s.²¹ He refers to the school of the Persians in the city of Edessa (Şanlıurfa, Turkey) which would soon relocate to the city of Nisbis (Nusaybin, Turkey).²² The emergence and flourishing of this school represented a broader surge of intellectual activity in Syriac circles during this period.²³ Translations from Greek into Syriac were widespread, and translation technique developed greatly over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries.²⁴ The prevalence of bi- and multilingualism in the

- ¹⁹ Narrative of Mar Jacob, the Bishop of Batnae of Serugh (Joseph Simonius Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos recensuit [Rome, 1719–28], 1:289; Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 238).
 - Jacob of Serugh, Letters 14 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:58–9):
- המדל שנה הדבש העדבי בו בפונה הכלבה הלכה הלכ הסיף כהיוף, בנינולה. סבה בוכה הם כלבהה,
 היאהסים בתלפשטה הסס בי יסודה לשמינה. ההיף המה בבנינולה השבהל, גפושה ההעודה הסס
 הושבה ההיהנסים שבלה. בינובולה של ההיאה מכנה הה, שבהלה בלה בנונה הולשבל.
- ²¹ On the dating of the letter—and thus Jacob's education and birth—see the discussion of his correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus in Chapter 3.
- ²² Important recent studies on the school include: Adam H. Becker, Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Becker, Sources. See earlier Arthur Vööbus, The Statutes of the School of Nisibis, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 12 (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1961); Arthur Vööbus, History of the School of Nisibis, CSCO 266, Subsidia 26 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965).
- ²³ On the specific types of intellectual activities that flourished in late antique Syriac circles, extending beyond the lifetime of Jacob of Serugh, see Tannous, "Between Byzantium and Islam," 22–167. For detailed studies of the literary culture in which Jacob participated, see Manolis Papoutsakis, "*United in the Strife that Divided Them*: Jacob of Serugh and Narsai on the Ascension of Christ," Δελτίο Βιβλικῶν Μελετῶν 32, no. 1–2 (2017): 45–77; Manolis Papoutsakis, *Vicarious Kingship: A Theme in Syriac Political Theology in Late Antiquity*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 100 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).
- ²⁴ The literature on translation technique from Greek to Syriac is vast. For an orientation and a specific study, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in *III*° *Symposium Syriacum*, 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980), ed. René Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 1–14; Daniel King, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria: A Study in Translation Technique*, CSCO 626, Subsidia 123 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

Roman Near East²⁵ led to a fluidity of literary motifs and common vocabulary that can be traced across works in various languages written within decades of each other.²⁶ The following chapters draw on late antique sources written in Armenian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Syriac, and expose the shared language and common problems addressed across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Indeed, Jacob's own writings would later be translated into Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Georgian.²⁷ He was a product of these multilingual and vibrant intellectual currents.

Jacob became a priest at some point during his life. He had achieved the rank of rural bishop or *periodeutes* by the time Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite wrote in 506,

²⁵ For recent works on bilingualism specifically related to Jacob's context near Edessa, see Fergus Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Edessa: From Ephrem to Rabbula (CE 363–435)," Semitica et Classica 4 (2011): 99–114; Fergus Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Fifth-century Edessa: The Case of Bishop Hibas," Semitica et Classica 5 (2012): 151–65; Fergus Millar, "The Evolution of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Pre-Islamic Period: From Greek to Syriac?" Journal of Early Christian Studies 21, no. 1 (2013): 43–92. On the influence of Greek in the Eastern Roman Empire, see Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, "Introduction: The Social Presence of Greek in Eastern Christianity, 200–1200 CE," in Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Greek, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300–1500 6 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 1–122; Aaron Michael Butts, Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 11 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016). For a short account of the development of Syriac as a literary language in the context of the broader evolution of Aramaic, see Holger Gzella, A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1, The Near and Middle East 111 (Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), 366–79.

²⁶ In this regard, see the common literary vocabulary among an anonymous Armenian historian, two Syriac authors (Ephrem the Syrian and Jacob of Serugh), and the Greek hymnographer Romanos the Melode examined in Manolis Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable: From Ephrem to Romanos," *Le Muséon* 120, no. 1–2 (2007): 29–75.

²⁷ Much research is needed on the translation of Jacob's works into these languages. But for preliminary surveys, see for Arabic: Georg Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, Studi e Testi 118, 133, 146-7, 172 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944-53), 1:444-52; Samir Khalil Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels entre les églises syriaques et arabes: Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," in IIIº Symposium Syriacum, 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980), ed. René Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 213-45; Aaron Michael Butts, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The Sammlungen," Journal for the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies 16 (2016): 39–59; Aaron Michael Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521)," in Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations, ed. Barbara Roggema, Gregor Schwarb, and Alexander Treiger, forthcoming; for Armenian: Edward G. Mathews Jr., "Jacob of Serugh, Homily on Good Friday and Other Armenian Treasures: First Glances," in Jacob of Serugh and his Times: Studies in Sixth-century Syriac Christianity, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 145-74; Edward G. Mathews Jr., "Syriac into Armenian: The Translations and their Translators," Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies 10 (2010): 30–2.; for Coptic: Alin Suciu, "The Sahidic Version of Jacob of Serugh's *Memrā* on the Ascension of Christ," Le Muséon 128, no. 1-2 (2015): 49-83; for Georgian: Tamara Pataridze, "La version géorgienne d'une homélie de Jacques de Saroug Sur la nativité," Le Muséon 121, no. 3-4 (2008): 373–402; and for Ethiopic: Siegbert Uhlig, "Dərsan des Yaʻqob von Sərug für den vierten Sonntag im Monat Taḥśaś," Aethiopica 2 (1999): 7-52; Witold Witakowski, "Jacob of Serug," in Encyclopedia Aethiopica, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 262-3.

and he still held this rank while corresponding with the monastery of Mar Bassus a few years later.²⁸ As an ecclesiastical leader, Jacob became involved in the highly contentious theological debates that followed the Council of Chalcedon in 451. He makes his position known in his correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus:

I accept the writing, the *Henotikon*, which was made by the blessed Zeno, the faithful emperor. I anathematize the addition that came through Chalcedon... Those who dared to interpret him in a natural way were confused by him. Because they saw in him the miraculous feats of God and the sufferings of a human, they erred by dividing him so that he would be two: one God and the other human.²⁹

A debate between Nestorios of Constantinople (c.381-after 451) and Cyril of Alexandria (378-444) sparked the Council of Ephesus in 431 and solidified permanent divisions between churches. The Council of Chalcedon did not resolve these tensions twenty years later, and emperors and ecclesiastical leaders would propose various solutions throughout Jacob's lifetime. In this letter, Jacob mentions the Emperor Zeno's (r. 474-91) Henotikon which represents one effort at mediating among the various factions. The Emperor Justin I (r. 518–27) rose to the imperial throne at the end of Jacob's life and would assume a harder stance against adherents to non-Chalcedonian Christology. Jacob's own leanings toward a non-Chalcedonian or miaphysite Christology have now been firmly established, but historically his position on Christology was the most contested part of his legacy. We will encounter the development of these debates in more detail later. Ecclesiastical leaders in the Roman Near East confronted a seemingly ever-changing landscape of Christological views and alliances. The post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies formed a prominent part of the experience of ecclesiastical leaders throughout Jacob's lifetime.

Jacob became a bishop of the city of Batnae in the region of Serugh (Suruç, Turkey), some forty kilometers east of the Euphrates River and some forty kilometers west of Edessa. Later accounts of his life date his elevation to the episcopacy to 518 or 519.³⁰ Jacob never claims the title of bishop in his correspondence,

Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle 54 (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 91, SS 43:280–1;
 Watt and Trombley, Chronicle, TTH 32:63-4); Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:62). The implications of this rank are discussed in Chapter 1.
 Jacob of Serugh, Letters 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:68, 81):

הכסבל אוא באכא מנה לנם, הבכנה ללהכנאונה , כלכא כמניכנאי. מכניות אוא לאמשפא א המסוא בלסהניאי... אוא ביסלה כמ אלג האוכיניה הפיבסהות בנואינא: כל העום כמ עבלא האלמא מניבא הכי אוצאי. לבה פל באסמ, הנמסא ולה.. עד אלמא סאעולא כי אוצאי.

³⁰ See Narrative of Mar Jacob, the Bishop of Batnae of Serugh (Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 1:289; Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 238); Chronicle to the Year 819 (Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, CSCO 81, SS 36 [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1920], CSCO 81, SS 36:8); Elijah of Nisibis, Chronography (E. W. Brooks and Jean-Baptiste Chabot, eds., Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni: Opus chronologicum, trans. E. W. Brooks and Jean-Baptiste Chabot, CSCO 62–3, SS 21–4 [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909–10], CSCO 62, SS 21:118).

even though some of his letters must date to the period of his bishopric before his death in 521. But a manuscript that dates only two years after his death calls him the "bishop of Batnae." Jacob participated in a wider network of ecclesiastical leaders, as he indicates in another letter to the monastery: "In the great gathering of the eastern synod, [Severos] spoke that which was done in signs and parables in the writing, the *Henotikon*, with clear expressions before the great gathering of the bride, the daughter of the day."³² The eastern synod to which he refers was related to the accession of Severos of Antioch (c.465–538) to the patriarchal see of Antioch in 512.33 Severos became a leader of the churches that opposed the Council of Chalcedon, and his views on Christology became standard for their party. He was deposed for his opposition to the council when Justin I rose to the imperial throne in 518 and spent most of the rest of his life in Egypt.³⁴ Philoxenos of Mabbug (c.440-523) helped Severos rise to the episcopal see and was also deposed by Justin I. Philoxenos sharpened debates over Christology by engaging in a new translation of the New Testament and coordinated his views on Christology with ascetic practices. 35 Severos and Philoxenos represent the broader network of ecclesiastical leaders connected to Jacob of Serugh.

The flourishing of intellectual culture, fierce debates over Christology, and the emergence of prominent leaders led to the development of a distinct ecclesiastical body. The Syriac Orthodox Church began forming during Jacob of Serugh's lifetime.³⁶ In the sixth century, new bishoprics and monasteries would be founded to support an ecclesiastical hierarchy separated from the empire.³⁷

- 31 Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 114, fol. 1v: אבשממבא הבעל. My transcription—based on my examination of a clear digitization of the manuscript—differs slightly from that in Stephen Evodius Assemani and Joseph Simonius Assemani, Bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus (Rome, 1758–9), 3:82.
 - ³² Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 17 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:84–5):
- בבו שיא וכא ומטומום בנועולא. המם בנב וגבנו מסא בבולכא מנולעם, כומוא ספלאולא. אכינם מס בבו ל בלא אלא. לען בעא וכא ובללא כול אנכלא.
- ³³ On the eastern synod, see the discussion of Jacob's correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus in Chapter 3.
- ³⁴ On Severos, see especially Iain R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1998); Pauline Allen and C. T. R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2004); Moss, *Incorruptible Bodies*.
- ³⁵ On Philoxenos, see especially André de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Leuven: Imprimerie orientaliste, 1963); Michelson, *The Practical Christology*.
- ³⁶ Menze, Justinian. But see earlier William H. C. Frend, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- ³⁷ Ernst Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle, CSCO 127, Subsidia 2 (Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1951); Theresia Hainthaler, "The Establishment of the Anti-Chalcedonian Hierarchy by Jacob Baradaeus," in *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 3, *The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, ed. Theresia Hainthaler, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 189–95.

Leaders from this tradition would gather to make their own decisions and to engage controversies that appeared within the movement. John of Ephesus (c.507–86/88) would even author a history of the church and a hagiographical collection to support the new movement. John of Serugh stands at the beginning of this tradition. He died before the Syriac Orthodox Church had formally separated from the imperially backed Chalcedonian church. His homilies served as a means of spreading knowledge of Christology to both clergy and laity during this intermediate time. They suggest what these momentous changes in political support and ecclesiastical organization may have meant to ordinary people living on the borderlands of the Roman Empire.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF JACOB OF SERUGH

Few homilies in Jacob of Serugh's corpus engage overtly with the Christological debates that characterized theological discourse in his day. The seeming absence of references to controversial matters resulted in a series of debates over his Christological views from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Modern scholarship has claimed Jacob as an ecclesiastical leader in the emerging miaphysite movement. Yet few have offered a satisfactory explanation for his reticence regarding Christological matters. Sebastian Brock summarizes well the current state of research: "Basically, [Jacob of Serugh] disliked the analytic approach to theology current in the controversy that followed the Council of 451; his preference was for the theology of symbol and paradox that characterized Ephrem's approach."40 This monograph seeks further precision regarding Jacob's apparent reluctance to engage the Christological controversies. The final chapter demonstrates that homilies which seem removed from these debates do in fact contain specific criticisms of Chalcedonian Christology. An overview of the major debates regarding Jacob's Christology will situate the contribution of this study.

³⁸ For texts related to the development of the Syriac Orthodox Church over the sixth century, see Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Documenta ad origenes monophysitarum illustrandas*, trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, CSCO 17, 103, SS 17, 52 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1907–52); Albert Van Roey and Pauline Allen, eds., *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, trans. Albert Van Roey and Pauline Allen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 56 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994). The latter contains helpful summaries of the various debates and a guide to the collection of texts.

³⁹ Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the* Lives of the Eastern Saints, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 18 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990); Jan J. van Ginkel, "John of Ephesus: A Monophysite Historian in Sixth-century Byzantium" (Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1995).

 $^{^{40}}$ Sebastian P. Brock, "Ya'qub of Serugh," in $G\Bar{E}DSH,$ ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 434.

The reception of Jacob of Serugh in late antiquity and the Middle Ages highlights the ambiguity of his Christological perspective. His writings found use across several traditions. 41 Indeed, in the sixth and seventh centuries, his homilies circulated among Chalcedonian authors. The Greek hymnographer Romanos the Melode (d. after 555) engaged with literary tropes drawn from Jacob of Serugh's homilies. 42 Romanos has been claimed as a Chalcedonian theologian, even if his Christological views remain somewhat ambiguous. 43 Timothy, presbyter of Constantinople (fl. 6th or 7th century), claimed that Jacob was Chalcedonian orthodox in a work specifically on the topic of heresy.44 Maronite communities, which now form an eastern Catholic church of the Syriac heritage, also used Jacob's writings. A sixth- or seventh-century Maronite liturgical manuscript attributes a work to Jacob. 45 The Maronite author Thomas of Kafartāb (fl. late 11th century) likewise cites Jacob in a treatise on the one will of Christ. 46 Even a Church of the East liturgical text includes an excerpt of one of Jacob's homilies, albeit without ascription. ⁴⁷ The lack of overtly polemical language in Jacob's homilies may have allowed their circulation among diverse communities.

The first debate over Jacob of Serugh's Christology in the West featured a conflict between the Maronite reception of Jacob as a saint and the influx of

⁴¹ Lucas Van Rompay pointed me to several of the references in this paragraph.

⁴² See especially Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable," 48–60.

⁴³ André de Halleux, "Review of José Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*, vol. 2, *Nouveau Testament (IX–XX)*, and vol. 3, *Nouveau Testament (XXI–XXXI)*, Sources chrétiennes 110, 114 (Paris: Cerf, 1965)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 62, no. 2 (1967): 459–62; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.2, 513–23; Lucas Van Rompay, "Romanos le Mélode: Un poète syrien à Constantinople," in *Early Christian Poetry: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Jan den Boeft and Anton Hilhorst, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 295–6, 295n62; Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable," 60.

Timothy, presbyter of Constantinople, On the Reception of Heretics (Jean-Baptiste Cotelier, ed., Ecclesiæ græcæ monumenta, trans. Jean-Baptiste Cotelier [Paris, 1677–86], 3:396): "and Jacob, not the orthodox one of Batnae, but another heretical one" (καὶ Ἰάκωβος, οὐχ ὁ Βάτνων ὁ ὀρθόδοξος, ἀλλὶ ἔτερος αἰρετικὸς). In this section of the text, Timothy is identifying individuals

that he regards as Eutychians. He mentions Severos of Antioch directly before Jacob.

⁴⁵ Sebastian P. Brock, "An Early Maronite Text on Prayer," *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986): 84–5, 89–90. See also the discussion of this quotation (which fills a lacuna in a homily) in ibid., 93–4. The quotation comes from Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (Paul Bedjan, ed., *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis* [Paris: Harrassowitz, 1905–10], 4:491–516).

- ⁴⁶ Thomas of Kafarṭāb, *Ten Chapters* 3 (Charles Chartouni, ed., *Le traité des "dix chapitres" de Tūmā al-Kfarṭābī: Un document sur les origines de l'Église maronite*, trans. Charles Chartouni, Recherches, Nouvelle Série, B. Orient chrétien 7 [Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1987], 20, 85). I have not identified the quotation of Jacob of Serugh in this work. The reference to Jacob is noted by Graf, *Geschichte*, 2:99; Jack Tannous, "In Search of Monotheletism," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2014): 65n268.
- ⁴⁷ Sebastian P. Brock, "An Extract from Jacob of Serugh in the East Syrian Hudra," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55, no. 2 (1989): 339–43. The citation comes from Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Resurrection of Our Savior* (Frédéric Rilliet, ed., *Jacques de Saroug: Six homélies festales en prose*, trans. Frédéric Rilliet, PO 43.4 (196) [Turnhout: Brepols, 1986], PO 43.4:118–20).

Syriac sources into western libraries.⁴⁸ The French politician Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83) and his relatives acquired a range of eastern manuscripts for their private library.⁴⁹ These manuscripts granted the French Roman Catholic theologian Eusèbe Renaudot (1646–1720) access to a liturgy attributed to Jacob of Serugh.⁵⁰ Renaudot published Jacob's Eucharistic liturgy in a volume of non-Chalcedonian or what he regarded as "heterodox" liturgies in 1716.⁵¹ Renaudot knew the Maronite tradition of honoring Jacob as a saint. He therefore included arguments against his Chalcedonian orthodoxy, emphasizing his reception as a Syriac Orthodox saint.⁵²

The collection of eastern Christian manuscripts in the Vatican Library expanded significantly in the early modern period. The Vatican scriptor Joseph Simonius Assemani (1687–1768) twrote a description of the contents of the manuscripts, published from 1719 to 1728 as *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*. He described Jacob's works in the first of these volumes, which includes only orthodox (i.e., on his view, Chalcedonian) authors. Assemani both responded to Renaudot's claims and developed several arguments of his own for Jacob's Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

Several texts in the newly acquired Vatican manuscripts led to additional problems. Jacob's *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* features a direct rejection

- ⁴⁸ A fuller study of this first debate is forthcoming in Philip Michael Forness, "Cultural Exchange and Scholarship on Eastern Christianity: An Early Modern Debate over Jacob of Serugh's Christology," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*. For another overview of the debates, see Khalil Alwan, "Mār ya'qūb as-sarūjī, talātat qurūn min al-jadal ḥawla urtūdūksīyatihi," *Al-Manāra* 30, no. 3 (1989): 309–40.
- ⁴⁹ On Colbert's life, see James Thomson Shotwell, "Colbert, Jean Baptiste," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 657–9. On his contributions to the acquisition of eastern manuscripts, see Henri Auguste Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII et XVIII siècles* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 1:1–250 throughout, and especially 1:222–50. Four family members are named as authors of the catalogue of the library: Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, Jacques Nicholas Colbert, and Charles Eléonor Colbert, *Bibliotheca colbertina*, *seu catalogus librorum bibliotheca*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1728).
- ⁵⁰ Joseph-François Michaud and Louis Gabriel Michaud, eds., "Renaudot, Eusèbe," in *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1862), 997–9.
- Eusèbe Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (Paris, 1716), 2:356–66, contains the translation of the liturgy.
 - ⁵² Ibid., 2:367-8.
- 53 See Pierre Raphael, Le rôle du Collège maronite romain dans l'orientalisme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Beirut: Université Saint Joseph, 1950), 39–52.
- ⁵⁴ Sebastian P. Brock, "Assemani, Josephus Simonius," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 43–4.
- ⁵⁵ On the influence of this publication, see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Development of Syriac Studies," in *The Edward Hincks Bicentenary Lectures*, ed. Kevin J. Cathcart (Dublin: Department of Near Eastern Languages, University College Dublin, 1994), 98–9, 109.
 - ⁵⁶ Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 1:283–340.
 ⁵⁷ Ibid., 1:290–4.

of the council and appeared in one of the newly acquired manuscripts.⁵⁸ Moreover, his letter to Samuel, abbot of the monastery of Mar Gabbula,⁵⁹ denies "that there are two natures in Christ and that the properties of the natures remain after the hypostatic union, which is the characteristic heresy of the Jacobites."⁶⁰ Assemani further notes that Jacob's *Homily on the Mother of God and against Those who Investigate* contains similar language.⁶¹ In response, Assemani rejected the authenticity of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* and argued that Jacob denied the duality of the natures in their substance, but not in their accidents.⁶² Assemani's differing treatment of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* and his letter reveals a central tension in the Christology of Jacob of Serugh: his homilies and his letters seem to present different Christologies.

The second major debate over Jacob's Christology began in the late nine-teenth century. Assemani's arguments held sway for around one hundred fifty years. Indeed, publications of Jacob's works in the 1860s merely pointed readers back to Assemani for an understanding of the Syriac saint's Christology. ⁶³ Jean Baptiste Abbeloos (1836–1906), a Belgian orientalist and Roman Catholic priest, ⁶⁴ evaluated Jacob's Christology in his doctoral dissertation in 1867. ⁶⁵ He takes a more comprehensive approach to defending Jacob's Chalcedonian orthodoxy than was possible for Assemani. But his response to the three sources that Assemani viewed as problematic—the homilies on Chalcedon and the Mother of God as well as the letter to Samuel of Mar Gabbula—matches that of Assemani. ⁶⁶ Abbeloos based his reexamination of Jacob's life and works both on manuscripts from the Vatican as well as a newly acquired manuscript in the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1:294. This homily appears in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, fol. 139v–140v, and corresponds to Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* (Paul Bedjan and Sebastian P. Brock, eds., *Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug* [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006], 6:331–7; Sebastian P. Brock, "The Syrian Orthodox Reaction to the Council of Chalcedon: Jacob of Serugh's Homily on the Council of Chalcedon," *Texts and Studies: A Review for Hellenism in Diaspora* 8–10 [1989–91]: 448–59).

⁵⁹ Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 1:295. This letter appears in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 135, fol. 93r–100r, and corresponds to Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 19 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:102–29).

⁶⁰ Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 1:295: "duas Christo inesse naturas, naturarumque proprietates post unionem Hypostaticam remansisse, negat: quæ est ipsissima Jacobitarum hæresis."

⁶¹ Ibid. Assemani accessed this homily in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, fol. 67v–70v. It has recently been published in Roger-Youssef Akhrass and Imad Syryany, eds., *160 Unpublished Homilies of Jacob of Serugh* (Damascus: Bab Touma Press, 2017), 1:7–16.

⁶² Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 1:297.

⁶³ William Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 1864), 189; Johann Baptist Wenig, *Schola syriaca* (Innsbruck, 1866), 1.

⁶⁴ Edward Aloysius Pace, "Abbeloos, Jean Baptiste," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), 7.

⁶⁵ Jean Baptiste Abbeloos, De vita et scriptis Sancti Jacobi Batnarum Sarugi in Mesopotamia episcopi (Leuven, 1867).

⁶⁶ İbid., 171–85.

British Museum.⁶⁷ Manuscripts from the British Museum would soon overturn his and Assemani's understanding of Jacob's Christology.

The reception of Abbeloos's arguments proved mixed. Thomas Lamy (1827–1907),⁶⁸ defended Abbeloos's argument in an article on the history of scholarship on Jacob of Serugh in 1867.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the Bollandist Henrico Matagne (1833–72)⁷⁰ argued that Abbeloos had not adequately explained the letter to Samuel of Mar Gabbula, suggested that Jacob may have only joined the Chalcedonians in the final years of his life, and called for further investigation of Jacob's homilies.⁷¹ The Roman Catholic orientalist Gustav Bickell (1838–1906)⁷² initially supported the view of Abbeloos but then changed his view after becoming familiar with the arguments of Matagne and the new letters attributed to Jacob found in a manuscript in the British Museum.⁷³ At the end of the article, he comes to a conclusion similar to Matagne's: "Our conclusive findings are therefore that Jacob of Serugh belonged to the church, in any case, during the last years of his life and his death, while the orthodoxy of his earlier life appears very doubtful."⁷⁴

The French Roman Catholic biblical scholar Jean-Pierre Paulin Martin (1840–90)⁷⁵ had the final word in this debate. In 1876, Martin published most of Jacob's correspondence with Mar Bassus and states that "all of Jacob's correspondence is full of monophysite professions or expressions." In the same year, Martin wrote an extensive article that addressed Jacob's Christology

- ⁶⁷ Ibid., ix–x, 89nl, 311–14. Abbeloos noticed a reference to this British Museum manuscript in Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* (Leiden, 1862–75), 1:26. The manuscript is London, British Library, Add. 12174.
- ⁶⁸ John F. Fenlon, "Thomas Joseph Lamy," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 8 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 772.
- ⁶⁹ Thomas Joseph Lamy, "Études de patrologie orientale: S. Jacques de Sarug," *Revue Catholique*, n.s., 1, no. 9 [25] (1867): 522.
- ⁷⁰ "Elogia patrum Eduardi Carpentier, Henrici Matagne et Josephi van Hecke," *Acta Sanctorum: Octobris* 13 (1883): [vi–vii].
- ⁷¹ Henrico Matagne, "De S. Jacobo, episcopo sarugensi in Mespotamia," *Acta Sanctorum: Octobris* 12 (1867): 824; Henrico Matagne, "Supplementum ad commentarium de S. Jacobo, episcopo sarugensi in Mespotamia," *Acta Sanctorum: Octobris* 12 (1867): 927.
- ⁷² Andrew Alphonsus MacErlean, "Bickell, Gustav," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 16 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1914), 10.
- ⁷³ Gustav Bickell, Conspectus rei Syrorum literariae, additis notis bibliographicis et excerptis anecdotis (Münster, 1871), 25; Gustav Bickell, trans., Ausgewählte Gedichte der syrischen Kirchenväter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak v. Antiochien und Jakob v. Sarug, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (Kempten, 1872), 211–12.
- ⁷⁴ Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 217: "Unser schließliches Resultat ist also, daß Jakob von Sarug jedenfalls durch seine letzten Lebensjahre und seinen Tod der Kirche angehört, während die Orthodoxie seiner früheren Lebenszeit sehr bedenklich erscheint."
- ⁷⁵ Walter Drum, "Martin, Paulin," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., vol. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 729–30.
- ⁷⁶ Jean-Pierre Paulin Martin, "Lettres de Jacques de Saroug aux moines du Couvent de Mar Bassus, et à Paul d'Edesse, relevées et traduites," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 (1876): 218n7: "toute la correspondance de Jacques est pleine de professions ou d'expressions monophysites."

directly. He emphasizes the importance of the letters and concludes that "Jacob was born, lived, and died in the heresy." Martin's conclusion would stand until the mid-twentieth century. The clarity of Jacob's letters made them the lens through which scholars would approach Jacob's wider corpus.

The third lengthy debate over Jacob's Christology lasted from the 1940s to the 1970s. The French Jesuit Paul Mouterde (1892–1972)⁷⁸ published two newly discovered homilies in 1946.79 The Bollandist Paul Peeters (1870–1950)80 reviewed Mouterde's article in 1947⁸¹ and published a related article the following year that would inaugurate the third debate over Jacob's Christology. The article's title makes the issue posed by this homily clear: "Does Jacob of Serugh Belong to the Monophysite Sect?" The two lines that challenged Peeters to reconsider Jacob's Christology are as follows: "Another, being wise, understands how to recognize you in this way: / That you are two [entities], one God, and the other human."82 Peeters claims that this selection of the homily "contains the affirmation of a duality in Christ's person."83 He then draws attention to Jacob's consecration as a bishop during a time when non-Chalcedonians were not accepted, and questions the authenticity of some letters written to the monastery of Mar Bassus. 84 Ishāq Armalah (1879–1954), a Syrian Catholic priest, 85 had published a survey of Jacob's life and scholarship on Jacob in 1946 in which he independently argued that Jacob held to Chalcedonian orthodoxy and that some of his letters were misattributed.⁸⁶ Peeters had only heard of this work

- ⁷⁸ Henri Jalabert, *Jésuites au Proche-Orient: Notices biographiques*, Collection Hommes et sociétés du Proche-Orient (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1987), 310–11.
- ⁷⁹ Paul Mouterde, "Deux homélies inédites de Jacques de Saroug," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 26, no. 1 (1944–46): 4. The manuscript is Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 566. The two homilies are Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on Mary and Golgotha* (ibid., 15–22, 29–36); and *Homily on the Burial of Strangers* (ibid., 9–14, 23–8).
- 80 Paul Devos, "Le R. P. Paul Peeters (1870–1950): Son œuvre et sa personnalité de bollandiste," Analecta Bollandiana 69 (1951): i–lix.
- ⁸¹ Paul Peeters, "Review of Paul Mouterde, 'Deux homélies inédites de Jacques de Saroug,' *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 26, no. 1 (1946–8): 1–36," *Analecta Bollandiana* 65 (1947): 191–3
- ⁸³ Paul Peeters, "Jacques de Saroug appartient-il à la secte monophysite?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 66 (1948): 138: "contient l'affirmation d'une dualité dans la personne du Christ."
 - 84 Ibid., 143, 157-60.
- 85 George Anton Kiraz, "Isḥāq Armalah," in GEDSH, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 33.
- ⁸⁶ Isḥāq Armalah, *Mār yaʻqūb usquf sarūj al-malfān baḥt intiqādī tārīkī dīnī* (Jounieh, Lebanon: Maṭbaʻat al-ābā al-mursalīn al-lubnānīyīn, 1946). A response to Armalah came three years later: Būlus Bahnām, *Kamāʾil ar-rayḥān aw urtūduksīyat mār yaʻqūb as-sarūjī al-malfān* (Mosul: Maṭbaʿat

⁷⁷ Jean-Pierre Paulin Martin, "Un évêque-poète au V° et au VI° siècles ou Jacques de Saroug, sa vie, son temps, ses œuvres, ses croyances," *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* 4, no. 4 [198] (1876): 419: "Jacques est né, a vécu et est mort dans l'hérésie."

after he had sent his own article to the printer.⁸⁷ Peeters positioned the homilies against the letters and drew Jacob's biography back into the debate.

The German Roman Catholic priest Paul Krüger (1904–75)⁸⁸ took on Peeters's view in an article published in 1953 on whether Jacob was Chalcedonian or miaphysite. He evaluates several excerpts that support Peeters's conclusion, ⁸⁹ and mentions the possibility that Jacob's writings were doctored by a later redactor. ⁹⁰ But Krüger's own view changed with the publication in 1965 of his article entitled: "The Problem of Jacob of Serugh's Orthodoxy and its Solution." Here he states that of Jacob's forty-two letters, fifteen clearly represent miaphysite thought. ⁹¹ He also argues for the harmony of the sermons with the letters. ⁹² Any remark about the duality of Christ's natures in the homilies must be seen within the frame of miaphysite Christology or must be interpreted as a later redaction. ⁹³ With Krüger, the letters became the principle sources for evaluating Jacob's Christology.

Krüger continued to publish on Jacob's Christology and would eventually draw in a conversation partner. He published a French translation of Jacob's *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* based on a British Library manuscript that predated the Vatican manuscript as well as a Christologically focused letter that supported his conclusions. ⁹⁴ The Dutch Semiticist Taeke Jansma (1919–2007) ⁹⁵ took on Jacob's Christology as an independent question in 1962. He bases his analysis on the letter collection as well as seven homilies. ⁹⁶ Jansma concludes that Jacob drew on sources and language that predated Chalcedon to express his Christology. For this reason, he seems remote from the controversies of

al-Ittiḥād, 1949). This apparently inaugurated additional works by each of these authors, as noted in Khalil Alwan, "Bibliographie générale raisonée de Jacques de Saroug (†521)," *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986): 374. I have not been able to locate these later works. Knowledge of this debate came to the West through a book review of Armalah: Johannes Petrus Maria van der Ploeg, "Review of Isḥāq Armalah, *Mār yaʿqūb usquf sarūj al-malfān baḥt intiqādī tārīkī dīnī* (Jounieh, Lebanon: Maṭbaʿat al-ābā al-mursalīn al-lubnānīyīn, 1946)," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 5, no. 5 (1948): 153–6.

- ⁸⁷ Peeters, "Jacques de Saroug," 134n*.
- ⁸⁸ Julius Assfalg and Paul Krüger, eds., *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), ix.
- ⁸⁹ Paul Krüger, "War Jakob von Serugh Katholik oder Monophysit?" *Ostkirchliche Studien* 2 (1953): 201.
 - 90 Ibid., 208.
- 91 Paul Krüger, "Das Problem der Rechtgläubigkeit Jakobs von Serugh und seine Lösung," Ostkirchliche Studien 5 (1956): 167.
 - ⁹² Ibid., 176. ⁹³ Ibid., 242.
- ⁹⁴ Paul Krüger, "La deuxième homélie de Jacques de Saroug sur la foi du concile de Chalcédoine," L'Orient Syrien 2 (1957): 125–36 (the manuscript is London, British Library, Add. 14651); Paul Krüger, "Le caractère monophysite de la troisième lettre de Jacques de Saroug," L'Orient Syrien 6 (1961): 301–8.
 - 95 Lucas Van Rompay, "Taeke Jansma (1919–2007)," Hugoye 10, no. 2 (2007): 95–102.
- ⁹⁶ Taeke Jansma, "The Credo of Jacob of Sĕrūgh: A Return to Nicea and Constantinople," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 44, no. 1 (1962): 22.

his day.⁹⁷ This also allowed him to be ordained as bishop in 519, after Justin I's rise to power, while remaining a miaphysite throughout his life.⁹⁸ Krüger responded to Jansma by drawing attention to a hagiographical homily on Jacob. This homily suggests that Jacob was a miaphysite early in life but adhered to Chalcedonian thought at the end of his life.⁹⁹ The dialogue between Krüger and Jansma would lead to great advances in understanding Jacob's Christology.

In 1965, Jansma wrote two articles that express what have become nearly standard opinions on Jacob's Christology. In the first article, he evaluates Krüger's arguments and then seeks a new way to express Jacob's Christology through his letters to the monastery of Mar Bassus. ¹⁰⁰ Jansma argues that Jacob's approach to Christology "shows an unmistakable relationship to Cyril of Alexandria and Ephrem the Syrian, as he himself very well might distinguish his spiritual ancestors." ¹⁰¹ He followed up this publication with a four-part essay that examines this Christology more clearly. The central argument of this article has wielded great influence:

For [Peeters], as for Abbot Lazarus, it is either Chalcedonian or monophysite; tertium non datur [a third option is not available]. But Jacob—whose system is composed, on the one hand, of Cyril's Christology and, on the other hand, of religious convictions that have Ephrem's tendencies—recognizes a third possibility [for] the one who lives in two worlds. While his inquisitorial contemporaries limit the possibilities to two, the Alexandrian Christology that he appropriated leads him naturally to a monophysite confession of faith; but it is hardly pronounced under exterior pressure and not without hesitation on his part; the follower of docta ignorantia [learned ignorance] is also immediately pulled back, taken by nostalgia for the pre-Nestorian church, in silence before the ineffable mystery of the incarnation. 102

⁹⁷ Ibid., 33. ⁹⁸ Ibid., 32.

⁹⁹ Paul Krüger, "Die kirchliche Zugehörigkeit Jakobs von Serugh im Lichte der handschriftlichen Überlieferung seiner Vita unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Pariser Handschrift 177," Ostkirchliche Studien 13 (1964): 32. This text is Homily on Mar Jacob, the Teacher, of Batnan of Serugh. It was first printed based on Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117 (Abbeloos, De vita et scriptis, 24–85), and then Krüger produced a critical edition using Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Syr. 177 (Paul Krüger, "Ein bislang unbekannter sermo über Leben und Werk des Jakob von Serugh," Oriens Christianus 56 [1972]: 82–111).

¹⁰⁰ Taeke Jansma, "Die Christologie Jacobs von Serugh und ihre Abhängigkeit von der alexandrinischen Theologie und der Frömmigkeit Ephräms des Syrers," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 21–35.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 46: "zeigt eine unverkennbare Verwandschaft mit Cyrill von Alexandrien und mit Ephraem dem Syrer, wie sehr er sich auch von seinen geistigen Vorfahren unterscheiden möge."

Taeke Jansma, "Encore le credo de Jacques de Saroug: Nouvelle recherches sur l'argument historique concernant son orthodoxie," *L'Orient Syrien* 10 (1965): 355: "Pour lui, de même que pour l'Abbé Lazare, c'est: ou chalcédonien ou monophysite, *tertium non datur*. Mais Jacques dont le système est composé d'une part de christologie cyrillienne et, d'autre part, de convictions religieuses de tendance ephrémienne, connaît, lui qui vit dans deux mondes, une troisième possibilité. Quand ses contemporains inquisitoriaux limitent les possibilités à deux, la christologie alexandrine qu'il s'est appropriée le pousse naturellement à une confession de foi monophysite; mais, à peine s'est-il prononcé sous une pression extérieure et non sans hésitation de sa part, aussitôt le tenant

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Jansma claims Jacob as a firm supporter of the miaphysite Christology drawn from the writings of Cyril of Alexandria. He explains Jacob's reluctance to address controversial issues as a symptom of the heritage he received from Ephrem the Syrian (*c*.306–73). As Jansma writes, "For Jacob of Serugh, through his nostalgia for the period before Nestorios, a third possibility may very well emerge: even under compulsion, he hardly took part in the conflict of his age, in that he withdraws to a third position that was before and consequently outside of and above the enemy camps." ¹⁰³ Krüger published other articles on Jacob's Christology, ¹⁰⁴ but the third debate essentially ended with Jansma's lengthy essay. Jacob emerges as a thoroughly miaphysite theologian with firm roots in the Syriac tradition.

One major study on Jacob's Christology has appeared since Jansma. Tanios Bou Mansour published the chapter on Jacob's Christology in the Christ and Christian Tradition series. Here he offers a synthetic theological analysis of Jacob's Christology both in the letters and in the homilies. He argues that the letters and the homilies exhibit the same Christology. 105 He concludes:

It has been said, correctly, that Jacob is a "citizen of two worlds," belonging to the Alexandrian as well as to the Syrian culture. According to T. Jansma, Jacob is linked to Ephrem by the *docta ignorantia* and to the Alexandrians by the body of statements that make his Christology. This is accurate, and our analyses have verified T. Jansma's theory.¹⁰⁶

He then points to further connections to Ephrem's thought, beyond the *docta* ignorantia. On the whole, Bou Mansour demonstrates the longevity of

de la *docta ignorantia* se rétracte, repris par la nostalgie de l'Eglise pré-nestorienne, dans le silence devant le mystère ineffable de l'Incarnation."

¹⁰³ Ibid., 77: "Jacques de Saroug, par sa nostalgie de la période d'avant Nestorius, peut très bien se poser une troisième possibilité: à peine a-t-il, *vi coactus*, pris parti dans le conflit de son siècle, qu'il se retire sur une troisième position, antérieure, et par conséquent hors et au-dessus des camps ennemis."

104 Paul Krüger, "Neues über die Frage der Konfessionszugehörigkeit Jakobs von Serugh," in Wegzeichen: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Hermenegild M. Biedermann OSA, ed. Ernst Christophor Suttner and Coelestin Patock, Das östliche Christentum, n.s., 25 (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1971), 245–52; Krüger, "Ein bislang unbekannter sermo"; Paul Krüger, "Ein zweiter anonymer memra über Jakob von Serugh," Oriens Christianus 56 (1972): 112–49; Paul Krüger, "Die sogenannte Philoxenosvita und die Kurzvita des Jakob von Serugh," Ostkirchliche Studien 21 (1972): 39–45; Paul Krüger, "Zur Problematik des Mēmrā (Sermo) über den Glauben des Jacob von Serugh und seine Lösung," Ostkirchliche Studien 23 (1974): 188–96; Paul Krüger, "Jakob von Sarūg," in Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients, ed. Julius Assfalg and Paul Krüger (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 151.

¹⁰⁵ He takes this approach to avoid suspicions that the homilies have been edited for use in the liturgy. See Tanios Bou Mansour, "The Christology of Jacob of Sarug," in *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 3, *The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, ed. Theresia Hainthaler, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 434–5, 456, 456n116.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 476. ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 476–7.

Jansma's solution to Jacob's reticence. But, even more than Jansma's writings, his presentation of Jacob's Christology leaves little doubt that Jacob's epistolary and homiletical corpora present a consistent understanding of this doctrine, even if they take different tones. ¹⁰⁸

The present monograph aims principally to provide a model to integrate late antique homilies into historical narratives of late antiquity. Yet it was Jacob's corpus and the difficulty of approaching his Christology that gave rise to questions about the use of homilies as historical sources. The history of scholarship on Jacob of Serugh's Christology reveals persistent tensions between different genres of literature, namely, his epistolary and homiletical corpora, as well as the challenges associated with working on historical texts with few indications of context. This monograph makes several advances in our knowledge of Jacob of Serugh's Christology by focusing on his involvement in a particular Christological debate. It thus moves beyond Jansma's and Bou Mansour's portrayals by showing a very specific coordination of Jacob's letters with his homilies. We will see that Jacob engages in a specific post-Chalcedonian debate. His Christological language reflects far more recent sources than Cyril and Ephrem. He does not merely, as Jansma suggests, go to pre-Chalcedonian sources. This study also seeks to gain a better understanding of his role as an ecclesiastical leader in the emerging Syriac Orthodox Church through his Christology. A detailed study of his thought can indeed reveal much about his life.

HOMILIES AND THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Late antique homilies operated within high intellectual debates and also proved accessible to laity. Recent studies of sermons have focused on the physical context in which preaching occurred. The sermons of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and John Chrysostom (340/50–407) have revealed much about the makeup of the audiences of homilies in late antiquity. Yet such approaches do not account for the great number of homilies for which a physical context cannot be determined, including those of Jacob of Serugh.

Thus, the first chapter outlines a new approach to homilies that demonstrates how to integrate such homilies into historical narratives. Evidence from across

¹⁰⁸ The differences between these corpora continue to be a matter of debate. See Johnson, "Social Presence of Greek," 91n463: "I disagree with Millar 2013b, 61 on this point: while there are a handful of references to Jacob's confessional affiliation in his letters (Albert 2004), the assumption of contemporary and later Syrian Orthodox historians that he was staunchly anti-Chalcedonian does not come across strongly in his own poetry." He refers to Millar, "Syrian Orthodox Church," 61, and Micheline Albert, trans., *Les lettres de Jacques de Saroug*, Patrimoine Syriaque 3 (Kaslik, Lebanon: Parole de l'Orient, 2004).

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the Mediterranean world builds a picture of the process of composition, delivery, and transmission of sermons from the moment of preaching to their subsequent circulation as written texts. Preachers participated in distributing their homilies in manuscripts after their initial oral delivery. Thus, two groups of individuals encountered homilies that survive in manuscripts until today: (1) the audience who gathered to hear a homily preached and (2) the readers who heard homilies read through their distribution in manuscripts. Literary preachers had their homilies recorded and understood the variety of communities that would encounter them. This provides a rationale for the inclusion of complex theological topics in sermons preached before broad audiences. It reframes Jacob of Serugh's sermons as texts written to address multiple communities. This chapter serves as a connection between the elite reading communities that read homilies in collections and the ordinary people who gathered to hear their oral delivery.

The second chapter traces the development of a key phrase that encapsulated late antique debates over Christology. Authors from the fourth through the sixth century paired the miracles of Christ with the sufferings of Christ in order to express their views on the relationship between his divinity and humanity. This phrase appears for the first time in the writings of Amphilochios of Ikonion (c.340/5-after 394). Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorios of Constantinople debated Christ's miracles and sufferings before and after the Council of Ephesus. Pope Leo I (r. 440-61) used this pairing in his *Tome*, a text that was read and highly debated at the Council of Chalcedon. The use of this phrase in the Emperor Zeno's Henotikon made it a point of debate among miaphysite leaders in the early sixth century. As his peers Severos of Antioch and Philoxenos of Mabbug, Jacob of Serugh follows the miaphysite interpretation and acceptance of this edict. This chapter identifies the pairing of miracles and sufferings as a key Christological phrase and surveys its development over a wide range of sources written in Armenian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. Jacob of Serugh's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings firmly links his letters and homilies to this specific debate over Christology.

The third chapter connects Jacob to the Christological debates among his fellow ecclesiastical leaders. The pairing of miracles and sufferings serves as a link between his letters and the activities of his peers. He uses this Christological phrase throughout his epistolary corpus. Three sets of correspondence reveal his concrete actions as a bishop. His correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus features his direct engagement in the debate over the use of the *Henotikon* for expressing Christology. His letter to the military leader Bessas (d. after 554) shows his advocacy for fellow non-Chalcedonians experiencing persecution after the rise of Emperor Justin I. Finally, his letter to the Christian community in Najran in South Arabia shows his coordination of miaphysite Christology with the experience of persecution. This chapter reveals that Jacob engaged directly in debates over Christology and that he presented miaphysite

Christology as an answer to the challenges that non-Chalcedonian communities faced in the aftermath of Chalcedon.

The final three chapters feature detailed explorations of Jacob of Serugh's homilies that expose different approaches necessary to integrate homilies into historical narratives. The fourth chapter addresses the most controversial homily in Jacob's corpus, the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. Recently discovered manuscripts provide a solid basis for viewing this homily as an integral part of his corpus, despite the centuries long debate over its authenticity. The close correspondence of his Christological thought here with that examined in his letters provides an even firmer basis for asserting its authenticity. Although the physical context in which Jacob delivered this homily remains elusive, this chapter demonstrates how scholars can productively interpret it as a text that circulated as a written text among elite reading communities in late antiquity. Two periods of Jacob's life, known from his letters, would have made ideal contexts in which he published this homily as part of a dossier of texts for elite reading communities.

The fifth chapter discusses the manner in which Jacob communicates Christology within the poetic restraints and oral context of his homilies. He preached his *Homily on the Faith* in an educational setting and emphasized a correct understanding of Christology. Three known phrases from the Christological controversies reveal the subtle ways that he weaves miaphysite Christology into his homilies. He quotes a phrase attributed to Nestorios in order to liken his opponents to the defamed archbishop. He draws on an even earlier phrase from the fourth-century Trinitarian controversies in accusing his opponents of worshipping a human. Finally, he uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings to criticize the Christology of his opponents and to promote his own views on Christology. Jacob's transformation of these three phrases reveals how he modifies his expression of Christology in order to teach his theological perspective within the poetic and stylistic expectations of metrical homilies.

The sixth chapter turns to two exegetically focused homilies that show similar connections to this early-sixth-century debate over Christology. These homilies represent ordinary homilies preached during regular liturgical services before broad audiences. The *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (Deut. 18:15–18) features exegesis of Moses as a precursor for Christ. Typological exegesis served as a frequent way for late antique homilists to express their views on Christology through familiar biblical stories. Homilies on the transfiguration—including Jacob's own—suggest that he engaged with intellectual debates in a way that was also accessible to ordinary people. The *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Matt. 16:13–20) treats a passage debated historically and by Jacob's immediate contemporaries Philoxenos and Severos. His interpretation of this passage provides a model confession of Christology for his audience: they should imitate Peter in confessing Christ as the Son of God in a way that agrees with his miaphysite view of Christology.

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Each of these two exegetical homilies features the pairing of miracles and sufferings to explain Jacob's miaphysite view of Christology and to criticize the Christologies of his opponents. The examination of these homilies thus solidifies Jacob's participation in debates over Christology through preaching and his use of homilies to communicate these ideas to broad audiences. The investigation of the use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings among Jacob's peers, in his letters, and in his homilies, provides a model for linking homiletical literature to theological debates that were carried out among elite intellectual communities and communicated to ordinary people.

CONCLUSION

The significance of this study for our understanding of late antique Christianity can be explained in successive levels. First, it is the first monograph-length attempt to situate Jacob of Serugh's homilies within concrete historical situations. His homilies no longer should be seen as works without a context but as works intimately connected to the debates of his time. Second, it reveals the importance of Jacob's corpus for understanding the rise of the Syriac Orthodox Church. His contemporaries Severos and Philoxenos have long been major figures in this narrative. Jacob's corpus too will have a place in subsequent narratives of the emergence of this tradition. Third, it provides an approach to begin situating the thousands of homilies from late antiquity that have resisted efforts at historicization. The methodology of tracing key slogans, such as the pairing of miracles and sufferings, to debates occurring among contemporaneous authors suggests how homilies might be tied to historical situations. Finally, it reveals how homilies operated at multiple levels. Late antique preachers anticipated the circulation of their homilies after their initial oral delivery and crafted their homilies to address the concerns of elite reading communities. Yet they also took care to communicate complex theological concepts to broad audiences. Jacob of Serugh's corpus displays these processes at work. The following examination reveals the possibility of using homilies to reshape intellectual histories of late antiquity and to understand the broad range of society affected by the Christological debates.

The Audience and Readership of Late Antique Homilies

INTRODUCTION

As a *periodeutes* and bishop in the Roman Near East, Jacob of Serugh delivered homilies to a broad range of society. He preached before lay audiences as well as monastic communities. He gave lengthy sermons on the feast days of saints, and he proclaimed homilies on the major celebrations of the liturgical year. None of Jacob's letters assumes a private audience. But his homilies reached

- ¹ In Syriac, several words denote "homily." These include מבילה, מבילה, מבולה, מבילה, and מבילה in Syriac, several words appear to be mostly interchangeable as terms used for homilies despite their distinct etymologies and later usage. The terms for "homily" in Greek and Latin have received greater attention and reveal a similar equivalency. See Joseph Bingham, Origines ecclesiasticae; or the Antiquities of the Christian Church (London, 1850), 2:705–6 (14.4.1); Christine Mohrmann, "Praedicare—Tractare—Sermo: Essai sur la terminologie de la prédication chrétienne," La Maison-Dieu 39 (1954): 97–107; Alexandre Olivar, La predicación cristiana antigua, Biblioteca Herder 189 (Barcelona: Herder, 1991), 487–511; Michele Pellegrino, "Introduction," in Sermons, (1–19) on the Old Testament, by Edmund Hill, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, WSA III/1 (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1990), WSA III/1:13; Thomas N. Hall, "The Early Medieval Sermon," in The Sermon, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 81–3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 203–7.
- ² For monastic homilies, see especially his two *Homilies on the Solitaries* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 4:816–36, 836–71). Scant evidence survives for the composition of Jacob's audiences, as surveyed later. But Jacob does indicate that he preached before a mixed male and female audience at points. See, for example, his direct address to women in the audience in his *Homily on the Commemoration of the Dead and on the End* (ibid., 1:539, 21–540, 1).
- ³ Jacob has over thirty homilies dedicated to saints. See the list in Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 230–2. A frequently cited example is his *Homily on Symeon the Stylite* (Paul Bedjan, ed., *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* [Paris: Harrassowitz, 1890–7], 4:650–65; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Jacob of Serug, Homily on Simeon the Stylite," in *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990], 15–28). His three *Homilies on the Apostle Thomas* refer to one another, suggesting that he delivered them for a major commemoration of this apostle. They may have been delivered over a series of days, perhaps even at the cult site of the saint in Edessa (see *Homilies on the Apostle Thomas* 2:15–16 [Werner Strothmann, ed., *Drei Gedichte über den Apostel Thomas in Indien*, trans. Werner Strothmann, Göttinger Orientforschungen, Syriaca 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 166]; 3:5–6 [ibid., 291]).

⁴ See especially his six prose homilies on festivals in Rilliet, Six homélies festales.

wider audiences in their oral delivery than even an expansive understanding of the circulation of his letters would allow.

Yet homilies had an even greater influence in late antiquity. Extant sermons varyingly underwent processes of oral delivery, transcription, editing, and distribution among reading communities. Written records enabled homilies to influence individuals and communities far from the location and time of their oral delivery. Only by considering their initial delivery and written transmission together will we arrive at an understanding of the role of homilies in late antique discourse.⁵

Scholarship on early Christian homilies has advanced significantly in recent decades. But it has focused primarily on sermons for which the setting of the oral delivery proves discernible. A new approach is necessary for sermons that offer little or no evidence about this setting—including Jacob of Serugh's. To this end, this chapter outlines a theory of audience that moves beyond a narrow consideration of the oral delivery of homilies. It then musters evidence from late antique sources to glimpse both the setting of the delivery of late antique sources and the process of transmission.⁶ The conclusion outlines three implications of granting attention to both the oral delivery and the written transmission of homilies.

ADVANCES IN SCHOLARSHIP ON HOMILIES

Homilies are an underexplored genre of late antique literature. Abundant evidence for late antique preaching remains. John Chrysostom left over eight hundred sermons;⁷ Augustine of Hippo more than five hundred sixty, excluding those incorporated into other works.⁸ Jacob of Serugh's homilies form the

- $^5\,$ Dossey, *Peasant and Empire*, 174, helpfully introduces the concept of a "textual community" to analyze the importance of sermons in Roman North Africa. Her approach compliments the approach I advocate in this chapter.
- ⁶ In these sections, I have compiled many references pertinent to late antique preaching. I have identified many references on my own. But for others, I have greatly benefited from reading other scholarship on this topic. The footnotes attempt to indicate some of my indebtedness to these sources. But the two main sources on which I have drawn are the extensive treatments of preaching in Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticae*, and Olivar, *La predicación*.
- ⁷ Wendy Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom—Provenance: Reshaping the Foundations*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 273 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 2005), 26. She points to Sever J. Voicu, "Pseudo-Giovanni Crisostomo: I confini del corpus," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 39 (1996): 105–7, on the confines of the authentic corpus.
- ⁸ Gert Partoens, Shari Boodts, and Alicia Eelen, "Sermones," in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 473. For a list, see Éric Rebillard, "*Sermones*," in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 774–89; Edmund Hill, trans., *Sermons*, WSA III/1–10 (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1990–5), WSA III/1:138–63. These lists do not include the recently discovered *Erfurt Sermons* (Isabella Schiller, Dorothea Weber, and Clemens Weidmann, "Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten: Teil 1 mit Edition dreier Sermones,"

third largest single-author collection, with between three and four hundred identified to date. His contemporaries Severos of Antioch and Caesarius of Arles (*c*.470–542) have one hundred twenty-five and two hundred thirty-eight attributed to them, respectively. Despite the important evidence that such sermons provide for the history of late antique Christianity, they went "undervalued and largely ignored until the last decade of the twentieth century," as Wendy Mayer states in a recent survey of scholarship. Indeed, Joseph Bingham's study of homilies in the early eighteenth century remained the standard treatment of the subject until Alexandre Olivar published his monumental *La predicación cristiana antigua* in 1991. Homilies have subsequently provoked significant revisions to narratives of the late antique world.

Great strides in methodological approaches followed Olivar's work. ¹⁴ A recent volume on early Christian and Byzantine homilies identified ten approaches to

Wiener Studien 2008, no. 121 [2008]: 227–84; Isabella Schiller, Dorothea Weber, and Clemens Weidmann, "Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten: Teil 2 mit Edition dreier Sermones zum Thema Almosen," Wiener Studien 2009, no. 122 [2009]: 171–213).

- 9 Akhrass, "A List."
- ¹⁰ For a listing of Severos's homilies, see Frédéric Alpi, *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient (512–518)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 188 (Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2009), 1:187–93; Maurice Geerard, ed., *Clavis patrum graecorum*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2003), 3:329–31; Supplement 402–3 (no. 7035). For a listing of Caesarius's homilies, see Germain Morin, ed., *Caesarii Arelatensis opera: Sermones*, 2nd ed., CCSL 103–4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), CCSL 104:1111–30; Eligius Dekkers and Emil Gaar, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, 3rd ed., CCSL (Steenbrugis: In Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995), 329–30 (no. 1008).
- ¹¹ Wendy Mayer, "Homiletics," in *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 565.
- ¹² Bingham, *Órigines ecclesiasticae* (the original appeared in 1708–22); Olivar, *La predicación*. Another important comprehensive study of early Christian preaching with an emphasis on Augustine appears in Pellegrino, "Introduction." The field of medieval sermon studies has been far more active. See especially Phyllis B. Roberts, "Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 43 (1999): 9–18; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 81–3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Anne T. Thayer, "Medieval Sermon Studies since *The Sermon*: A Deepening and Broadening Field," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014): 10–27. A book series from Brepols has also appeared, entitled Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching. Fourteen volumes have been published to date.
- ¹³ Perhaps most prominently, Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 445, states: "Put briefly: I have found the Augustine of the Dolbeau sermons and of the Divjak letters to be considerably less the authoritarian, stern figure that my reading of the evidence available to me in the 1960s had led me to suspect." See Alexandre Olivar, "La aportación de los *sermones* Dolbeau de san Agustín a algunos aspectos formales de la predicación antiqua," in *Augustin Prédicateur (395–411): Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly (5–7 septembre 1996)*, ed. Goulven Madec, Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 159 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 63–71, on the importance of this collection, which was published too late to receive full consideration in his magnum opus.
- ¹⁴ Mayer, "Homiletics", provides a succinct summary of methodological approaches. The popularization of early Christian homilies through compendia and histories of sermons have spurred further interest. For example, see Thomas K. Carroll, ed., *Preaching the Word*, Message of the Fathers of the Church 11 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984); Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, 7 vols. (Grand

understanding sermons.¹⁵ These approaches fit roughly into three categories: (1) content of the sermon, (2) context of the preached sermon, and (3) the life of a homily before and after delivery.¹⁶ The former two categories have received more attention in recent scholarship.

The relative success found in contextualizing the other major corpora of late antique sermons identified above sets Jacob's sermons apart. These challenges relate to prevalent stylistic features of Syriac homilies from the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The majority of extant homilies in Syriac from the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to the start of the reign of Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65) take a metrical form. Two other major collections of Syriac homilies remain from this time: eighty-one homilies attributed to Narsai of Nisibis (c.399–502/7)¹⁷ and just under two hundred homilies that circulated under the name of Isaac of Antioch (c.5th century). Only six homilies out of all three corpora were written in prose. The homilies exhibit many characteristics of oral composition and especially so in comparison to other Syriac poetry from this time.

Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998–2010); David Dunn-Wilson, A Mirror for the Church: Preaching in the First Five Centuries (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005).

- ¹⁵ Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, "Introduction," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, A New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 4–19.
- ¹⁶ The specific approaches included under each category are as follows: (1) Content: genre, rhetoric, subject-matter, and exegesis; (2) Context: identity of the preacher, audience, interaction between preacher and audience, location, dating, and circumstances of delivery; (3) Before and after delivery: preparation, redaction, and transmission.
- ¹⁷ The most recent listing of Narsai's homilies appears in Sebastian P. Brock, "A Guide to Narsai's Homilies," *Hugoye* 12, no. 1 (2009): 21–40.
- ¹⁸ The best listing of these homilies appears in Sebastian P. Brock, "The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai: Index of Incipits," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32, no. 2 (1987): 279–313. On Narsai specifically, see Brock, "Narsai's Homilies." Edward Mathews has begun work on a *Clavis* to Isaac's work. His findings appear in Edward G. Mathews Jr., "A Bibliographical Clavis to the Corpus of Works Attributed to Isaac of Antioch," *Hugoye* 5, no. 1 (2002): 3–14; "The Works Attributed to Isaac of Antioch: A[nother] Preliminary Checklist," *Hugoye* 6, no. 1 (2003): 51–76.

For more information on the three authors whose works circulated together in this corpus, see Edward G. Mathews Jr., "Ishaq of Amid," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 212–13; "Ishaq of Antioch," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 213; "Ishaq of Edessa," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 213. Tanios Bou Mansour, "Une clé pour la distinction des écrits des Isaac d'Antioche," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 79, no. 4 (2003): 365–402, attempts to distinguish between the authors in this corpus.

¹⁹ See Rilliet, Six homélies festales.

On the construction of Jacob's sermons, see Jost G. Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten in Memre von Jacob von Sarug," in IIIo Symposium Syriacum, 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7-11 Septembre 1980), ed. René Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 307-21; Manolis Papoutsakis, "Formulaic Language in the Metrical Homilies of Jacob of Serugh," in Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11-14 August 1996, ed. René Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 256 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1998), 445-51.

Yet the poetic form likely contributed to the dearth of contextual information contained within these sermons. These homilies simply do not contain descriptions of the audience as appear in Basil of Caesarea's (*c*.329–79) *Hexaemeron*,²¹ detailed discussions of contemporary events as in another of Basil's homilies²² or in John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues*,²³ or recorded interruptions of sermons as famously appears in one of the homilies of Augustine of Hippo.²⁴ Poetic homilies in Greek do survive from late antiquity, but they flourished in Syriac.²⁵ This may account for difficulties in contextualizing the setting of their delivery.

For a comparison to other Syriac poetry from this time, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac," in *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 663: "These narrative *memre* are entirely devoid, or almost so, of homiletic asides in the author's voice. This distinguishes them from the much better-known *memre* of Narsai (d. c.500) and Jacob of Serugh (d. 521)."

Basil of Caesarea, Hexaemeron 3.1 (Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg, ed., Homilien zum Hexaemeron, GCS, n.s., 2 [Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997], 39; Agnes Clare Way, trans., Saint Basil: Exegetic Homilies, FOTC 46 [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1963], 37): "But it has not escaped me that many craftsmen of handicraft—who scarcely provide a living for themselves through daily labor—stand around us, who make the speech short for us, so that they might not be dragged away from their labor for a long time" (Åλλὰ γὰρ οὐ λέληθέ με, ὅτι πολλοὶ τεχνῖται τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐργασίας τὴν τροφὴν ἑαντοῖς συμπορίζοντες, περιεστήκασιν ἡμᾶς, οἷ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν συντέμνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀφέλκωνται.).

Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on Detachment from Worldly Things and on the Fire that Occurred Outside the Church* (PG 31:540–64; Mark DelCogliano, trans., *St. Basil the Great: On Christian Doctrine and Practice*, Popular Patristics 47 [Yonkers, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2012], 145–81). I am grateful to Mark DelCogliano for bringing this homily to my attention.

²³ See the discussion of a riot in John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Statues* 2.4 (PG 49:58; NPNF¹ 9:348–9). On the evidence for this riot in Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues* more broadly, see Frans van de Paverd, *St. John Chrysostom, the Homilies on the Statues: An Introduction*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 239 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1991), 19–38; on this homily, 25–6.

²⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermons* 323 (PG 38:1446 Hill, *Sermons*, WSA III/9:163): "While Augustine was saying these things, the people began to call out by the memorial of Saint Stephen: 'Thanks be to God! Praises to Christ!' While the calling out continued, a young woman who was cured was then brought into the apse" (Et cum haec diceret Augustinus, populus de memoria sancti Stephani clamare coepit, Deo gratias! Christo laudes! In quo continuo clamore, puella quae curata est ad absidam perducta est.).

25 Poetic homilies in Greek emerged early, as seen in Melito of Sardis, *Homily on the Pascha* (Stuart George Hall, ed., *Melito of Sardia: On Pascha and Fragments*, trans. Stuart George Hall, Oxford Early Christian Texts [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], 2–60, 3–61). On its style, see Campbell Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis and Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel*, Studies and Documents 12 (London: Christophers, 1940), 20–7. Some studies have appeared on Greek poetic homilies of individual authors: Basil of Seleucia (Friedrich Fenner, *De Basilio Seleuciensi Quaestiones selectae* [Marburg: Bonnensis, 1912]); Ephrem Graecus (Wonmo Suh, "From the Syriac Ephrem to the Greek Ephrem: A Case Study of the Influence of Ephrem's Isosyllabic Sermons (*Memre*) on Greek-speaking Christianity" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000); Ephrem Lash, "Metrical Texts of Greek Ephrem," *Studia Patristica* 35 [2001]: 433–48; Trevor Fiske Crowell, "The Biblical Homilies of Ephraem Graecus" [Ph.D. diss., Catholic Univeristy of America, 2016], 91–102); and Pseudo-John Chrysostom (Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, "Antica omelia metrica εἰς την Χριστοῦ γένναν," *Biblica* 1 [1920]: 75–90).

Information on preaching in late antiquity seems at once abundant and limited. Homilies have survived in greater number than any other genre of Christian writing from this time. Yet they rarely evidence their context of delivery and subsequent transmission. The most significant claim of this monograph for the study of Christianity in late antiquity is that homilies spread knowledge of the Christological controversies to wide audiences. Few studies have appeared on the subject in general.²⁶ Further, only in recent years have scholars started to see the late fifth and early sixth centuries as a productive era for investigating homilies.²⁷ The theories and late antique evidence discussed later offer a new approach to contextualizing Jacob's homilies. It may also prove instructive for

²⁶ For a discussion of homilies during the Christological controversies, see Thomas L. Amos, "Caesarius of Arles, The Medieval Sermon, and Orthodoxy," *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1982): 11–20; Brock, "Reaction"; Michel van Esbroeck, "The Memra on the Parrot by Isaac of Antioch," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 47, no. 2 (1996): 464–76; Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Rosa Maria Parrinello, "Un cas de prédication anti-chalcédonienne: L'Homélie LXI de Sévère d'Antioche (VIe siècle)," in *Preaching and Political Society: From Late Antiquity to the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 47–64.

Several scholars are actively working on the relationship of Augustine's sermons to the Pelagian and Donatist controversies. See especially Anthony Dupont, Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do Different Contexts Furnish Different Insights? Brill's Series in Church History 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Anthony Dupont, Preacher of Grace: A Critical Reappraisal of Augustine's Doctrine of Grace in his Sermones ad Populum on Liturgical Feasts and During the Donatist Controversy, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Dupont has also co-authored a couple studies on this topic: Maarten Wisse and Anthony Dupont, "Nostis qui in schola Christi eruditi estis, Iacob ipsum esse Israel: Sermo 122, In Iohannis euangelium tractatus 7 and the Donatist and Pelagian Controversies," Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum 18, no. 2 (2014): 302–25; Geert Van Reyn and Anthony Dupont, "Why Donatists and Pelagians Really Deny That Christ Has Come in the Flesh: An Argumentative Reading of Augustine's Sermo 183," Augustiniana 65, no. 1–2 (2015): 115–40.

On the Donatist controversy and Augustine's sermons, see the works of Adam Ployd: "The Unity of the Dove: The Sixth Homily on the Gospel of John and Augustine's Trinitarian Solution to the Donatist Schism," *Augustinian Studies* 42, no. 1 (2011): 57–77; "The Power of Baptism: Augustine's Pro-Nicene Response to the Donatists," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22, no. 4 (2014): 519–40; "Pro-Nicene Prosopology and the Church in Augustine's Preaching on John 3:13," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 67, no. 3 (2014): 253–64; *Augustine, the Trinity, and the Church: A Reading of the Anti-Donatist Sermons*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

²⁷ Important recent studies on this topic are Pauline Allen, "Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End of the Beginning?" in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning*? ed. Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys, Byzantina Australiensia 10 (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), 163–75; Mary B. Cunningham, "The Sixth Century: A Turning-Point for Byzantine Homiletics?" in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning*? ed. Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys, Byzantina Australiensia 10 (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), 176–86; Pauline Allen, "The Sixth-century Greek Homily," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, A New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 201–25.

the thousands of anonymous and pseudonymous homilies that have proven hard to contextualize historically.²⁸

A MORE EXPANSIVE AUDIENCE: THEORIES OF ORAL DELIVERY AND TRANSMISSION

All sermons that survive from late antiquity have at least one characteristic in common: someone preserved them in written form. This rather simple observation has great implications for the study of late antique preaching. Renowned homilists knew that their words might reach people beyond the physical space in which they preached. Individuals and communities in the ancient world listened to homilies delivered by preachers and heard them read aloud from manuscripts. A study on twentieth-century preaching has powerfully demonstrated the changes brought by recording and distributing homilies through different technologies to the style, themes, conception, and construction of sermons.²⁹ In this section, I will introduce a theory focused on oral and written communication that provides a framework for considering the effects of the written distribution of homilies on the composition and conception of homilies in late antiquity.

²⁸ For a list of the pseudonymous homilies of Chrysostom, see José Antonio de Aldama, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965). See also the list of his spurious works in Geerard, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, 2:540–672; Supplement 290–347 (no. 4500–5197). For analyses of the corpus and updates to the list, see Hermann Josef Sieben, "Jean Chrysostome (Pseudo-)," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 8 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), 355–62; Voicu, "Pseudo-Giovanni Crisostomo"; Sever J. Voicu, "Johannes Chrysostomus II (Pseudo-Chrysostomica)," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Ernst Dassman, trans. Jürgen Hamerstaedt, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1997), 503–15.

For a list of pseudo-Augustine's homilies, see John J. Machielsen, ed., *Clavis patristica pseude-pigraphorum Medii Aevi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990–2003), 86–562 (no. 450–3387). See also the concordance of these numbers with the numbering system of the *Clavis patrum latinorum* in Dekkers and Gaar, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, 919–22. For discussions of the corpus, see Ferdinand Cavallera, "Augustin (Apocryphes attribués à saint)," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1937), 1130–1; Robert S. Sturgbs, "Pseudo-Augustinian Writings," in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1613.

Studies on both authors already anticipate my approach at situating homilies within the discourse of the time of their creation. For example, see the list of discoveries in Voicu, "Johannes Chrysostomus," and the detailed study in Eric Leland Saak, *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 81–138.

²⁹ This study is concerned with Islamic sermons in the twentieth century and especially the effects of tape recordings on the preachers and consumers of sermons. See especially, Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*, Cultures of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 10, 47–9, 56–60, 108–16, and 143–72. I am grateful to Adam Becker for drawing my attention to this work.

Jacob of Serugh's homilies show evidence of oral composition. Manolis Papoutsakis's study of the formulaic language in his homilies has shown their affinities with the orality of Homeric verse. As other late antique homilists, Jacob either composed his homilies extemporaneously or memorized portions of them before their delivery. Yet none of the homilies discussed below permits the identification of the precise context of its oral delivery. A different approach is necessary to contextualize these homilies historically. This section explores theoretical approaches to reframe the question of audience. We will not arrive at a new definition of audience. Rather we will claim the meaning of audience that has been in common English usage for centuries. When we explore the audience of a homily, we should consider not only the individuals gathered before a preacher, but also as those who encountered sermons read from manuscripts. In short, the term audience comprises both the "assembled listeners" as well as the "readership." **

In the 1980s, Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford developed a complex understanding of audience that offers a richer approach to late antique sermons.³² Given the over thirty intervening years, it is worth noting that their understanding of audience has largely stood the test of time within their field of rhetoric and communication studies.³³ Ede and Lunsford's theory draws on a distinction between a physical audience and an imagined audience.³⁴ They call the physical audience "audience addressed" and the imagined audience "audience

³⁰ Manolis Papoutsakis, "Formulaic Language." See also Frédéric Rilliet, "Rhétorique et style a l'époque de Jacques de Saroug," in *IV Symposium Syriacum, 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature: (Groningen, Oosterhesselen 10–12 September*), ed. Hans J. W. Drijvers et al., Orientalia Christiana Analecta 229 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 289–95.

³¹ "audience, n.," in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, 2016), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/I3022. Both definitions fall under a common definition of "A body of hearers, spectators, etc." The first definition of "assembled listener" appears before 1387 (II.a), the second of "readership" as early as 1760 (II.b).

³² Lisa Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford, "Audience Addressed/Audience Invoked: The Role of Audience in Composition Theory and Pedagogy," *College Composition and Communication* 35, no. 2 (1984): 155–71.

³³ See their own evaluations of their theory in Andrea A. Lunsford and Lisa Ede, "Representing Audience: Successful' Discourse and Disciplinary Critique," *College Composition and Communication* 47, no. 2 (1996): 167–79, and Lisa Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford, "Among the Audience: On Audience in an Age of New Literacies," in *Engaging Audience: Writing in an Age of New Literacies*, ed. M. Elizabeth Weiser, Brian Fehler, and Angela M. González (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 2009), 42–69. The editors of a recent volume on their work highlight the dominance of their theory, with these sociological modifications, since 1992: M. Elizabeth Weiser, Brian Fehler, and Angela M. González, eds., "Preface," in *Engaging Audience: Writing in an Age of New Literacies* (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 2009), ix–xv.

³⁴ Ede and Lunsford were responding to the distinction between oral and written communication as described by Walter Ong, as expressed especially in "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 90 (1975): 9–21. For the place of their article in audience research, see Lisa Ede, "Audience: An Introduction to Research," *College Composition and Communication* 35, no. 2 (1984): 140–54. Other important responses to Ong include Russell C. Long, "Writer–Audience Relationships: Analysis or Invention?" *College Composition and Communication* 31, no. 2 (1980): 221–26; Douglas B. Park, "The Meanings of

invoked."³⁵ For oral communication, the audience addressed is the same as the physical audience. The audience invoked of oral communication is all whom the orator considers when speaking. For written communication, the audience addressed is the individuals or communities that will directly receive the written text. The audience invoked of written communication is again all whom the author considers while writing. ³⁶ The distinction between audience addressed and audience invoked thus pushes beyond a limited sense of audience being the individuals who will immediately receive a spoken or written communication.

Ede and Lunsford define audience in a way that distinguishes audience addressed and audience invoked: "the term audience refers not just to the intended, actual, or eventual readers of a discourse, but to all those whose image, ideas, or actions influence a writer during the process of composition."37 The first part of this definition—the "intended, actual, [and] eventual readers" points to the value of their understanding of audience for historical investigations of texts delivered orally. Even when the "intended" audience of a homily cannot be determined, it still may be possible to consider the "actual" or "eventual" readership that preachers anticipated would encounter their words. The second part of the definition—"all those whose image, ideas, or actions influence a writer"—presents difficulties for historical investigation. We do not usually have access to information about the image, ideas, or actions that influenced homilists as they preached. Yet the emphasis on the reciprocity between the writer and their diverse audiences suggests the importance of their theory for understanding late antique sermons. Homilists may have chosen to include or exclude information in their sermons in anticipation—or under the influence—of the readership that would later encounter their words. The audience of late antique homilies not only refers to the people gathered to hear the sermon delivered orally but also includes any who might influence the content of the delivery. This offers a far richer and more complex understanding of audience with which to approach late antique homilies.

Rhetorical theories of audience can help explain the presence of detailed discussions of theological concepts in late antique homilies.³⁸ Sermon studies

'Audience,' "College English 44, no. 3 (1982): 247–57; Peter Elbow, "Closing My Eyes as I Speak: An Argument for Ignoring Audience," College English 49, no. 1 (1987): 50–69.

³⁵ Ede and Lunsford, "Audience Addressed/Audience Invoked," 56, 60.

³⁶ Ibid., 161. ³⁷ Ibid, 168.

³⁸ The emphasis on the dynamic between orality and literacy in Thomas L. Amos, "Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience," in *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 juillet 1992)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales: Textes, études, congrès 14 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 1993), 1–14, parallels my own approach. Similarly, Carol Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), imagines a context in which several conversations are occurring simultaneously in the delivery of a homily.

in the modern period have regularly engaged theories of audience, yet found them consistently wanting due to a strong emphasis on differences between oral and literate cultures.³⁹ Ede and Lunsford's theory could provide a helpful antidote to the lack these authors have found. When a late antique preacher delivered a sermon, his audience did not just comprise those standing before him. It also included those who would encounter the homily in manuscripts, namely, fellow ecclesiastical leaders, monastic communities, and perhaps even local and imperial political administrators. His audience was manifold, regardless of those physically present. Some audiences did not demand detailed discussions of theological matters. But late antique preachers answered to several audiences.

Building on Ede and Lunsford, later theoretical studies of audience emphasized the social location and community of discourse of orators and writers. 40 As explored in the introduction, Syriac intellectual culture flourished during Jacob's lifetime. The fifth and sixth centuries saw an increase in the production of manuscripts, reflection on translation technique, attribution of authority to Syriac authors, and stylistic development. It was in this literary culture that Jacob of Serugh's homilies first circulated. The concerns of this audience—these readers—comprised one community that informed Jacob's delivery of his sermons.

The transmission of homilies in manuscripts permits an entry point into one such community. ⁴¹ My interpretation of these manuscripts as witnesses to the concerns of this community draws on two developments in research on ancient

³⁹ Namely, these studies have found Walter Ong's theory of audience helpful yet inadequate. See, among others, Matt Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 5–6; Robert Howard Ellison, "Orality-Literacy Theory and the Victorian Sermon" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1995); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences*, 1590–1640, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 55–9; Meredith Marie Neuman, *Jeremiah's Scribes: Creating Sermon Literature in Puritan New England*, Material Texts (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 63–4; Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 192–4.

⁴⁰ Douglas B. Park, "Analyzing Audiences," *College Composition and Communication* 37, no. 4 (1986): 478–88; Martin Allor, "Relocating the Site of the Audience," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5, no. 3 (1988): 217–33 (see also the responses to his article and his reply that follow); Gesa Kirsch and Duane H. Roen, *A Sense of Audience in Written Communication*, Written Communication Annual 5 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990) (especially the ten chapters in part one); Jack Selzer, "More Meanings of Audience," in *A Rhetoric of Doing: Essays on Written Discourse in Honor of James L. Kinneavy*, ed. Stephen P. Witte, Neil Nakadate, and Roger Dennis Cherry (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 161–77; James E Porter, *Audience and Rhetoric: An Archaeological Composition of the Discourse Community*, Prentice Hall Studies in Writing and Culture (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992); Mary Jo Reiff, "Rereading 'Invoked' and 'Addressed' Readers through a Social Lens: Toward a Recognition of Multiple Audiences," *Journal of Advanced Composition* 16, no. 3 (1996): 407–24.

⁴¹ For a historical treatment of the coordination of audience studies and manuscripts, see Joyce Coleman, "Audience," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner, Wiley-Blackwell Critical Theory Handbooks (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2013), 155–70.

manuscripts. First, attention to the ordering of works along with marginalia and colophons has revealed the concerns of the reading communities that produced and used manuscripts. ⁴² In Chapters 4 through 6, I employ this approach to consider how Jacob's early readers classified his homilies and to discern their interests. Second, William Johnson's application of the sociology of reading to antiquity has sparked new approaches to ancient manuscripts. ⁴³ His insights have inspired scholars of early Christianity to explore manuscripts not only for textual information but also for understanding the reading communities that developed around these texts and manuscripts. ⁴⁴ Attention to the transmission of Jacob's homilies and their material distribution can help reconstruct early reading communities of his homilies.

This section has highlighted a new understanding of audience that will help transcend the limitations on our knowledge of Jacob of Serugh's physical audience. On Ede and Lunsford's theory, the audience of a late antique homilist extends well beyond his audience addressed, that is, the individuals physically gathered before him. His ecclesiastical peers, monastic communities, as well as local and imperial political leaders formed part of his audience invoked. ⁴⁵ This

- ⁴² Michael A. Williams, "Interpreting the Nag Hammadi Library as 'Collection(s)' in the History of 'Gnosticism(s),'" in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification: Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Anne Pasquier, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Études" 3 (Quebec: Les presses de l'Université Laval; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 3–50; Lance Jenott and Michael A. Williams, "Inside the Covers of Codex VI," in *Coptica—Gnostica—Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi: Études 7 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 1025–52; Michael Kaler, "The Prayer of the Apostle Paul in the Context of Nag Hammadi Codex I," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, no. 3 (2008): 319–39; Lance Jenott and Elaine Pagels, "Antony's Letters and Nag Hammadi Codex I: Sources of Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18, no. 4 (2010): 557–89; Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "From Russia with Love: Deciphering Augustine's Code," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22, no. 1 (2014): 1–20; Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).
- ⁴³ William A. Johnson, "Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity," *American Journal of Philology* 121 (2000): 593–627; William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 44 Catherine Burris, "The Syriac Book of Women: Text and Metatext," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran, CUA Studies in Early Christianity (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 86–98; Daniel King, "Origenism in Sixthcentury Syria: The Case of a Syriac Manuscript of Pagan Philosophy," in *Origenes und sein Erbe in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Alfons Fürst (Münster: Aschendorff, 2011), 179–212; Larry W. Hurtado, "Manuscripts and the Sociology of Early Christian Reading," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 49–62; Rebecca Krawiec, "Monastic Literacy in John Cassian: Toward a New Sublimity," *Church History* 81, no. 4 (2012): 765–95. For an application of Johnson's insights to a Syriac biblical manuscript, see Philip Michael Forness, "Narrating History through the Bible in Late Antiquity: A Reading Community for the Syriac Peshitta Old Testament Manuscript in Milan (Ambrosian Library, B. 21 inf.)," *Le Muséon* 127, no. 1–2 (2014): 41–76.
- ⁴⁵ Wendy Mayer's exploration of the importance that John Chrysostom attached to the responsibility of a bishop to preach anticipates a broader understanding of audience. See Wendy Mayer,

richer understanding of audience can help contextualize Jacob's homilies historically, when due attention is granted to his audience addressed as well as to his audience invoked.

AUDIENCE ADDRESSED: THE ORAL DELIVERY OF JACOB'S HOMILIES

As noted above, recent methodological approaches to homilies have centered on the context of the original delivery of homilies or, to use Ede and Lunsford's model, the setting in which the audience addressed encountered these homilies. Yet many—perhaps most—homilies from late antiquity do not permit this type of analysis. This section explores the possibility of identifying the context of the oral delivery of Jacob's homilies from four different approaches: (1) composition of audience, (2) location, (3) dating, and (4) circumstances of delivery.

Composition of Audience

The composition of the audiences of homilies has served as a focal point in recent scholarship. Indeed, an entire volume dedicated to the audiences of early Christian and Byzantine homilies has appeared. ⁴⁶ Olivar discusses evidence for the audience of most of the major preachers from late antiquity. ⁴⁷ Detailed analyses have appeared on the great homiletical collections of Chrysostom ⁴⁸ and

"At Constantinople, How Often Did John Chrysostom Preach? Addressing Assumptions about the Workload of a Bishop," *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001): 83–105; Wendy Mayer, "John Chrysostom as Crisis Manager: The Years in Constantinople," in *Ancient Jewish and Christian Texts as Crisis Management Literature: Thematic Studies from the Centre for Early Christian Studies*, ed. David Sim and Pauline Allen, The Library of New Testament Studies 445 (London: T & T Clark, 2012), 136–42.

⁴⁶ Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, eds., *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, A New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). Although it mostly addresses a later time period, Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, A New History of the Sermon 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), provides a useful point of comparison.

⁴⁷ Olivar, *La predicación*, 761–70, discusses this topic in relation to the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Augustine of Hippo, Severos of Antioch, and Sophronios of Jerusalem.

⁴⁸ Ramsay MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience (AD 350–400)," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 40, no. 2 (1989): 503–11; Pauline Allen, "John Chrysostom's Homilies on I and II Thessalonians: The Preacher and his Audience," *Studia Patristica* 31 (1996): 3–21; Wendy Mayer, "John Chrysostom: Extraordinary Preacher, Ordinary Audience," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, A New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 105–37; Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London: Routledge, 2000), 34–40; Maxwell, *Christianization*, 65–87.

Augustine.⁴⁹ The sermons of Jacob's contemporary, Severos of Antioch, provide ample details for understanding his audience.⁵⁰ Further, Jacob's younger contemporary Caesarius of Arles specifies the audience of particular sermons several times in his corpus.⁵¹ Not all sermons permit investigations of this audience. But, in general, the composition of the audience addressed for the major single-author collections of homilies have proven amenable to such inquiries.

Despite the breadth of Jacob's corpus, difficulties persist in identifying the composition of his audience addressed. In an article on this subject, Susan Ashbrook Harvey acknowledges at the outset that historians "must strain to find any hint of historical setting, place, or event; any references to the turbulence and tumult indelibly woven into the times in which Jacob lived." Harvey works back from Jacob's allusions to audience members in his admonitions, descriptions of church life, and illustrations of biblical passages, to provide a glimpse of his congregation. She argues that he addressed an audience consisting of lay and monastic individuals from a variety of backgrounds. Her analysis points to the remarkable quotidian character of Jacob's sermons despite a chaotic ecclesiastical context. The discussions of specific homilies in the final

- ⁴⁹ Pellegrino, "Introduction," WSA III/1:84–93; Richard Klein, "Arm und Reich: Auskünfte und Stellungnahme Augustins zur Sozialstruktur der Gemeinden in den neuen Predigten," in Augustin Prédicateur (395–411): Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly (5–7 septembre 1996), ed. Goulven Madec, Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 159 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 481–91; George Lawless, "Preaching," in Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia, ed. Allan Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 676; Dossey, Peasant and Empire, 147–72; Paul R. Kolbet, Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 17 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 167–209; Hildegund Müller, "Preacher: Augustine and his Congregation," in A Companion to Augustine, ed. Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World: Ancient History (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012), 297–309.
- ⁵⁰ Pauline Allen, "Severus of Antioch as a Source for Lay Piety in Late Antiquity," in *Historiam Perscrutari: Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato*, ed. Mario Maritano (Rome: LAS, 2002), 711–21.
- 51 William E. Klingshirn, Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 146–51, and Bernadette Filotas, Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 58n162, who provides a convenient summary of the specified audiences of his homilies. See also Amos, "Early Medieval Sermons." Caesarius himself comments on the audience of his homilies in Caesarius of Arles, Sermons 2 (Morin, Caesarii Arelatensis opera: Sermones, CCSL 103:18; Mary Magdeleine Mueller, trans., Caesarius of Arles: Sermons, FOTC 31, 47, 66 [New York: Fathers of the Church, 1956–73], FOTC 31:25): "in this little book we have written simple admonitions that are necessary for parishes, which holy priests or deacons should read on the major festivals to the people entrusted to them" (admonitiones simplices parochiis necessarias in hoc libello conscripsimus, quas in festivitatibus maioribus sancti presbyteri vel diacones debeant commissis sibi populis recitare).

⁵² Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "To Whom Did Jacob Preach?" in *Jacob of Serugh and his Times:* Studies in Sixth-century Syriac Christianity, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 117.

⁵³ See especially the description on ibid., 130.

three chapters grant some insight into the listening audiences that heard Jacob deliver his sermons. But no individual sermon furnishes enough information to determine who precisely comprised the physical audience.

Location

The location in which homilists delivered their sermons likewise has garnered much attention. Scholars have found great success in identifying the provenance of many homilies that Chrysostom, Augustine, and Severos preached.⁵⁴ Although these preachers delivered sermons outside of their cities and occasionally their regions, they each preached in known locations for long periods of time. Chrysostom's sermons come both from his time as priest in Antioch (386-98) and as bishop at Constantinople (398-404);⁵⁵ Augustine's from his time as priest (391-5) and bishop (395-430) at Hippo;⁵⁶ and Severos's from his tenure as Patriarch of Antioch (512-18).⁵⁷ Yet, Wendy Mayer's detailed treatment of the provenance of Chrysostom's homilies has called into question the confidence with which the location in which Chrysostom delivered individual homilies can be known. She developed criteria of differing weights for future scholars to approach questions of location.⁵⁸ Her study demonstrates how difficult it is to identify the location of any sermon with certainty. The situation proves more complicated for Jacob whose homiletical corpus mostly comes from a time when his ecclesiastical post required preaching in a variety of locations.

The first historical reference to Jacob of Serugh indicates that he held the rank of *periodeutes* ($\pi\epsilon\rho\iotao\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\dot{\eta}s$; Δ as as early as 503. ⁵⁹ He remained in this position until he became bishop in Batnae of Serugh in 518 or 519. ⁶⁰ The

⁵⁴ Mayer, *The Homilies*, 511–12; Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de Saint Augustin*, Instrumenta patristica 12 (Steenbrugge: In Abbatia S. Petri, 1976), 53–196; Pellegrino, "Introduction," WSA III/1:22–3; Alpi, *La route royale*, 1:187–93.

⁵⁵ See the various attempts to identify the location in which Chrysostom delivered his homilies in Mayer, *The Homilies*, 259–70.

⁵⁸ Mayer, *The Homilies*, 465–8, provides a summary of the criteria.

⁵⁹ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 54 (Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum*, CSCO 91, SS 43:280–1; Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 32:63–4).

Two chronicles, both which precede the *Narrative*, report that he died two and a half years after becoming bishop, giving the date of *c*.520 for his death. See *Chronicle to the Year 819* (Chabot, *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon*, CSCO 81, SS 36:8), and Elijah of Nisibis, *Chronography* (Brooks and Chabot, *Opus chronologicum*, CSCO 62, SS 21:118).

rank of *periodeutes* first appears in a conciliar canon from the late fourth century: "That it is not necessary to appoint bishops in villages and country regions, but rather *periodeutai*." Syriac regulations attributed to Rabbula of Edessa (d. 435/6) continue to assume that *periodeutai* visit communities as part of their office: "The *periodeutai*, priests, or deacons, should not stay in guest-chambers or an inn when they enter a city. They should rather stay in a guesthouse of the church or monasteries outside." These regulations circulated in the sixth century, and both hagiographical and inscriptional evidence points to the persistence of this rank in the Roman Near East during this century. As a *periodeutes*—the rank Jacob held for the majority of his career—the precise locations in which he delivered sermons remains nearly impossible to identify.

Dating

The dating of Jacob's homilies proves equally difficult. Many homilies by Chrysostom, Augustine, and Severos have proven datable based on contextual factors and notes by scribes. ⁶⁵ Internal evidence helps date at least a couple of Jacob's homilies. Jacob composed two homilies on the siege of the city of Amida that took place from 502 to 503. ⁶⁶ The *Homily on the Destruction of*

- ⁶¹ Canons of the Council of Laodikeia (Friedrich Lauchert, ed., Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien, nebst den Apostolischen Kanones [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896], 78): "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἢ ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς. This council was held sometime between 360 and 365.
- ⁶² Commands and Admonitions for Priests and Sons of the Covenant of Mar Rabbula 22 (Arthur Vööbus, Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 11 [Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1960], 42):
- کہ ندوں کے عالم کا بھائیں۔ مقعدی ہم و حد تحدید میں دعاتہ ہم وجہ لوئی دی الدیالی الحدید کہ کہ اللہ میں کہ المدی عالم حصدہ میں المدانی، ہم دریا اللہ المدانہ
- ⁶³ London, British Library, Add. 14652, fol. 125r–31r, contains this text and is dated to the sixth century based on its script (William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* [London, 1870–2], 2:651).
- ⁶⁴ Sabine Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 15 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 64–5; Philip Wood, "The Chorepiscopoi and Controversies over Orthopraxy in Sixth-century Mesopotamia," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 3 (2012): 446–57.
- ⁶⁵ For Chrysostom, see the various proposals for dates in Mayer, *The Homilies*, 259–70, and the specific dating of the *Homilies on the Statues* in Paverd, *Homilies on the Statues*, 363–4. For Augustine, see Rebillard, "*Sermones*," 774–89; Pellegrino, "Introduction," WSA III/1:21–2; Hill, *Sermons*, WSA III/1:139–63. For Severos, see Alpi, *La route royale*, 1:187–93.
- 66 On the siege, see Geoffrey Greatrex and Samuel N. C. Lieu, eds., *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, Part II: AD 363–630: A Narrative Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2002), 63–9; Muriel Debié, "Du grec en syriaque: La transmission de la prise d'Amid (502) dans l'historiographie byzantine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96, no. 2 (2003): 601–22; Noel Emmanuel Lenski, "Two Sieges of Amida (AD 359 and 502–3) and the Experience of Combat in the Late Roman Near East," in *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Proceedings*

Amida⁶⁷ and the Homily on the Shrine⁶⁸ of Mar Stephen the Martyr which the Persians made into a Fire Temple when they Entered Amida⁶⁹ must have been delivered after the siege. I have not located another homily on a contemporary event in Jacob's corpus.

External evidence also hands down the titles of the first and last of his homilies. Two short biographies and a panegyric on Jacob suggest that his first homily was the *Homily on the Chariot that Ezekiel Saw.*⁷⁰ One of these biographies indicates that the unfinished *Homily on Mary and Golgotha* was his last.⁷¹ Perhaps as a result, the *Homily on the Chariot that Ezekiel Saw* regularly appears as the first in collections of Jacob's homilies in manuscripts dating from the twelfth century and later.⁷² The title for this homily in one such manuscript

of a Colloquium Held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005), ed. Ariel S. Lewin and Pietrina Pellegrini, BAR International Series 1717 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 219–36; Geoffrey Greatrex, "Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the Siege of Amida and its Aftermath (502–6)," in Commutatio et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East in Memory of Zeev Rubin, ed. Henning Börm and Josef Wiesehöfer (Düsseldorf: Wellem Verlag, 2010), 227–51.

⁶⁷ Akhrass, "A List," 145: בל עסוֹכיה האכעו. This homily has recently been published in Akhrass and Syryany, eds., *160 Unpublished Homilies*, 2:344–51.

وه "Shrine" (حنه) could also be translated as "Church" or even "Martyrion." Jacob uses this word to draw a contrast with the "fire temple" (حنه المنة) for which he also uses this word. The archaeological investigations of Amida (modern-day Diyarbakır, Turkey) do not provide additional help in this regard (see Max van Berchem, Josef Strzygowski, and Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell, *Amida* [Heidelberg: Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910]). I am grateful to Muriel Debié for discussing the translation of the homily with me.

⁷¹ Narrative of Mar Jacob, the Divine Teacher (Abbeloos, De vita et scriptis, 312; Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 238): "The last homily that he composed, but did not complete, [was] On Mary and Golgatha" (.כאספוֹר).

This homily appears in seventeen manuscripts listed in Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*. Of these, it appears as the first homily in eight. See Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Syr. 100 (1900); Damascus, Syrian Patriarchate, 12/15 (1156); Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Kilisesi, 3 (1200–1300); Hah, Monastery of Mar Sargis (16th/17th century); Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Syr. 39 (1905); Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 131 (12th/13th century); Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 133 (18th century); Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117 (13th century).

specifies that this was his first homily.⁷³ The manuscript that contains the *Homily on Mary and Golgotha* makes a similar claim about this homily being Jacob's last.⁷⁴ If we can trust such evidence, it may provide clues for dating a limited number of Jacob's homilies.

The difficulties encountered by editors of Jacob's homilies do not bode well for dating a larger swath of his homilies. Some modern editors of his works have not ventured to date them at all.⁷⁵ Frédéric Rilliet noted the difficulty of attempting to date Jacob's six prose homilies in his edition due to the static nature of the subject matter of biblical and catechetical materials.⁷⁶ Khalil Alwan and Micheline Albert have relied on less secure grounds to suggest dating. Alwan dates one of the homilies on creation based on a vague reference to correct belief, which he assumes is the *Henotikon*, and another based on a reference to the shaking of the world, which he understands as a reference to a known earthquake.⁷⁷ Albert dates a set of homilies according to the absence of any reference to the invasion of the city of Edessa and the length of the homily.⁷⁸ Thus, even in these detailed explorations of individual homilies, dating has found limited success. Only a broad timeframe for the dating of his homilies seems possible.

Circumstances of Delivery

A final approach to contextualization has considered the circumstances of delivery, and particularly the liturgy.⁷⁹ Tanios Bou Mansour first addressed the liturgical setting of Jacob's homilies in an article on his representation of the

- The full title of this homily in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 566, fol. 320v, is: "The Homily on Mary and Golgatha, which holy Mar Jacob spoke at the end of his life without completing it, because his departure was near. The scribes write it at the end of the collections of his homilies" (בניב, בעל הייב, בל בייב, בלייב, בל בייב, בלייב, בל בייב, בלייב, ב
- ⁷⁵ Werner Strothmann, ed., *Der Prophet Hosea*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, Syriaca 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973); Strothmann, *Drei Gedichte*; Joseph P. Amar, ed., *A Metrical Homily on Holy Mar Ephrem by Mar Jacob of Sarug*, trans. Joseph P. Amar, PO 47.1 (209) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
 - ⁷⁶ Rilliet, Six homélies festales, PO 43.4:23.
- ⁷⁷ Khalil Alwan, ed., *Jacques de Saroug: Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, trans. Khalil Alwan, CSCO 508–9, SS 214–15 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), CSCO 509, SS 215:xxiii–xxv.
- ⁷⁸ Micheline Albert, ed., *Jacques de Saroug: Homélies contre les Juifs*, trans. Micheline Albert, PO 38.1 (174) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 23.
- ⁷⁹ On this topic in general, see Olivar, *La predicación*, 515–27, 641–69; Hans Georg Thümmel, "Materialien zum liturgischen Ort der Predigt in der Alten Kirche," in *Predigt in der alten Kirche*, ed. Ekkehard Mühlenberg and J. van Oort, Studien der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft 3 (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1994), 115–22. Frans van de Paverd uses knowledge of the liturgical setting to interpret homilies to great effect in his *Homilies on the Statues*, 161–201.

Eucharist. He investigates the theological imagery and terminology associated with this part of the liturgy. Susan Ashbrook Harvey similarly pointed to the value of exploring the liturgical setting in her chapter on Jacob's audience. More recently, Harvey has situated his homilies within a liturgical setting to understand the moral formation of his audience. So he outlines Jacob's attention to "sound" within liturgical settings, as he instructs his audience both to listen and to sing. As she concludes: "The believing community sounded forth a performance that proclaimed God's salvific work enacted within their own midst, in them, through them, and by them."

The contextualization of Jacob's homilies within the liturgy remains an understudied topic. Certainly, more could be said. One approach may be to take the studies on the Eucharistic liturgy attested in the homilies of Narsai as guides. Another may be to investigate homilies that correspond to special feasts in the church year. Jacob's *Homily on the Creation of the World*, stretching to over three thousand lines, may very well have been delivered during the time around Easter in accordance with the developing tradition of Hexaemeral homilies. *5

Classic treatments of the genre include Frank Egleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1912), and E. Mangenot, "Hexaméron," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, vol. 6 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903), 2325–54. More recent treatments of the genre as a whole are Jaroslav Pelikan, *What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem?* Timaeus *and Genesis in Counterpoint*, Jerome Lectures 21 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997), and Peter

⁸⁰ Tanios Bou Mansour, "L'Eucharistie chez Jacques de Saroug," *Parole de l'Orient* 17 (1992): 37–59. Bou Mansour reprinted this article and added sections on marriage, the priesthood, baptism in Tanios Bou Mansour, *La théologie de Jacques de Saroug*, Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit 36, 40 (Kaslik, Lebanon: Université Saint-Esprit, 1993–2000), 1:215–305.

⁸¹ Harvey, "To Whom Did Jacob Preach?" 120. A couple of his homilies bear the title of *Homily on the Reception of the Mysteries*. Harvey refers to the one that appears in Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:646–63.

⁸² Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Liturgy and Ethics in Ancient Syriac Christianity: Two Paradigms," *Studies in Christian Ethics* 26, no. 3 (2013): 308–16.

⁸³ Ibid., 316.

⁸⁴ Amir Harrak has made two contributions to this end: Amir Harrak, "The Syriac Orthodox Celebration of the Eucharist in Light of Jacob of Serugh's *Mimrō* 95," in *Jacob of Serugh and his Times*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 91–113; Amir Harrak, trans., *Jacob of Sarug's Homily on the Partaking of the Holy Mysteries*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 19, The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug 17 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013). For Narsai, see Edward Craddock Ratcliff, "A Note on the Anaphoras Described in the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. James Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963), 235–49; Bryan Douglas Spinks, "A Note on the Anaphora Outlined in Narsai's Homily XXXI," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 31, no. 1 (1980): 82–93.

se Tacko of Serugh, Homily on the Creation of the World (Bedjan, Homiliae, 3:1–151). Hexaemeral literature has a long tradition in Greek and Latin. On Jacob's Homily on the Creation of the World, see Tacke Jansma, "L'hexaméron de Jacques de Sarûg," trans. Louis-Marcel Gauthier, L'Orient Syrien 4 (1959): 3–42, 129–62, 253–84; Erik ten Napel, "Some Notes on the Hexaemeral Literature in Syriac," in IV Symposium Syriacum, 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature: (Groningen, Oosterhesselen 10–12 September), ed. Hans J. W. Drijvers et al., Orientalia Christiana Analecta 229 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 62–3; Behnam M. Boulos Sony, ed., Esamerone: I sei giorni della creazione, trans. Behnam M. Boulos Sony (Rome: Guaraldi, 2011).

His set of three *Homilies on the Apostle Thomas*, which contain internal references to each other, would fit a festal celebration of this saint well.⁸⁶ For the homilies investigated in Chapters 4 through 6, such settings prove difficult to determine. But, at the outset, it is important to mark it as one approach at contextualizing his homilies that has found some success and has further potential. We can proceed noting that the variety of settings in which Jacob delivered his sermons points to diverse audiences.

Summary

Contextual information has proven invaluable to link particular homilies to specific historical events, offering nuanced understandings of how preachers addressed real situations before particular audiences. David Hunter's investigation of Chrysostom's twenty-one *Homilies on the Statues* serves as an excellent example. Chrysostom delivered these sermons during the season of Lent in 387 to the congregation in Antioch that he had served as priest since 386. Knowledge of the audience, provenance, and dating allow Hunter to show that Chrysostom used the pulpit to engage in polemic against his former teacher Libanios (314-c.393). 87

Although these factors have led to significant insights in research on other major collections of homilies from late antiquity, significant obstacles stand in the way of identifying any of them in Jacob of Serugh's corpus. The available evidence suggests that he had diverse audiences, preached throughout a broad geographical area over a long career, and delivered homilies in a variety of liturgical settings. This is significant because it demonstrates that Jacob preached before a large number of people. His ecclesiastical position and perhaps his fame as a preacher offered many opportunities for him to spread theological doctrine throughout the Roman Near East. In the discussions of individual homilies that appear in Chapters 4 through 6, we will consider the context of the oral delivery as much as possible. But the importance of homilies for late antique discourse extends further.

C. Bouteneff, Ancient Christian Readings of the Biblical Creation Narratives (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008). Of these, only Mangenot, "Hexaméron," 2335–7, mentions Syriac authors. Basil of Caesarea's Hexaemeron appears in a fifth-century Syriac manuscript: London, British Library, Add. 17143, fol. 1r–12r (Robert W. Thomson, ed., The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea, trans. Robert W. Thomson, CSCO 550–1, SS 222–3 [Leuven: Peeters, 1995], CSCO 550, SS 222:v–vi; Wright, Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, 3:416). This indicates the early transmission of this tradition into Syriac.

 $^{^{86}}$ Jacob of Serugh, $Homilies\ on\ the\ Apostle\ Thomas\ 2:15–16\ (Strothmann,\ Drei\ Gedichte,\ 166);\ 3:5–6\ (ibid.,\ 291).$

⁸⁷ David G. Hunter, "Preaching and Propaganda in Fourth-century Antioch: John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues*," in *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Studies in Honor of Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.*, ed. David G. Hunter (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 119–38.

AUDIENCE INVOKED: THE TRANSMISSION OF JACOB'S HOMILIES

A process of transmission with several stages stand between a homily's initial delivery and its survival in manuscripts and printed editions today. Practices attested throughout the late antique Mediterranean suggest a sequence of events needed for a homily to be preserved in written form. Renowned late antique preachers, such as Jacob, sometimes assumed active roles in this process; other times it occurred without their authorization. In either case, they anticipated the distribution of sermons beyond the setting of their initial delivery. Observing this process thus allows us to see whom they expected to encounter their homilies after oral delivery, that is, one part of their audience invoked.⁸⁸

Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin recently explored this process of transmission. An idealized schematic of the process of transmission involves six stages:

- 1) preliminary sketches and drafts,
- 2) a prepared text written in advance and learned by heart,
- 3) a stenographic record of the words as they were uttered (written in shorthand signs or $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}a$),
- 4) a transcript of the stenographic record into ordinary script,
- 5) the first edited version prepared for copying by scribes and subsequent distribution.
- 6) later handwritten editions.89

The realities on the ground were certainly more complex. Some preachers received rhetorical training that facilitated delivering sermons extemporaneously, thus eliminating the need for the first two stages.⁹⁰ A tradition of model

⁸⁸ The discussion of "implied audience" in Rachel Anisfeld, "Rabbinic Preachers and their Audiences in the Amoraic Midrashim Pesikta deRav Kahana and Leviticus Rabbah: The Development of Homiletical Midrash in its Late Antique Historical-Cultural Context" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 277–329, parallels in several ways the audience invoked.

⁸⁹ Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin, "Preaching as the Audience Heard It: Unedited Transcripts of Patristic Homilies," *Studia Patristica* 64 (2013): 278. See also Olivar, *La predicación*, 902–44.

⁹⁰ In addition to the discussion of evidence for extemporaneous sermons later, two examples from the corpus of John Chrysostom (kindly provided to me by Wendy Mayer) serve as excellent examples of the modifications that trained rhetoricians were capable of making to prepared homilies. First, in the Homilies on the Changing of Names 2.4 (PG 51:132), he concludes early with the audience in mind: "But so that [you] may not be overburdened by the length, we will bring the discourse to an end, setting aside these things for another address" (ἀλλ' ὤστε μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι τῷ μήκει, εἰς ἐτέραν ταῦτα διάλεξιν ὑπερθέμενοι καταπαύσομεν τὸν λόγον). Second, in the Homily on Elijah and the Widow 1 (PG 51:337), he notes that the evening cuts short his delivery: "In the days in which we all have fasted, when I have often chosen to set forth discourses about mercy, I have been stopped short, since the evening comes quickly and cuts in half the length of the discourse for us" (Έν ταῖς ἡμέραις αἷς ἐνηστεύομεν ἄπαντες, τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πολλάκις ἐλόμενος κινῆσαι λόγους, ἐξεκρουόμην, τῆς ἑσπέρας καταλαμβανούσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου διακοπτούσης ἡμῖν τὸν δρόμον).

sermons to be used by less-educated preachers developed as early as the fifth century and especially in the sixth century in the West. ⁹¹ The actual homilies delivered by these preachers, using the model sermons as a guide, would not have undergone the final four stages. In regard to Jacob of Serugh, too little evidence survives about the transmission of his homilies to create a full picture of this process. The practices explored next in this chapter—delivery and recording, editing and collecting, and circulating—incorporate evidence from a wide range of early Christian sources. But each begins with an anecdote about Jacob. Whatever the historical value of these quotations, they demonstrate that late antique and medieval authors assumed that his homilies underwent a similar process of transmission.

Delivering and Recording Homilies

The thirteenth-century polymath Bar Hebraeus (1225–86) includes a brief notice on Jacob of Serugh in his *Ecclesiastical History*. He comments on the setting in which Jacob initially delivered his homilies: "He had with him seventy scribes who would record his homilies, which were seven hundred sixty in number, aside from commentaries, letters, hymns, and songs." Although exaggerated, Bar Hebraeus assumes rightly that trained scribes regularly recorded sermons in late antiquity.⁹³

Literary sources indicate an expectation for homilists to deliver their sermons extemporaneously. ⁹⁴ Evidence for this first appears in the *Apology for Origen* by Pamphilius of Caesarea (c.240-310). In this work, Pamphilius defends Origen of Alexandria (c.185-254) based on "those homilies he held extemporaneously almost daily in the church, which the scribes by recording them have

⁹¹ For example, the *Eusebius Gallicanus Collection of Homilies* (Franciscus Glorie, ed., *Collectio homiliarum*, CCSL 101–101A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1970–1]) developed in the early sixth century in Gaul and contains seventy-six homilies ordered according to the liturgical year. For an insightful analysis of this collection, see Lisa Kaaren Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010). On the development of model sermons, see ibid., 21–2.

⁹² Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.42 (Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas Joseph Lamy, eds., *Gregorii Barhebræi: Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, trans. Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas Joseph Lamy [Leuven, 1872–7], 1:191, 192):

המסם לה שב בבען שפו או הבלכבן הארכונים, גמסם, שב בכלא אי מאלם של הן בהששא מא χ' ולא מהבו שא בעלא משה באלא. משה באלא.

⁹³ On stenography in early Christianity in general, see Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticae*, 2:733–4 (14.4.29); Pellegrino, "Introduction," 16–18; Olivar, *La predicación*, 902–22; Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 139–40; H. A. G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 22–43. This practice continued into the Byzantine period. See Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 100–2.

⁹⁴ Bingham, Origines ecclesiasticae, 2:717–18 (14.4.11); Olivar, La predicación, 589–633.

handed down as a reminder to posterity"⁹⁵ Hagiographic and historiographic sources make similar claims for a number of other preachers from the fourth and fifth centuries.⁹⁶ But evidence for this practice appears in less likely places, including a letter,⁹⁷ a preface, a commentary,⁹⁸ and in the titles of homilies.⁹⁹ Memorably, Augustine of Hippo himself states that he had to change the topic of a homily because the lector read the wrong passage.¹⁰⁰ Homilists did prepare

95 Pamphilius of Caesarea, Apology for Origen 9 (René Amacker and Éric Junod, eds., Pamphile et Eusèbe de Césarée: Apologie pour Origène, SC 464–5 [Paris: Cerf, 2002], SC 464:441; Thomas P. Scheck, trans., St. Pamphilius: Apology for Origen, with the Letter of Rufinus on the Falsification of the Books of Origen, FOTC 120 [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010], FOTC 120:43): "eos tractatus quos paene cotidie in Ecclesia habebat ex tempore, quos et describentes notarii ad monimentum posteritatis tradebant."

⁹⁶ For example, see the claims made about Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos (Rufinus of Aquileia, *Ecclesiastical History* 11.9 [Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, eds., *Die Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd ed., EW II/1–3, GCS, n.s., 6, nos. 1–3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), EW II/2:1017; Philip R. Amidon, trans., *The* Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 73]); John Chrysostom (Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.18.7 [Joseph Bidez and Günther Christian Hansen, eds., *Sozomenus: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 50 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), GCS 50:374; NPNF² 2:411]); Maximus of Turin (Gennadius of Marseille, *Lives of Illustrious Men* 41 [Ernest Cushing Richardson and Oscar von Gebhardt, *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus; Gennadius liber De viris inlustribus*, TU 14.1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1896), TU 14.1:76; NPNF² 3:393]); and Atticus of Constantinople (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.2.5–6 [Günther Christian Hansen and Manja Širinjan, eds., *Sokrates: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, n.s., 1:349; NPNF² 2:154]).

⁹⁷ Referring to his correspondent Faustus of Riez, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters* 9.3.5 (W. B. Anderson, ed., *Sidonius: Poems and Letters*, trans. W. B. Anderson, LCL 296, 420 [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936–65], LCL 420:512–13), writes: "albeit a long time ago, applauding and hoarse I heard your sermons, sometimes unprepared, other times toiled over, when circumstances made it necessary" (licet olim, praedicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, ratio cum poposcisset, elucubratas, raucus plosor audierim).

⁹⁸ Jerome, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (M. Adriaen, ed., *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars I, *Opera Exegetica* 6, *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*, CCSL 76–6A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–70], CCSL 76:4–5): "I have also read the very long homily of Pierius, which he set forth on the beginning of this prophet on the vigil of the Lord's passion in an eloquent and extemporaneous sermon" (Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio huius prophetae die uigiliarum dominicae passionis extemporali et diserto sermone profudit). Jerome is talking about Pierius of Alexandria (d. *c.*309).

99 Assumptions of extemporaneous delivery of sermons also appear in the *Catechetical Homilies* of Cyril of Jerusalem, whose titles all indicate that they were delivered extemporaneously. The title of the first homily for example is "improvised in Jerusalem" (ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις σχεδιασθεῖσα) (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Homilies* 1.title [William C. Reischl and Joseph Rupp, eds, *Cyrilli hierosolymorum archiepiscopi: Opera quae supersunt omnia.* (Munich, 1848–60), 1:28; Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson, trans., *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, FOTC 61, 64 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969), FOTC 61:91]).

¹⁰⁰ Augustine of Hippo, Expositions of the Psalms 138.1 (Franco Gori, ed., Enarrationes in Psalmos 134–140, CSEL, 95.5 [Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002], CSEL 95.4:126; Maria Boulding, trans., Expositions of the Psalms, WSA III/15–20 [Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000–4], WSA III/20:257): "We had prepared a brief psalm for you, which we had sent to be read by the lector, but he flustered, as it seems, read another one in place of that one" (Psalmum vobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore, sed ad hora, quantum videtur, perturbartus, alterum pro altero legit). Houghton, Augustine's Text of John, 32, pointed me to this passage.

their sermons,¹⁰¹ but the appearance that preaching occurred extemporaneously seems to have appealed to these late antique authors.

The first allowances for preachers to reuse others' sermons appears in the late fourth and fifth centuries. ¹⁰² Augustine, in *On Christian Teaching*, permits those who cannot compose anything intelligent on their own to memorize the works of others to preach in church. ¹⁰³ In the fifth century, Gennadius of Marseille (d. 492/505) remarks that the homilies of Cyril of Alexandria "are committed to memory by Greek bishops for reciting." ¹⁰⁴ The Council of Vaison in 529 ratified this practice: "if a priest is not able to preach by himself, since some illness is preventing him, the homilies of the holy fathers can be recited by deacons." ¹⁰⁵ Later in the sixth century, model sermons in Latin circulated for preachers. ¹⁰⁶

101 The practice of preparation seems assumed in Augustine of Hippo, On Christian Teaching 4.10.25 (Joseph Martin, Sancti Aurelii Augustini: De doctrina christiana, De vera religione, CCSL 32 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1962], CCSL 32:133; Edmund Hill, trans., Teaching Christianity, WSA I/11 [Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1996], WSA I/11:214): "for those who recite [homilies] that are prepared and learned word by word do not have this in their power" (quod in potestate non habent, qui praeparata et ad uerbum memoriter retenta pronuntiant); and Socrates, Ecclesiastical History 7.2.5–6 (Hansen and Širinjan, Sokrates, GCS, n.s., 1:349; NPNF² 2:154): "Earlier, when he was assigned to the rank of presbyter, he learned by heart the homilies [λόγουs] on which he labored hard [before] he taught in the church. But afterwards with great toil and having acquired boldness, he carried out the teaching extemporaneously and in a higher register" (καὶ πρότερον μέν, ἡνίκα ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐτάττετο, ἐκμαθῶν οῦς καὶ ἐπόνει λόγους ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐδίδασκεν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῆ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ παρρησίαν κτησάμενος ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ πανηγυρικωτέραν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιεῖτο).

¹⁰² Bingham, Origines ecclesiasticae, 2:727–8 (14.4.22).

¹⁰³ Augustine of Hippo, On Christian Teaching 4.29.62 (Martin, De doctrina christiana, De vera religione, CCSL 32:165–6; Hill, Teaching Christianity, WSA I/11:239–40): "To be sure, there are certain people who are able to recite well, but they are not able to generate that which they recite. For if they take something written eloquently and wisely by others, commit it to memory, and offer it to people—as long as they enact the role [of preacher]—they are not doing something improper" (Sunt sane quidam, qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum memoriaeque commendent atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt). On the translation of si eam personam gerunt, see ibid., WSA I/11:245n67.

¹⁰⁴ Gennadius of Marseille, *Lives of Illustrious Men* 58 (Richardson and Gebhardt, *De viris inlustribus*, TU 14.1:81; NPNF² 2:395): "ad declamandum a Graeciae episcopis memoriae comendantur."

¹⁰⁵ Canons of the Council of Vaison (529) 2 (Caroli de Clerq, ed., Concilia Galliae, a. 511–a. 695, CCSL 148A [Turnout: Brepols, 1963], CCSL 148A:79): "si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur."

Two authors indicate that their homilies should serve as model sermons in the introductions to their works: Martin of Braga, *On the Correction of Peasants* 1 (Claude W. Barlow, ed., *Martini episcopi bracarensis: Opera omnia*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 12 [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950], 183; Claude W. Barlow, *Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville*, FOTC 62 [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969], FOTC 62:71); Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 2 (Morin, *Caesarii Arelatensis opera: Sermones*, CCSL 103:18–19; Mueller, *Sermons*, FOTC 31:25–6). Caesarius's biographer mentions this use of his collection of homilies as well: *Life of Caesarius of Arles* 1.55 (Germain Morin, Marie-José Delage, and Marc Heijmans, eds., *Vie de Césaire d'Arles*, SC 536 [Paris: Cerf, 2010], SC 536:226; William E. Klingshirn, trans., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, TTH 19 [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994], TTH 19:37). Gennadius of Marseille, *Lives of Illustrious Men* 68 (Richardson and Gebhardt, *De viris inlustribus*, TU 14.1:85; NPNF² 3:397), notes that Salvian of

Still, no late antique source suggests that a homilist used any written materials during delivery aside from the Bible.¹⁰⁷ The preferred practice was the delivery of homilies either extemporaneously or at least without written aid.

The recording of late antique homilies took place during delivery, as attested by the practice of stenography. Relatively well-preserved Latin and Greek handbooks of stenography have survived. The first attested use of this practice in relation to Christian sermons comes with Eusebios of Caesarea (c.260-339/40). He writes of Origen: "They say that Origen, when he was over sixty years old and had already achieved skill from long practice, allowed tachygraphers $[\tau a\chi v \gamma \rho \acute{a} \varphi o \iota s]$ to take down the discourses he delivered in public, something which he had not agreed to before." Epiphanios of Salamis (c.315-403) adds that a patron named Ambrose financed the papyrus and other necessities of Origen's stenographers. Other sources refer to the recording of the homilies of John Chrysostom and Augustine of Hippo. Alexandre

Marseille wrote "many homilies made for the bishops" (Homilias episcopis factas multas), perhaps indicating a similar practice. Partoens, Boodts, and Eelen, "Sermones," 473–4, helped me locate some of these references.

¹⁰⁷ Olivar, *La predicación*, 634–40. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John*, 32–6, reexamines citations from Augustine's sermons that suggest he is holding a Bible in his hands.

¹⁰⁸ For the Latin system, see Ulrich Friedrich Kopp, *Palaeographia critica* (Manheim, 1817–29), 2:1–410. For the Greek system, see Herbert John Mansfield Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, *Syllabary and Commentary* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1934), 13–68; Sofía Torallas Tovar and K. A Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography (P. Monts. Roca I)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2006), 125–64. For a brief summary of the evidence, see Herbert Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und tironische Noten: Ein Handbuch der antiken und mittelalterlichen Schnellschrift* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973).

¹⁰⁹ For an overview of Christian use of stenography before the third century, see Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie*, 96–102.

110 Eusebios of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History 6.36.1 (Schwartz and Mommsen, Die Kirchengeschichte, EW II/2:590; Roy J. Deferrari, trans., Eusebius Pamphili: Ecclesiastical History, FOTC 19, 29 [New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953–5], FOTC 29:60–1): $\dot{\upsilon}$ πèρ τὰ έξήκοντά φασιν ἔτη τὸν Ὠριγένην γενόμενον, ἄτε δὴ μεγίστην ἤδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἔξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γενέσθαι συγκεχωρηκότα.

¹¹¹ Epiphanios of Salamis, Panarion 64.3.5 (Karl Holl, ed., Epiphanius (Ancoratus und Panarion), GCS 25, 31, 37 [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915–33], GCS 31:406–7; Frank Williams, trans., The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III, De fide, 2nd rev. ed., Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 79 [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 136): "While Ambrose was supplying provisions for him, his stenographers, and his assistants, along with the papyrus [$\chi \acute{a}\rho \tau \eta \nu$] and any other expenses, Origen was carrying out his work on the scriptures with sleeplessness and great study" ($\tau ο \hat{v} μ ϵ ν ϵ λ μ βροσίου τὰ πρὸς τροφὰς αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὀξυγράφοις [καὶ] τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἐπαρκοῦντος, χάρτην τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ τοῦ Ὠριγένους ἔν τε ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ ἐν σχολŷ μεγίστη τὸν κάματον τὸν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς διανύοντος).$

¹¹² Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.4.9 (Hansen and Širinjan, *Sokrates*, GCS, n.s., 1:316; NPNF² 2:140). This contrasts the image of Atticus of Constantinople, whose homilies are not regarded as worthy of being recorded in Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.27.5–6 (Bidez and Hansen, *Sozomenus*, GCS 50:388; NPNF² 2:417).

¹¹³ Possidius of Caesarea, *Life of Augustine* 7.3 (A. A. R Bastiaensen, ed., *Vite dei santi*, vol. 3, *Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita de Agostino*, trans. Luca Canali and Carlo Carena [Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1975], 146). Augustine himself indicates that his works were recorded

Olivar's research has demonstrated that this was a widespread phenomenon throughout the Roman Empire. 114 And Chrysostom's and Augustine's sermons have received much attention in this regard, revealing a pattern of oral composition and subsequent editing for further transmission. 115 No material or literary evidence suggests that an independent form of stenography developed for Syriac. 116 But some form of recording must have developed in tandem with the growing Syriac literary culture of the fourth through sixth centuries.

by dictation: Augustine of Hippo, *Retractions* 1.prologue.2 (Almut Mutzenbecher, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: Retractationum libri II*, CCSL 57 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1984], CCSL 57:5; Boniface Ramsey, trans., *Revisions*, WSA I/2 [Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2010], WSA I/2:21).

¹¹⁴ Olivar, *La predicación*, 902–22. His footnotes point to important sources on the general study of stenography in the Roman Empire. One provides significant insight into the important roles stenographers assumed in the church: H. C Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores: An Inquiry into Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire (from the Early Principate to c.450 A.D.), Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology I (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985).*

¹¹⁵ For Augustine, see Roy J. Deferrari, "Verbatim Reports of Augustine's Unwritten Sermons," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 46 (1915): 35–45; Roy J. Deferrari, "St. Augustine's Method of Composing and Delivering Sermons," *The American Journal of Philology* 43, no. 2 (1922): 97–123; no. 3 (1923): 193–219; François Dolbeau, "Nouveaux sermons de saint Augustin pour la conversion des païens et des donatistes (VI)," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39, no. 2 (1993): 421–3; Rebillard, "*Sermones*," 790–1.

For Chrysostom, see Alfred Wikenhauser, "Der hl. Chrysostomus und die Tachygraphie," *Archiv für Stenographie* 58, no. 3 (1907): 268–72; Alfred Wikenhauser, "Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Stenographie [1]," *Archiv für Stenographie* 62, n.s., no. 7 (1911): 1–6, 57–64; Lipatov-Chicherin, "Preaching." Lipatov-Chicherin also discusses a homily of Basil the Great.

Andreas Merkt, "Vom Mund zum Auge: Der Weg des Wortes vom antiken Prediger zum modernen Leser," in *Die Mainzer Augustinus-Predigten: Studien zu einem Jahrhundertfund*, ed. Gerhard May and Geesche Hönscheid, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte 59 (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), 107–21, provides a very helpful analysis of how a sermon proceeded from its initial delivery, through the hands of stenographers, copyists, and compilers to editors of critical editions and their readers today.

¹¹⁶ See Theodor Nöldeke, "Tachygraphie bei den Orientalen," *Archiv für Stenographie* 53, no. 2 (1901): 25–6. He cites two late antique Syriac sources that use the word "sign" (مهمتاه) $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon \hat{i} \rho \nu$) to indicate a shorthand system of writing (see R. Payne Smith, ed., Thesaurus Syriacus [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879], 2:2613-14). Both seem to refer to Greek stenography. The first comes from a work translated from Greek and refers to a bishop of Beirut (Zacharias of Mytilene, Ecclesiastical History 4.3b [E. W. Brooks, ed., Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae rhetori vulgo adscripta, trans. E. W. Brooks, CSCO 83-4, 87-8, SS 38-9, 41-2 (Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1953), CSCO 83, SS 38:172; Geoffrey Greatrex, ed., The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity, trans. Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia B. Horn, TTH 55 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), TTH 55:137-8]). The second, composed in Syriac, still refers to the recording of words at the court in Constantinople: John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.6 (William Cureton, ed., The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus [Oxford, 1853], 159; R. Payne Smith, trans., The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus [Oxford, 1860], 176): "Everything that he said was taken down in 'signs' [حصة حبحا] by many and committed at once to writing in books, for there were numerous scribes present who were doing [this] accurately" حلامے ہے بملعے بحس بماہحللے حسبہ حصت بعث حج متے بہت بعظمالے شہر، وحدادی بمعاملی میں بروں کیا) .coo. اربلة عن ακιώς ο και και ακιώς ακιώς (ἀκρίβεια) as suggested by Carl Brockelmann, Lexicon syriacum, 2nd ed. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1928), 44.

What then can we conclude about Syriac homilists, such as Jacob, in this cultural climate? First, Papoutsakis's study of the oral nature of Jacob's sermons connects him to the widely attested practice of delivering sermons either extemporaneously or at least without written aid. 117 Second, Bar Hebraeus's comment and the documented practice of recording homilies suggests that scribes recorded Jacob's homilies even as he delivered them. 118 While simple, this has implications for understanding Jacob's composition of homilies. He already knew that the sermons he delivered orally before a live audience would find wider circulation. Indeed, he may have been able to see scribes at work in his midst as he delivered them.

Redacting and Collecting Homilies

The first description of Jacob of Serugh comes from his lifetime and points to the use of his homilies outside the context of their oral delivery. The *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, written shortly after 506 in Edessa, ¹¹⁹ describes Jacob's response to the siege of Amida:

The honored Jacob, the *periodeutes* by whom many homilies were composed on sections of the scriptures and songs and canticles constructed for the time of the locusts, also did not turn away in this time from what was appropriate for him. Rather he wrote admonitory letters to all the cities, making them trust in the salvation of God and encouraging them not to flee.¹²⁰

The chronicler recognizes Jacob's homilies for their interpretation of the Bible. This reflects the earliest collections of Jacob's homilies in manuscripts, also from the sixth century. This section surveys the process by which homilies went from the transcripts of scribes to their recording in manuscripts.

He also cites two Arabic sources that suggest that no stenographic practice existed at this time in Syriac or Arabic. Bar Bahlul, in the entry on the word 'signs' (صحت), specifically notes that this word refers to "Roman shorthand" (حطّ روميّ مختص). See Bar Bahlul, Lexicon (Rubens Duval, ed., Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule, Collection orientale de l'Imprimerie nationale 15–17 [Paris: Reipublicæ typographæo, 1901], 1:1342). Ibn al-Nadim makes a similar claim in his Kitāb al-Fihrist (Gustav Flügel, ed., Kitāb al-Fihrist [Leipzig, 1871], 1:15): "They [i.e., the Romans] have a writing system, known as 'signs' [بالساميا ولا نظير له عندان).

- ¹¹⁷ Papoutsakis, "Formulaic Language," 1998.
- ¹¹⁸ Bar Hebraeus, Ecclesiastical History 1.42 (Abbeloos and Lamy, Gregorii Barhebræi, 1:191, 192).
- ¹¹⁹ Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 32:xxviii–xxix.
- ¹²⁰ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 54 (Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum*, CSCO 91, SS 43:280–1; Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 32:63–4):

בענו אינה הסבר פני הנהלאי חם נדיאידיא של היא אינה אינה לב פשביאי בעל ביא בעני אינה ובלדיאי בעני העל אינה ובלדיאי אם בא וכניא חם נסדת אינא אינה לא אחוד, איפלאי בוכניא חניא דין אינא נפאיא חסול אח. אאא בלב את יולא הדיל לעניל א דדיל לעניל אא אבאחת דדילול אינה בני דילבל אחם בא בסופיא נאאחיא. בילבב אחם בנו איני בני הוא נדינם ב. Late antique homilies underwent editing before their publication in collections, sometimes under the guidance of the preachers themselves. ¹²¹ Soon after hearing that a fellow bishop had started allowing priests to deliver homilies, ¹²² Augustine sent a letter requesting "that you command that individual sermons of these men, ones that you choose, be written out, corrected, and sent to us." ¹²³ Here he recognizes the process of transcribing, editing, and gathering homilies. Augustine himself in his *Retractions* indicates his desire to edit his own sermons, even if this was not fully realized. ¹²⁴ In the sixth century, Avitus of Vienne (d. *c.*518) played an active role in editing his homilies into a collection: "Recently, indeed, when a few of my homilies had been redacted into a single corpus, I, at the urging of friends, took on the burden of issuing a publication." ¹²⁵ Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604) similarly speaks of editing his homilies on Job and on Ezekiel, complaining in both cases that he did not have enough time to carry out this work. ¹²⁶ From Augustine to Gregory, the Latin tradition provides strong evidence for homilists' concern for editing their works.

- ¹²¹ On this subject in general, see Pellegrino, "Introduction," WSA I/1:18; Max Diesenberger, "Introduction: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West," in Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West, ed. Max Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 8.
- ¹²² Augustine of Hippo, *Letters* 41.1 (Alois Goldbacher, ed., S. *Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi Epistulae*, CSEL 34, 44, 57–8 [Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895–1923], CSEL 34.2:81–3; Roland J. Teske, trans., *Letters*, WSA II/1–4 [Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2001–5], WSA II/1:154).
- ¹²³ Augustine of Hippo, *Letters* 41.2 (Goldbacher, *Epistulae*, CSEL 34.2:83; Teske, *Letters*, WSA II/1:155): "ut iubeas singulos, quos uolueris, sermones eorum conscriptos et emendatos mitti nobis."
- ¹²⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Retractions* 2.epilogue (Mutzenbecher, *Retractationum*, CCSL 57:142–3; Ramsey, *Revisions*, WSA I/2:168): "At the urging of the brothers I edited the revision of these [works] in two books, before I could begin to revise the letters and sermons to the people, some which were written, others dictated by me" (atque ipsam eorum retractationem in libris duobus edidi urgentibus fratribus, antequam epistulas atque sermones ad populum, alios dictatos alios a me dictos, retractare coepissem). See also Possidius of Caesarea, *Life of Augustine* 18.9; 28.1–2 (Bastiaensen, *Vite dei santi*, vol. 3, 178, 204). Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John*, 30n17, pointed me to these sources.
- ¹²⁵ Avitus of Vienne, *Spiritual History* (Rudolf Peiper, ed., *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti viennensis episcopi opera quae supersunt*, MGH, AA, 6.2 [Berlin, 1883], MHG, AA 6.2:201; Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood, trans., *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose*, TTH 38 [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002], TTH 38:260): "Nuper quidem paucis homiliarum mearum in unum corpus redactis hortatu amicorum discrimen editionis intravi." On this text, see Ian Wood, "The Homilies of Avitus," in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Max Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 83. For an analysis of the multiple audiences at work in such collections of homilies, although regarding the early-medieval author Ælfric of Eynsham (*c.*955–*c.*1020), see Mary Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England," *Peritia* 4 (1985): 207–42.
- ¹²⁶ Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel* (M. Adriaen, ed., S. *Gregorii Magni: Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, CCSL 142 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1971], CCSL 142:3; Juliana Cownie, ed., *The Homilies of St. Gregory the Great on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, trans. Theodosia Gray [Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1990], 12); *Morals on the Book of Job*, Letter to Leander 2 (M. Adriaen, ed., S. *Gregorii Magni: Moralia in Iob*, CCSL 143–3B [Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–85], CCSL 143:3).

Scholars have pointed to two examples of edited and unedited homilies that may provide evidence for the process of editing sermons in late antiquity. Ambrose of Milan (*c*.339–97) authored two catechetical works: *On the Sacraments* and *On the Mysteries*. Their linguistic differences led scholars to assume that Ambrose did not author *On the Sacraments*, until it was suggested that this work represents the unedited text of his homilies. ¹²⁷ Christine Mohrmann argued that *On the Mysteries* represents a version of similar homilies, edited for distribution. ¹²⁸ John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Uzziah* may represent a second example of this editing process. Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin has argued that the fifth homily in the modern sequence of homilies is in fact an edited version of the fourth. ¹²⁹ Other texts that represent the unedited and edited versions of homilies may provide further evidence for this process. ¹³⁰

After a process of editing, homilies were often distributed in collections. Sufficient evidence survives for Syriac homily collections to discuss this practice in relation to Jacob's immediate context, although Latin and Greek collections are equally well attested.¹³¹ Barhadbshabba ^cArbaya (late 6th/early 7th centuries),

¹²⁷ Christine Mohrmann, "Le style oral du De sacramentis de Saint Ambroise," *Vigiliae Christianae* 6, no. 1 (1952): 168–70, summarizes the historiography.

128 Mohrmann, "Le style oral"; Christine Mohrmann, "Observations sur le 'De Sacramentis' et le 'De Mysteriis' de saint Ambroise," in *Ambrosius episcopus: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazione di sant'Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale, Milano, 2–7 dicembre 1974*, ed. Giuseppe Lazzati, 2 vols., Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 6–7 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1976), 1:103–23; Philip Rousseau, "The Preacher's Audience': A More Optimistic View," in *Ancient History in a Modern University: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Macquarie University, 8–13 July, 1993*, ed. T. W. Hillard et al., vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 398–400.

¹²⁹ Lipatov-Chicherin, "Preaching," 287–97.

¹³⁰ See especially the insightful discussion of the editing of John Chrysostom's homilies in Blake Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon: Prolegomena to an Edition*, Classical Studies 20 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 62–78. Lipatov-Chicherin, "Preaching," 282–3, identifies two more sets of homilies that could use such analysis. The first is an entire series of homilies: John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*. One version appears in PG 53:21–54:580; the other in Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, 2. For an analysis of this series of the homilies and the two divergent traditions (with a mediating third tradition), see Walter Alexander Markowicz, "The Text Tradition of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on Genesis and Manuscripts Michiganenses 139, 78, and Holkhamicus 61" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953), especially the analysis on 15–19. The second is Amphilochios of Ikonion, *Homily* 6. He refers to two versions of this homily: one in PG 61:751–6; the other in Karl Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 91–102.

131 In general, see Réginald Grégoire, "Homéliaires," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), 597–617. Among Latin authors, the collections of Augustine's homilies have received the most attention. Most were posthumous (Rebillard, "Sermones," 791; Partoens, Boodts, and Eelen, "Sermones," 474–5). Augustine's *Homilies on the Gospel of John* and the *Expositions of the Psalms* represent collections that incorporate homiletical materials, and were likely compiled in his lifetime. See Edmund Hill, trans., *Homilies on the Gospel of John 1–40*, WSA III/12 (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2009), WSA III/12:27–34; Boulding, *Expositions*, WSA III/15:14–15. The editors of the newly discovered *Erfurt Sermons* have also argued that three homilies on alms "were gathered together into a *Corpus on Almsgiving* in Augustine's lifetime" (zu Augustins Lebzeiten zu einem *Corpus de eleemosynis* zusammengefasst wurden) (Schiller, Weber,

an author of the Church of the East, ¹³² says of Narsai: "For each day in the year, he composed one homily. He divided them into twelve volumes, of which each had two prophets [i.e., divisions], ¹³³ which all amounted to twenty-four prophets." ¹³⁴ This claim about Narsai's role in making a collection of his homilies recurs in later texts from the Church of the East. ¹³⁵ It is possible that Jacob of Serugh engaged in similar practices. At the very least, he would have been cognizant that the homilies he delivered orally would find wider circulation in such collections.

Manuscript evidence of the circulation of Jacob's homilies provides some insight into how his homilies were collected. The earliest manuscript, which dates to 523, just two years after his death in 521, contains a collection of homilies on the Old Testament that follows the order of the biblical narrative. ¹³⁶ Another manuscript, which dates to 565, gathers homilies mostly on the New Testament. ¹³⁷

and Weidmann, "Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten: Teil 2," 174; Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 89–90). On collections of Augustine's sermons in general, see Pellegrino, "Introduction," WSA III/1:18–19; Verbraken, *Études critiques*, 197–234.

On Chrysostom's series, see Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A New Approach to the Twelve Homilies *In epistulam ad Colossenses* (CPG 4433)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60 (1994): 21–39; Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A Re-examination of the Fifteen Homilies *In epistulam ad Philippenses* (CPG 4432)," *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995): 270–89; Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "The Thirty-Four Homilies on Hebrews: The Last Series Delivered by Chrysostom in Constantinople?" *Byzantion* 65 (1995): 309–48.

- ¹³² On the debated identity of Barḥadbshabba, see Becker, *Sources*, TTH 50:11–16; Adam H. Becker and Jeff W. Childers, "Barḥadbshabba 'Arbaya," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 57–8.
- Becker, Sources, TTH 50:69nl62, notes that divisions of compilations were referred to as "prophets." See Brockelmann, Lexicon syriacum, 411, who cites Anton Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 110n5. Baumstark refers to 'Abdisho' of Nisibis's use of this word in his Catalogue of Authors 19 (Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 3.1:30–1), where he describes the divisions of Theodore of Mospeustia's works as follows: "He composed forty-one divisions that amounted to one hundred fifty prophets; each prophet had thirty chapters" (בססה מהמבע בונה בל נביה ב מער מולאלים).
- ¹³⁴ Barhadbshabba 'Arbaya, Ecclesiastical History 31 (Nau, L'Histoire, PO 9.5:124; Becker, Sources, TTH 50:69):
- סלבל הסכאה גאה בשנלא עד בלאפלא שב לנה. ספלך אוגן כולו בשוולא פנסגולא. דבל עדא בענסך מסטא ולוץ עבוא דמסם בלנמם , בשוץ מאובטא עבואה.
- Becker, Sources, TTH 50:69n161, identifies two sources where similar comments appear: Chronicle of Seert 2.9 (Addai Scher, ed., Histoire nestorienne inédite (Chronique de Séert), trans. Addai Scher and Pierre Dib, PO 4.3 (17), 5.2 (22), 7.2 (32), 13.4 (65) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908–19], PO 7.2:23), and 'Abdisho' of Nisibis, Catalogue of Authors 53 (Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 3.1:65). Both note that his homilies were organized in "twelve volumes" (المُذَحِمَة عَدْمَى: النَّا عَشْرَ كَتَابًا).
- ¹³⁶ This manuscript is Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 114. For its contents, see Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:81–4; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:42–3; 2:2–3. Assemani and Assemani suggest the date of around 523 based on similarities in the writing between this manuscript and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 111, which has a colophon that specifies the year 522 (see Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:79, 84).
- ¹³⁷ This manuscript is London, British Library, Add. 17157. On its contents and dating, see Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2:504–5; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:43–4; 2:2–5.

Seven of the other eight manuscript collections of Jacob's writings that may date to the sixth century have a similar pattern of organization. ¹³⁸ Indeed, striking similarities between at least two of these manuscripts suggest a larger tradition of compiling Jacob's homilies as commentaries on the scriptural text. ¹³⁹

Jacob's contemporary Philoxenos had access to some form of "scriptorium" in Mabbug when he issued his new translation of the Bible. 140 The survival of a manuscript of Jacob's homilies only two years after his death and in nearby Edessa suggests that the situation there was not so different. Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite's knowledge of Jacob's homilies on passages from the Bible may attest to the circulation of such collections even within his lifetime. Even as he delivered his homilies, Jacob would have been aware of the process of editing that would follow and the subsequent gathering of homilies into thematic collections.

Circulating Homilies

Manuscripts enabled communities far from the original setting of delivery to engage with the content of sermons. It was in this circulation that homilies assumed a greater role in late antique discourse. A comment made by Barḥadbshabba ʿArbaya, also in his *Ecclesiastical History*, points to the important role that Jacob's and Narsai's homilies played in the post-Chalcedonian Christological debates.

Barḥadbshaba's *Ecclesiastical History* offers a history of theological controversies and heresy, focusing on developments from the fourth century and later. The second-to-last chapter centers on Narsai.¹⁴¹ Barḥadbshabba states

¹³⁸ Manuscripts that focus on Old Testament materials arranged chronologically or in cycles include: London, British Library, Add. 14574, fol. 34–40 (6th or 7th centuries); London, British Library, Add. 17161 (6th century); London, British Library, Add. 17184 (6th or 7th centuries); and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 251 (520–80). Manuscripts focused on New Testament topics are: London, British Library, Add. 17155 (6th or 7th centuries); and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 252 (520–80). London, British Library, Add. 14584, contains homilies on the Old and New Testaments, arranged chronologically. Only London, British Library, Add. 17158, fol. 1–48, deviates from this pattern of sixth-century manuscripts, as it includes primarily a cycle on the theater and homilies on martyrs. References for further information about the content and dating of these manuscripts appear in the bibliography.

¹³⁹ Frédéric Rilliet, ^aDeux homéliaires Sarouguiens du VI^e siècle à la Bibliothèque vaticane, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae X*, Studi e Testi 416 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003), 309–10.

¹⁴⁰ On Philoxenos's "scriptorium," see Michelson, *The Practical Christology*, 115–19. For the debate over "scriptoria," see Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 78–83.

¹⁴¹ On the school of the Persians in Edessa and the school of Nisibis, see Becker, *Fear of God*. For an interpretation of the image of Narsai in this work that takes into account contemporaneous developments in the Church of the East, see Karl Pinggéra, "Das Bild Narsais des Großen bei Barḥadbšabbā 'Arbāyā: Zum theologischen Profil der 'Geschichte der heiligen Väter,'" in *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich*, ed. Arafa Mustafa, Jürgen Tubach, and G. Sophia Vashalomidze (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007), 245–59.

that after other methods of drawing people into heresy had failed, 142 Jacob of Serugh, "eloquent in relation to evil and artful in heresy, began beautifully constructing his heresy and his error in the form of the homilies that he constructed, for through the sweet construction of enticing sounds he made common people turn back from the glorious one [i.e., Narsai]."143 In response, Narsai "composed the true orthodox thinking by way of homilies, which was apt for sweet melodies."144 As noted above, Narsai then gathered his homilies into a collection and circulated them to guide readers back to a "true" understanding of Christian doctrine. Barhadbshabba's narrative should not be assumed to correspond to historical realities. Yet his description of Narsai and Jacob's conflict does attest to the perception that both the original setting of delivery and the subsequent transmission of homilies became sites where doctrinal conflict can be waged. 145

The contextualization of select parts of the vast pseudonymous collections of homilies attributed to John Chrysostom shows a similar dynamic at play. One collection comes from a North African context. It reflects the concerns of the Donatist party during the age of Augustine. 146 Another collection reflects the interest in the works of Origen in Cappadocia during the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Although its author remains unknown, it provides valuable information on the reception of this figure. 147 The circulation of pseudonymous homilies between John Chrysostom's deposition in 403 to his rehabilitation in 418 fill out the dynamics of this conflict. 148 These

¹⁴² Barhadbshabba 'Arbaya, Ecclesiastical History 31 (Nau, L'Histoire, PO 9.5:124; Becker, Sources, TTH 50:69): "Because the heretics, the children of error, saw that they were not able to overpower the holy one and stir up the church against him as before through such things" (الميلا) ודעום mi ליבו לה בני לה בני לה בים לה שבעה לבשמטות לבנישא הל בל אה בנול אם אם הבים להעם הוא.

The full quotation in Syriac reads as follows: Barhadbshabba Arbaya, Ecclesiastical History מים הכלבל מים אכשולא מכלשת מים אמינילאים מיבים אמבייבים אמבייבים אמביבו למין לביים אמי הכלבל מים אמים ביואי My translation of המאופים הובב. דבב וביד וסבבא מנושא דפור ביות ווא בילב אם אם להא בינה דוב בינא. differs from Nau's (avec hypocrisie) and Becker's (hypocritically). But Nau's and Becker's translations present alternatives. I am grateful to Lucas Van Rompay for his suggestion on translating this word.

¹⁴⁴ Barhadbshabba 'Arbaya, Ecclesiastical History 31 (Nau, L'Histoire, PO 9.5:124; Becker, Sources, TTH 50:69):

המתכת לו בעל א היו להום במשא כונא מבעל המאמדה בל מעל א על של אי.

On the rivalry between these authors, see Papoutsakis, "United in the Strife."

¹⁴⁶ For these sermons, see F.-J. Leroy, "Vingt-deux homélies africaines nouvelles attribuables à l'un des anonymes du Chrysostome latin (PLS 4)," Revue Bénédictine 104 (1994): 123-47; F.-J. Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne: Une édition provisoire," Recherches Augustiniennes 31 (1999): 149-234. For their place in the larger conflict and a short analysis, see Brent D. Shaw, Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 420-1.

Sever J. Voicu, "Uno pseudocrisostomo (Cappadoce?) lettore di Origene alla fine del sec. IV," Augustinianum 26 (1986): 281–93.

Wendy Mayer, "Media Manipulation as a Tool in Religious Conflict: Controlling the Narrative Surrounding the Deposition of John Chrysostom," in Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam, ed. Wendy Mayer and Bronwen Neil, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 123 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 151-68.

homily collections—even though pseudonymous—all participated in specific theological and political debates. 149

Barḥadbshabba's comments assume an audience that would have understood the nuanced treatments of Christology in Jacob's and Narsai's works. The producers, authors, and readers of the burgeoning Syriac literary culture of the fifth and sixth centuries fit the profile well of a community that would engage with homilies in this way. As the collections of pseudo-Chrysostom's homilies addressed the issues of their context, so would Jacob's and Narsai's homilies feed the debate over Christology in theirs.

Summary

While one may rightly doubt the veracity of the claims of any of these late antique and medieval anecdotes about Jacob, they direct us productively toward an understanding of how Jacob's homilies achieved influence beyond their initial delivery. Bar Hebraeus points to the widespread practice of recording sermons. Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite highlights the subsequent transmission of homilies in collections. And Barhadbshabba assumes a community that would have seen the high literary homilies of Jacob and Narsai as media in theological debates. These anecdotes and the realities to which they point frame an approach to connecting Jacob's homilies to the Christological controversies in the Roman Near East. Jacob delivered homilies with an understanding that his words would reach wider audiences through circulating collections of homilies. He may have helped form these collections and even edited them, bearing in mind the clerical and elite communities that would read them. He knew that the words of his homilies would reach communities well outside the audience physically present for their oral delivery. For this reason, precision on debated theological matters was necessary.

Jacob's homilies had two audiences. He saw the audience addressed as he delivered his homilies. They represented a wide spectrum of society, including lay and monastic leaders. He anticipated the audience invoked, who would read his homilies as texts that engaged theological controversies. Recognition of this dual audience serves as a bridge between the literature produced during the post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies in the Roman Near East and Jacob's homilies. His homilies spread ideas to the wide audiences that gathered to hear the initial delivery of his sermons. But they also had a narrower audience that would understand the key phrases and formulations that supported a particular perspective on Christology. It is with this framework in mind that this monograph relates Jacob of Serugh's sermons to the wider corpus of texts produced in the post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies.

¹⁴⁹ For an excellent analysis of the use of pseudonymous and anonymous homiletical collections in Roman North Africa, see Dossey, *Peasant and Empire*, 162–71.

CONCLUSION

A more expansive understanding of a homilist's audience and more attention to the transmission of homilies opens new opportunities for research. First, an expansive understanding of audience offers a rationale for the inclusion of detailed discussions of theological doctrine in homilies delivered before live audiences. A homilist may choose to include such information in response to the other communities that influenced his discourse. While preparing the text of a homily, a preacher may anticipate who would attend the delivery of a homily. The presence of scribes during delivery made homilists aware of the audiences among whom their homily would circulate. Thus, precision on theological matters in a homily does not imply a limited physical audience of ecclesiastical leaders and educated laity. Nor does it mean that precise theological statements have been subsequently added. To be sure, researchers should examine such possibilities. But homilists had other reasons to include such information, even when their physical audience offered none.

Second, an expansive sense of audience and attention to the circulation of homilies lead to a better understanding of how a preacher conceived of a sermon. Late antique homilists did not simply address the immediate concerns of the physical audience. Preachers—with several audiences influencing them—addressed issues that went beyond the space in which they delivered their sermons. Even if details were lost on the physical audience, a homilist himself participated in wider conversations when delivering his sermons. He may have done so due to his training, in deference to his ecclesiastical network or supporters, or perhaps even out of a desire to communicate these ideas to broad audiences, the audience invoked. An expansive sense of audience and attention to circulation reframes homilies as participants in broader discourses.

Third, attention to the reading communities that produced and consumed homilies expands our understanding of the role that these texts played in intellectual discourse. All homilies from late antiquity that survive in the present circulated in some form of collection in late antiquity. Literate communities carefully produced, circulated, and read homilies. Some evidence does survive for the use of homiletical manuscripts for liturgical settings in late antiquity. Several Latin homiliaries from as early as the fifth century were arranged according to the liturgical calendar. Likewise, two seventh-century manuscripts preserve Jacob of Serugh's six prose homilies, which are ordered according to the liturgical year. Further manuscripts that contain such ordering in the Greek- and Syriac-speaking East only appear in the

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 165–6, 276n135. On the formation of the *Eusebius Gallicanus Collection of Homilies* in the mid-sixth century, see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, 35–7.

¹⁵¹ See London, British Library, Add. 14587, fol. 104r–135b (Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2:523–4), and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 109, fol. 28v–51v (Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:74).

eighth century.¹⁵² But late antique reading communities also valued homilies for their biblical exegesis, doctrinal content, and insights into saints' lives. Their survival in manuscripts evidences an afterlife to their oral delivery that assigns them a greater significance.

Jacob's poetic language may connect to the diversity of his audience. The strong tradition of Syriac poetry seems to have appealed to both lay and clerical audiences. Ephrem the Syrian expresses reservations about Bardaisan of Edessa's (154–222) ability to draw in audiences through his poetry. Jacob of Serugh likewise comments on Ephrem's ability to draw in audiences through his poetic language: A fountain of tunes which, look!, is being transmitted to every mouth, And with his chants he is making the whole earth drunk so that it might meditate on him. Further, as discussed above, Barḥadbshabba 'Arbaya comments that Narsai only began composing homilies in response to the lure of Jacob's poetic writing. Jacob's homilies, which mostly take the form of poetry, could have had the power of enticement among laity and met the expectations of fellow educated theologians. The constraints of his poetic meter and some stylistic features are noted in the final three chapters. But further theoretical scaffolding and methodological precision would be necessary to appreciate more fully the power of Jacob of Serugh's poetry.

This chapter has explored a new way of approaching Jacob of Serugh's homiletical corpus. Jacob delivered homilies before his audience addressed with an awareness of the Christological debates. He did so cognizant also of his audience invoked, including those communities that produced and circulated his homilies in manuscripts after their initial delivery. This expanded understanding of his audience helps frame the connections drawn between the homilies examined in Chapters 4 through 6 and the wider debate over the pairing of miracles and sufferings discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

¹⁵² Only one Greek manuscript that may date as early as the eighth century exhibits ordering according to the lectionary cycle: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Gr. 443 (lower text) (see Jacques Noret, "Le palimpseste Parisinus gr. 443," *Analecta Bollandiana* 88, no. 1 [1970]: 141–52). On Greek homiletical collections in general, see Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols., Texte und Untersuchungen 50–2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937–52). A review of this work emphasized the importance of Syriac homiletical collections: C. Martin, "Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines," *Byzantion* 12 (1937): 355–60. On the beginnings of homiliaries in Syriac, see Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:82–7. If the *Eusebius Gallicanus Collection of Homilies* was formed in the sixth century, as Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, 35–6, suggests, the sixth century may also have seen the development of such collections in the West.

On the Syriac poetic tradition in general, see Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (3)."
 Sidney H. Griffith, "The Thorn among the Tares: Mani and Manichaeism in the Works of St. Ephraem the Syrian," *Studia Patristica* 35 (2001): 395–427.

The Christological Debates and the Miracles and Sufferings of Christ

For each form does what is proper to it with the participation of the other... One of them flashes with miracles; the other succumbs to violations.¹

Pope Leo I, Letter 28 (Leo's Tome)

For we say that both the miracles and the sufferings, which he willingly endured in the flesh, are of one.²

Emperor Zeno, Henotikon

...he will then confess that the same one is God in truth and human, and he will accord to this same one the sufferings and the miracles.³

Severos of Antioch, Cathedral Homily 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the development of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings as a distinct Christological phrase within the tense theological debates of the fourth through sixth centuries. As seen in the epigraphs to this

¹ Leo I, *Letter* 28 (Leo's *Tome*) (Eduard Schwartz, ed., *ACO* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1914–40], 2.2.1:28): "agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est... unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud subcumbit iniuriis."

² Zeno, Henotikon (Joseph Bidez and Léon Parmentier, eds, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia [London, 1898], 113; Michael Whitby, trans., The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus, TTH 33 [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000], TTH 33:149): Ένὸς γὰρ εἶναί φαμεν τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄπερ ἐκουσίως ὑπέμεινε σαρκί. A version of the Henotikon preserved in a different source differs in this location and will be discussed later in this chapter.

³ Severos of Antioch, Cathedral Homilies 1.13 (Maurice Brière and François Graffin, eds, Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: Homélies I à XVII, trans. Maurice Brière and François Graffin, PO 38.2 (175) [Turnhout: Brepols, 1976], PO 38.2:16, 17): чилгомологы он мпыоул ноушт же йточ пь пиоуте ги оуме луш пршме. луш чилш бывоул ноушт йммйтречшигисе. мй нешинре. Severos's homilies survive mostly in Syriac, but this first homily survives only in Coptic in its entirety.

chapter, the pairing of miracles and sufferings came to represent the relationship between the divinity and the humanity of Christ. Theologians need only mention one of the iterations of this phrase to signify their allegiances during the Christological debates. The use of this phrase at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and in the imperial edict of the Emperor Zeno known as the *Henotikon* made the pairing a particularly potent slogan. Jacob of Serugh and his contemporaries employed this phrase drawn from these texts in early-sixth-century debates. The juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings has not received extended attention in the past. Thus, this chapter traces its history to draw out its significance for the post-Chalcedonian debates. As a corollary, it demonstrates that the uses of this phrase by miaphysite authors in the early sixth century, such as Jacob of Serugh, should not be dismissed as coincidental. Rather, such instances should be evaluated as to whether they engage in a specific debate over the use of the *Henotikon*.

There are four principal turns in the winding, multilingual, and geographically broad history of this phrase. First, the pairing of miracles and sufferings emerged as an encapsulation of the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ during the Christological controversies that led up to the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Second, it received classic dyophysite expression through the *Tome* of Pope Leo which was read at the Council of Chalcedon. Third, the Emperor Zeno responded to the language of the *Tome* through an imperial edict aimed at reconciliation in 482. This edict, which became known as the *Henotikon*, reframed this Christological phrase toward an emphasis on the unity of Christ's divinity and humanity. Fourth, miaphysite authors in the fifth and sixth centuries discussed the utility of the *Henotikon* for expressing Christology in reference to the *Henotikon* and Leo's *Tome*. Their use of this pairing provides a foundation for analyzing Jacob of Serugh's use of the same in Chapters 3 through 6.

EARLY ATTESTATIONS AND PREACHING OF THE CHRISTOLOGICAL PAIRING

The association of miracles with Christ's divinity and sufferings with his humanity has a lineage dating to the first century.⁵ The Gospels of Mark and Matthew, in particular, have been highlighted for juxtaposing Christ's miracles

⁴ Grillmeier notes that the *Henotikon*'s use of this juxtaposition serves as a response to Leo's *Tome*: Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, 254. Dana Iuliana Viezure, "*Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei*: A Study of Theopaschism from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to the Age of Justinian" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 101–13, provides a more detailed look at the use of miracles and sufferings in the *Henotikon*.

⁵ For a convenient summary of the various uses of miracles in the Gospels and the New Testament more broadly, see Harold E. Remus, "Miracle (NT)," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 856–69.

A homily of Amphilochios of Ikonion, who was born in Cappadocia, provides the first attested use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings. His homily on Matthew 26:39—"My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me"¹²—indicates its polemical context in the opening words: "Again as an upright soldier, I accept the battle against the heretics, with Stephen the general of piety at the command."¹³ Amphilochios engaged the theological debates that followed the Council of Constantinople in 381. This homily makes his anti-Arian and anti-Anomoean position clear, as he draws out contrasts between his position

- ⁶ Ibid., 862: "In other passages, however, the commands to demons not to reveal who he is...can be attributed to the evangelist's concern that Jesus not be viewed simply as a miracle worker. Rather Jesus must suffer and die; this is his 'messianic secret,' and to deny that necessity is viewed in 8:31–33 as Satanic; these verses provide readers with the key to unlock the Markan 'messianic secret' and thus to see the miracles worked by Jesus in relation to his suffering and death...The basic outline of the gospel of Matthew is close to that of the gospel of Mark, which means that here, too, Jesus is depicted as the Christ who suffers and dies and not simply as a miracle worker."
 - ⁷ Romans 1:26 uses $\pi \acute{a} \theta_{0S}$, but in all other cases the word is $\pi \acute{a} \theta \eta \mu a$.
- ⁸ βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξη καὶ τιμῆ ἐστεφανωμένον. For the text, I have used Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013).
- ⁹ The Greek text comes from ibid. The Syriac comes from *The New Testament in Syriac* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1905–20), 156.
- ¹⁰ See G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 613. Lampe cites Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus the Blind, and John Chrysostom.
- 11 See the entry on $\pi \acute{a} \acute{\theta} o_S$ in ibid., 994. Lampe lists Eustathios of Antioch, the *Symbol of the Synod of Sirmium* in 351, Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanios of Salamis, John Chrysostom, and Proklos of Constantinople.
- 12 Πάτερ μου, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, παρελθάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο (Novum Testamentum Graecum, 28th ed.).
- ¹³ Amphilochios of Ikonion, Homily 6.1 (Cornelis Datema, ed., Amphilochii Iconiensis opera, CCSG 3 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1978], CCSG 3:139; Michel Bonnet, ed., Amphiloque d'Iconium: Homélies, trans. Michel Bonnet, SC 552–3 [Paris: Cerf, 2012], SC 553:27): Πάλιν ὧς στρατιώτης ἔννομος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς αἰρετικοὺς ἀναδέχομαι μάχην, ταξιαρχοῦντος Στεφάνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας.

and that of his opponents. ¹⁴ Near the end, he introduces this pairing as a way of summarizing this relationship:

Now stop, O heretic, condemning me for fear and ignorance. For I show fear in order to demonstrate that the assumption of the flesh is not an illusion—namely, "My soul is disturbed" [John 12:27; cf. Ps. 6:3]—so that you might learn that I did not assume a soulless body, as the error of Apollinaris would have it. So, do not assign the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$ of the flesh to the Word $[\lambda \acute{o}\gamma \omega]$ which does not suffer $[\tau \acute{\varphi} \ \mathring{a}\pi a\theta \epsilon \acute{\iota}]$. For I am God and human, O heretic: God as the miracles $[\theta a\acute{v}\mu a\tau a]$ ensure and a human being as the sufferings $[\pi a\theta \acute{\eta}\mu a\tau a]$ testify.¹⁵

Miracles represent Christ's divinity; sufferings his humanity. Amphilochios predicates both on Christ. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*c*.393–*c*.466) and Pope Gelasius I (*r*. 492–6) later quoted this passage in anthologies of Christological texts.¹⁶

Elsewhere Amphilochios emphasizes the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity in relation to this phrase. In a fragment from his homily on John 14:28, he commands his audience:

Henceforth distinguish the natures, that of God and that of the human. For the human did not come from God as a loss, nor did God [come from] the human as an advancement. For I am speaking of God and a human being. When you attributed the sufferings $[\pi a\theta \acute{\eta}\mu a\tau a]$ to the flesh and the miracles $[\theta a\acute{v}\mu a\tau a]$ to God, you are then necessarily und unwillingly attributing the humble words to the human from Mary and the exalted ones that are worthy of God to the Word $[\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega]$ who was in the beginning.¹⁷

The full homily was translated into Syriac in the eighth century, and it is the only version that preserves the anti-Arian polemical context of this quotation.¹⁸

- ¹⁴ Bonnet, Homélies, SC 553:10-11.
- ¹⁵ Amphilochios of Ikonion, Homily 6.13 (Datema, Amphilochii Iconiensis opera, CCSG 3:150; Bonnet, Homélies, SC 553:57): Παῦσαι οὖν, αἰρετικέ, δειλίαν μου καὶ ἄγνοιαν καταψηφιζόμενος. Δειλιῶ γάρ, ἵνα δείξω ἀφαντασίαστον τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. Λέγω Ἡ ψυχή μου τετάρακται, ἵνα μάθητε ὅτι οὐκ ἄψυχον ἀνείληφα σῶμα, ὡς ἡ Ἀπολλιναρίου βούλεται πλάνη. Μὴ τὰ πάθη οὖν τῆς σαρκὸς τῷ ἀπαθεῖ προσρίψης λόγῳ θεὸς γάρ εἰμι καὶ ἄνθρωπος, αἰρετικέ. Θεὸς ὡς ἐγγυᾶται τὰ θαύματα, ἄνθρωπος ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὰ παθήματα.
- ¹⁶ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Eranistes*, Florilegium 3.52 (Gérard H. Ettlinger, ed., *Theodoret of Cyrus: Eranistes* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], 243; Gérard H. Ettlinger, trans., *Theodoret of Cyrus: Eranistes*, FOTC 106 [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003], FOTC 106:240); Gelasius I, *On Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios* 26 (Adalbert-Gautier Hamman, ed., *PLS* [Paris: Garnier Frères, 1958–74], 3:781). Bonnet, *Homélies*, SC 553:57n5, pointed me to these sources. These quotations are also known as Amphilochios of Ikonion, *Fragment* 7.
- ¹⁷ Amphilochios of Ikonion, Fragment 12 (Éttlinger, Eranistes, 1975, 107; Ettlinger, Eranistes, 2003, FOTC 106:83): Δ ιάκρινον λοιπὸν τὰς φύσεις, τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ, τήν τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Οὕτε γὰρ κατ' ἔκπτωσιν ἐκ θεοῦ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτε κατὰ προκοπὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου θεός. Θεὸν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. Ὅταν δὲ τὰ παθήματα τῆ σαρκὶ καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῷ θεῷ δῷς, ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ θέλων δίδως, τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῆ ὄντι λόγῳ.
- ¹⁸ The fragment appears in Amphilochios of Ikonion, *Homily* 10 (Cyril Moss, "S. Amphilochius of Iconium on John 14, 28: '*The Father who Sent Me, is Greater than I*," *Le Muséon* 43, no. 3–4

This particular extract is quoted in four Greek and Latin anthologies to defend the doctrine of the two natures of Christ. In Jacob's time, Severos of Antioch debated this passage with John the Grammarian of Caesarea (fl. early 6th century). Amphilochios's use of this pairing may reflect a wider trend in Cappadocia, as a quotation in a florilegium from an otherwise unknown work by Basil of Caesarea also contains this pairing. But quotations of Amphilochios's works in particular became common during the Christological controversies of the fifth century. They proved instrumental in spreading the use of this pairing as a means of expressing views on the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity. Amphilochios's use of this phrase both polemically and within a homiletical context anticipates its later use in the Christological debates.

John Chrysostom also engaged the language of miracles and sufferings in one of his *Homilies on John*. This homily discusses the second half of John 1:14: "We have marveled at his glory, the glory as of an only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." Near the end, Chrysostom comments on what the author of the Gospel has gathered together and called "glory": "the miracles $[\theta a \acute{\nu} \mu a \tau a]$ in [our] bodies, in [our] souls, [and] in the elements; the commandments; the gifts which are ineffable and higher than the heavens; the laws;

[1930]: 334, 348). For "miracles" it has אַנּמּפּוֹאָם, and for "sufferings" it has ביש. For the context and dating, see ibid., 318–19, 319n1.

¹⁹ The quotation above comes from Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Eranistes*, Florilegium 1.56 (Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 1975, 107; Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 2003, FOTC 106:83). This quotation appears two more times in the florilegia attached to this same work. The second quotation only contains the opening lines: *Eranistes*, Florilegium 2.54 (Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 1975, 171; Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 2003, FOTC 106:155–6). The third quotation contains the full passage: *Eranistes*, Florilegium 3.51 (Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 1975, 242; Ettlinger, *Eranistes*, 2003, FOTC 106:239). A modified form appears in the *Address to Marcian* (Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3:113), issued shortly after the Council of Chalcedon. A Latin translation may also have circulated, as seen in Gelasius I, *On Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios* 26 (Hamman, *PLS*, 3:780–1).

²⁶ Their exchange is preserved only from Severos's point of view. See Severos of Antioch, Against the Impious Grammarian 3.34 (Joseph Lebon, ed., Severi Antiocheni: Liber contra impium Grammaticum, trans. Joseph Lebon, CSCO 93–4, 101–2, 111–12, SS 45–6, 50–1, 58–9 [Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1929–52], CSCO 101, SS 50:192–3; CSCO 102, SS 51:140–1). He uses אל אנסבו אל for "miracles" and אבנה for "sufferings."

21 Philoxenos of Mabbug, Florilegium 140 (Maurice Brière and François Graffin, eds, Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis Dissertationes decem de uno e sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo, trans. Maurice Brière and François Graffin, PO 15.4 (75), 38.3 (176), 39.4 (181), 40.2 (183), 41.1 (186) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1920–82], PO 41.1:94, 95): "Of the same, from Psalm 60: 'For he had mercy on the earth and he stirred it through [his] miracles [מלומים בולים בילים ב

²² John Chrysostom, Homilies on John 12.1 (PG 59:81; NPNF¹ 14:39): Καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς Μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρὸς, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. The text of this passage, aside from the editor's capitalization, corresponds to that found in Novum Testamentum Graece, 28th ed.

conduct; persuasiveness; the coming promises; his sufferings $[\pi a\theta \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau a]$."²³ He then summarizes these activities: "For we do not only marvel at him because of the miracles $[\theta a\dot{\nu}\mu a \tau a]$, but also because of the sufferings $[\pi a\theta \dot{\eta}\mu a \tau a]$, namely, when he was nailed to the cross and whipped, when he was struck, when he was spit upon, [and] when he received blows on the cheek from those who had been shown kindness."²⁴ Miracles and sufferings represent the extremes of Christ's activities on earth. This homily was translated into Syriac in the fifth century, providing another means for the transmission of the pairing of miracles and sufferings of Christ to Jacob of Serugh and his contemporaries.²⁵

Amphilochios's and Chrysostom's uses of miracles and sufferings anticipate the use of this pairing in homilies to explain these ideas to broad audiences. At a Marian feast in December 430, Proklos of Constantinople (d. 446/7) delivered his famous homily in praise of Mary before the archbishop Nestorios of Constantinople in the imperial city. This homily offers a detailed exposition of the doctrine of the incarnation. Throughout Proklos emphasizes the unity of the person of Christ, whose union of natures, Thomas proclaims, saying, My Lord and my God' [John 20:28]. As the homily draws to a close, Proklos becomes polemical: So, the one who purchased [us] was no mere human $[\psi \iota \lambda \delta s \ \mathring{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma s]$, O Jew!... Nor [was he] God, devoid of humanity, for he had a body, O Manichee! Proklos then states a fundamental problem about Christology: Christ came to save but also had to suffer. Exploring this tension, he exclaims: O mystery! I see the miracles $[\theta a \acute{\nu} \mu a \tau a]$, and I praise the divinity; I consider the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$, and I do not deny the humanity.

23 John Chrysostom, Homilies on John 12.3 (PG 59:84; NPNF¹ 14:41): τὰ θαύματα, τὰ ἐν σώμασι, τὰ ἐν ψυχαῖς, τὰ ἐν τοῖς στοιχείοις, τὰ προστάγματα, τὰ δῶρα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑψηλότερα, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν πολιτείαν, τὴν πειθὼ, τὰς μελλούσας ὑποσχέσεις, τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ.

²⁴ John Chrysostom, Homilies on John 12.3 (PG 59:84; NPNF¹ 14:41): Οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὰ θαύματα μόνον αὐτὸν θαυμάζομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰ παθήματα· οἶον, ἐπειδὴ προσηλώθη τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ ἐμαστιγώθη, ἐπειδὴ ἐὀραπίσθη, ἐπειδὴ ἐνεπτύσθη, ἐπειδὴ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ κόρρης πληγὰς παρὰ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων αὐτῶν.

²⁶ Nicholas Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1–5, Texts and Translations*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 135.

²⁷ Proklos of Constantinople, *Homily* 1.2 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.1:104; Constas, *Proclus*, 139): οὖ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων ὁ Θωμᾶς ἀνακεκράγει λέγων ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου.

²⁸ Proklos of Constantinople, Homily 1.8 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.1:106; Constas, Proclus, 145): ὁ τοίνυν ἀγοράσας οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὧ Ἰουδαῖε· . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεὸς γυμνὸς ἀνθρωπότητος σῶμα γὰρ εἶχεν, ὧ Μανιχαῖε.

²⁹ Proklos of Constantinople, Homily 1.9 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.1:107; Constas, Proclus, 147): $\ddot{\omega}$ τοῦ μυστηρίου· βλέπω τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἀνακηρύττω τὴν θεότητα· ὁρῶ τὰ πάθη καὶ οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.

sufferings of Christ come to represent once again the fundamental paradox of the relationship between his divinity and humanity. This homily received wider distribution through its inclusion in one of the early collections of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431. The homily was subsequently translated into Syriac,³⁰ forming yet another avenue for the communication of this phrase to Syriac-speaking miaphysites.

It is noteworthy that three preachers chose to express Christology through this pairing in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. It is possible that Amphilochios, John Chrysostom, and Proklos already understood the potential of this pairing to communicate intricate theological concepts to laity through homilies. As the following sections will explore, the pairing of miracles and sufferings intersected most of the major Christological debates of the fifth and early sixth centuries. It appeared in several different genres, some of which anticipate a more limited readership than homilies. Yet the earliest attestations of this phrase already show a tradition of preaching the pairing of miracles and sufferings as a means of explaining Christology.

THE PATH TO LEO'S TOME AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

Further development of the phrase began with the Christological debate between Nestorios of Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria. Their views came to a head at the Council of Ephesus in 431.³¹ In the lead up to this council, they made the sufferings and the miracles of Christ points of debate. Nestorios's *Second Letter to Cyril* previews the later debate over the attribution of miracles and sufferings to Christ:

On the one hand, the body is the temple of the Son's divinity, and a temple which is united in its entirety and in a divine conjunction, so that the divine nature appropriates the things of this [body], [and the body] is confessed to be honorable and worthy of the things handed down in the gospels.³²

³⁰ The Syriac translation of Proklos of Constantinople, *Homily* 1.10 (Enzo Lucchesi, "L'Oratio 'De laudibus S. Mariae' de Proclus de Constantinople: Version syriaque inédite," in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. Enzo Lucchesi and H. D. Saffrey, Cahiers d'orientalisme 10 [Geneva: P. Cramer, 1984], 193), has المعامة for "miracles" and معمده for "sufferings".

³¹ For a recent survey of the debate that led to the council, see John Anthony McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 20–53. The dating of texts in this paragraph and the next relies on this work.

³² Nestorios of Constantinople, Second Letter to Cyril (Friedrich Loofs, ed., Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius [Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1905], 178; Richard Alfred Norris, trans., The Christological Controversy, Sources of Early Christian Thought [Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press,

Nestorios does not specify these evangelical happenings. But they certainly relate to Christ's divinity. He continues:

On the other hand, to attribute to the name of the appropriation the properties of the conjoined flesh—namely, birth, suffering $[\pi \acute{a}\theta os]$, and death—is, brother, either of a mind that truly strays in the manner of the Greeks or that is diseased with [thoughts] of the mad Apollinaris and Arius and the other heresies—and even somewhat more grievous than these.³³

Nestorios connects suffering to Christ's humanity. Here he does not pair miracles and sufferings. But they provoked Cyril to respond and make these associations clearer.

In December 430, Cyril sent four delegates to deliver his *Third Letter to Nestorios* with an appendix of twelve anathemas.³⁴ He asked Nestorios to recant by assenting to the anathemas,³⁵ two of which relate to miracles and sufferings. The ninth reads:

If anyone says that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been glorified from the Spirit—as though using a power that belongs to another through him and receiving from him the ability to work against unclean spirits and to fulfill the divine signs $[\theta\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\epsiloni\alpha_S]$ before people—and does not rather say that the Spirit is his own through which he worked the divine signs $[\theta\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\epsiloni\alpha_S]$, let him be anathema.³⁶

Cyril warns against those who separate Christ from the working of miracles. He uses "divine signs" ($\theta\epsilon \sigma \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\alpha s$) to refer to Christ's miracles. This word is derived from "sign" ($\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}o\nu$), which the Gospel of John often uses for miracles.³⁷ The near equivalence of these terms becomes evident in Cyril's defenses of the

1980], 138): εἶναι μὲν οὖν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότητος τὸ σῶμα ναόν, καὶ ναὸν κατὰ ἄκραν τινὰ καὶ θείαν ἡνωμένον συνάφειαν, ὡς οἰκειοῦσθαι τὰ τούτου τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν, ὁμολογεῖσθαι καλὸν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν παραδόσεων ἄξιον.

- ³³ Nestorios of Constantinople, Second Letter to Cyril (Loofs, Nestoriana, 177–8; Norris, Christological Controversy, 139): τ ο δὲ δὴ τῷ τῆς οἰκειότητος προστρίβειν ὀνόματι καὶ τὰς τῆς συνημμένης σαρκὸς ἰδιότητας, γέννησιν λέγω καὶ πάθος καὶ νέκρωσιν, ἢ πλανωμένης ἐστὶν ἀληθώς καθ' Ελληνας, ἀδελφέ, διανοίας, ἢ τὰ τοῦ φρενοβλαβοῦς Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νοσούσης αἰρέσεως, μᾶλλον δέ τι κἀκείνων βαρύτερον.
- ³⁴ On the reception of the Twelve Anathemas or Twelve Chapters, see André de Halleux, "Les douze chapitres cyrilliens au Concile d'Éphèse (430–3)," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 23 (1993): 425–58
 - 35 McGuckin, Cyril, 44-6.
- 36 Cyril of Alexandria, Third Letter to Nestorios (Letter 17) 12.9 (Lionel R. Wickham, ed., Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters, trans. Lionel R. Wickham, Oxford Early Christian Texts [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983], 30, 31): Εἴ τίς φησι τὸν ἔνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δεδοξάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἀλλοτρία δυνάμει τῆ δι' αὐτοῦ χρώμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τὸ πληροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά φησιν, δι' οὖ καὶ ἐνήργηκε τὰς θεοσημείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

³⁷ Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 920, lists in this usage: John 2:11, 18, 23; 3:2; 4:54; 6:2, 14, 26, 30; 7:31; 9:16; 10:41; 11:47; 12:18, 37; and 20:30. This entry also lists similar usage in the other Gospels.

ninth anathema, where he substitutes "miracles" $(\theta \alpha \dot{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha)$ for "divine signs" $(\theta \epsilon o \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon i \alpha)$.³⁸ In the twelfth anathema, he similarly warns against separating the sufferings from the person of Christ:

If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered $[\pi \alpha \theta \acute{o} \nu \tau \alpha]$ in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, tasted death in the flesh, and became the firstborn from the dead, in so far as he is both life and life-giving as God, let him be anathema.³⁹

Cyril attributes miracles and sufferings to the one Word of God. He does not pair them so that they might seem to be a well-developed phrase. But Cyril's three defenses of the anathemas⁴⁰ and their prominence in Christological debates more broadly⁴¹ would offer up the relationship between the miracles and sufferings of Christ for consideration.

Cyril defended his anathemas to Theodoret of Cyrrhus who bridged the Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon. Theodoret had composed a reply to Cyril's anathemas by the end of 430.⁴² In the following years, he assumed a leading voice in the Antiochene, dyophysite party.⁴³ Theodoret then wrote a letter to the people of the province of Euphratensis,⁴⁴ where, after expressing his disapproval of Cyril's anathemas, he expounds his own Christology:

Therefore, all the human characteristics of the Lord Christ, namely, hunger, thirst, toil, sleep, fear, sweat, prayer, ignorance, and all such things, we say are of our original state, which God the Word took and united to himself, [thereby] accomplishing our salvation. But we believe that the ability of the lame to run, the resurrection of the dead, the fonts of the loaves, the changing of water into wine, and all the other miraculous acts $[\theta avu\mu a\tau ov\rho\gamma(as)]$, are acts of divine power.⁴⁵

³⁸ See Cyril of Alexandria, *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters* (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.5:23); Apology of the Twelve Chapters against the Easterners (ibid., 1.1.7:51).

39 Cyril of Alexandria, Third Letter to Nestorios (Letter 17) 12.12 (Wickham, Select Letters, 32, 33): Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον παθόντα σαρκὶ καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ καὶ θανάτου γευσάμενον σαρκὶ γεγονότα τε πρωτότοκον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καθὸ ζωή τέ ἐστι καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὡς θεός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

⁴⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, Explanation of the Twelve Chapters (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.5:15–25); Apology of the Twelve Chapters against Theodoret (ibid., 1.1.6:110–46); Apology of the Twelve Chapters against the Easterners (ibid., 1.1.7:33–65).

⁴¹ On their influence, see McGuckin, *Cyril*, 44–6, 59, 66, 83–4, 94–5, 104, 107–8, 112, 114, 127, 242. ⁴² Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril* (Schwartz, *ACO* 1.1.6:108–44). On the context in which Theodoret wrote this reply, see István Pásztori-Kupán, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2006), 7–10, 172–3. Vasilije Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 129 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 129–52, offers a theological analysis of this work.

For an innovative approach to how Theodoret became a leader, see Schor, *Theodoret's People*, 81–109.

⁴⁴ For the dating of this text, see Yvan Azéma, ed., *Théodoret de Cyr: Correspondance*, trans. Yvan Azéma, SC 40, 98, 111, 429 (Paris: Cerf, 1955), SC 429:96–7n1; Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 136. For an exposition of this letter in terms of the development of Theodoret's Christology, see ibid., 136–41.

⁴⁵ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letters (Collectio Sirmondiana) 151 (Azéma, Correspondance, SC 429:114, 115): Οὖ χάριν τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα πάντα τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ πεῖνάν φημι καὶ δίψαν,

Theodoret attributes certain activities to the human nature and the miracles to the divine power. He similarly pairs miracles and sufferings later in the work: "Thus in the one Christ we contemplate the humanity through the sufferings $[\pi a\theta\hat{\omega}v]$, but we apprehend the divinity through the miracles $[\theta av\mu\acute{a}\tau\omega v]$." Theodoret pairs miracles and sufferings as a means of expressing the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ.

Theodoret composed his *Eranistes* in 447 or 448. This work, as one modern scholar has put it, is "his great *summa* on Christology." He divided this tome into three dialogues: the first treats the immutability of the Son's divinity, the second that the union of the divinity and humanity is without confusion, and the third that the divinity is impassible $(ana\theta \eta s)$. He Each concludes with an anthology. The three anthologies contain three quotations from Amphilochios of Ikonion that contain the pairing of miracles and sufferings. We have already discussed two in relation to the work of Amphilochios. But a third is only known in anthologies and merits quoting at length:

From the Discourse on "Amen, Amen, I say to you, 'Whoever hears my word and believes the one who sent me has eternal life' [John 5:24]": So, of whom are the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$? Of the flesh. Therefore, if you attribute the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$ to the flesh, then also attribute the humble words to it. Likewise, to the one to whom you ascribe the miracles $[\theta a\acute{\nu}\mu a\tau a]$, assign the elevated words also. For the God who works miracles $[\theta a\nu\mu a\tau o\nu\rho\gamma \acute{\omega}\nu]$ accordingly says [words] that are lofty and worthy of his works, but the human who suffers $[\pi \acute{a}\sigma\chi\omega\nu]$ fittingly utters [words] that are humble and correspond to his sufferings $[\pi a\theta \acute{\omega}\nu]$.

καὶ κόπον, καὶ ὕπνον, καὶ δειλίαν, καὶ ἱδρῶτας, καὶ προσευχήν, καὶ ἄγνοιαν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπαρχῆς εἶναί φαμεν, ἣν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἥνωσεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν ἡμετέραν πραγματευόμενος σωτηρίαν. Τὸν δὲ τῶν χωλῶν δρόμον, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄρτων πηγάς, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς οἶνον μεταβολήν, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἄλλας θαυματουργίας τῆς θείας εἶναι δυνάμεως ἔργα πιστεύομεν.

- ⁴⁶ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letters (Collectio Sirmondiana) 151 (ibid., SC 429:118, 119): $O\~ντωs$ ϵν τῶ ϵνι Χριστῷ διὰ μὲν τῶν παθῶν θϵωροῦμϵν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, διὰ δὲ τῶν θαυμάτων νοοῦμϵν αὐτοῦ τὴν θϵότητα.
 - ⁴⁷ Clayton, Christology of Theodoret, 167.
 - 48 See ibid., 215–63, for an extended discussion of this work.
- 49 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Eranistes, Florilegium 3.50 (Ettlinger, Eranistes, 1975, 242; Ettlinger, Eranistes, 2003, FOTC 106:239): Έκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τό, "Άμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ τὸν λόγον μου ἀκούων καὶ πιστεύων τῷ πέμψαντί με ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον." Τίνος οὖν τὰ πάθη; Τῆς σαρκός. Οὐκοῦν εἰ δίδως σαρκὶ τὰ πάθη, δὸς αὐτῆ καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς λόγους, καὶ ῷ τὰ θαύματα ἐπιγράφεις, τοὺς ἀνηγμένους ἀνάθες λόγους. Ὁ γὰρ θαυματουργών θεὸς εἰκότως ὑψηλὰ λαλεῖ καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπάξια· ὁ δὲ πάσχων ἀνθρωπος καλῶς τὰ ταπεινὰ φθέγγεται, καὶ τῶν παθῶν κατάλληλα. This fragment, known as Amphilochios of Ikonion, Fragment 11, also appears in Facundus of Hermiane, Defense of the Three Chapters 11.3.4 (Johannes-Maria Clément and Rolandus vander Plaetse, eds, Facundi episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis, Opera omnia, CCSL 90A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1974], CCSL 90A:338; Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières, trans., Défense des trois chapitres (à Justinien), SC 471, 478–9, 484, 499 [Paris: Cerf, 2002], SC 499:53); and Gelasius I, On Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios 26 (Hamman, PLS, 3:780).

Following the Council of Chalcedon, these quotations of Amphilochios reappeared in an address sent to the Emperor Marcian. Given the inclusion of the same quotations of Amphilochios in both Theodoret's *Eranistes* and this address, scholars have assumed that Theodoret played a role in composing this text. His use of these quotations helped develop the pairing of miracles and sufferings as a Christological phrase before and after Chalcedon.

A letter Pope Leo I wrote to Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople (d. 449/50), would become known as the *Tome*. This letter appeared in June 449 at the end of a well-documented correspondence about the views of the Constantinopolitan monk Eutyches (*c*.370–451/4) on the union of Christ. Debated in the post-Chalcedonian controversies, Leo's *Tome* put the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings into wide circulation. At the beginning of the *Tome*, Leo writes: For each form [*forma*] does what is proper to it with the participation of the other, namely, while the Word performs what is of the Word, the flesh also carries out what is of the flesh. One of them flashes with miracles [*miraculis*]; the other succumbs to violations [*iniuriis*]. Miracles are associated with the divine "form" and injuries with the human. The language of miracles and violations does not correspond precisely to the pairing of miracles and sufferings. Leo

⁵⁰ Address to Marcian, Florilegium 6, quotes Amphilochios of Ikonion, Fragment 12 (Schwartz, ACO 2.1.3:114; Richard M. Price and Michael Gaddis, trans., The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, TTH 45 [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005], TTH 45.2:118).

⁵¹ Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:105-7.

⁵² On the *Tome* in general, see Bernard Green, *The Soteriology of Leo the Great*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 188–247.

⁵³ I follow Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, eds, *Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 42nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2009), 449, on the date of the *Tome*.

Leo I, Letter 28 (Leo's Tome) (Schwartz, ACO 2.2.1:28): "agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est, uerbo scilicet operante quod verbi est, et carne exequente quod carnis est. unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud subcumbit iniuriis." Leo drew on his own work when composing the Tome. The most closely related precedent is in a homily he delivered on April 5th, 442. The language in *Tractatus* 54.2 reflects that in the *Tome* (Antoine Chavasse, ed., *Sancti* Leonis Magni romani pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta, CCSL 138-138A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1973], CCSL 138A:318; Jane Patricia Freeland and Agnes Josephine Conway, trans., St. Leo the Great: Sermons, FOTC 93 [Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996], FOTC 93:233): "agit utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est. Vnum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis." The juxtaposition remained a part of his thought after the council, as a sermon from 452 suggests. See Tractatus 28.3 (Chavasse, Tractatus, CCSL 138:141; Freeland and Conway, Sermons, FOTC 93:117): "Dominus Iesus Christus, cui et uera inesset deitas ad miracula operum, et uera humanitas ad tolerantiam passionum." See also, in the same homily, Tractatus 28.6.2 (Chavasse, Tractatus, CCSL 138:144; Freeland and Conway, Sermons, FOTC 93:120): "Adsumptus igitur homo in Filium Dei, sic in unitatem personae Christi ab ipsis corporalibus est receptus exordiis, ut nec sine deitate conceptus sit, nec sine deitate editus, nec sine deitate nutritus. Idem erat in miraculis, idem in contumeliis." Green, Soteriology, 221n149, 233n209, aided me in locating these references. See also, Leo I, Letter 139 (Schwartz, ACO 2.4:92): "unus enim atque idem est qui et in dei forma operatus est miracula magna uirtutis et in forma serui subiit sæuitiam passionis."

uses the word *iniuria* here rather than *passio* as he will later in the letter.⁵⁵ But Leo's *Tome*, explored at length at the Council of Chalcedon and mentioned in the Chalcedonian Definition,⁵⁶ helped make the miracles and sufferings shorthand for the divinity and humanity of Christ.⁵⁷

The Second Council of Ephesus in 449 excluded Leo's *Tome*, despite the presence of papal legates.⁵⁸ The *Tome* then became a point of contention at Chalcedon. The records of Chalcedon suggest that the *Tome* was read, debated, and affirmed at the council. After reading Leo's *Tome*, the famous acclamation followed: "This is the faith of the fathers! This is the faith of the apostles!" Three parts of the *Tome* received further examination, including the pairing of miracles and violations:

Likewise, when the part was read that entails, "For each form works what is proper to it with the participation of the other: the Word achieving what is of the Word, while the body completes what is of body. The one shines with miracles $[\theta a \acute{\nu} \mu a \sigma \iota]$ while the other has succumbed to violations $["\beta \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu]$," and the most pious Illyrian and Palestinian bishops were disputing it, Aetius archdeacon of the holy church of

⁵⁵ This appears most explicitly in the letter in a criticism that Leo makes about Eutyches's beliefs about the flesh as they relate to suffering: Leo I, *Letter* 28 (Leo's *Tome*) (Schwartz, *ACO* 2.2.1:31): "caligans uero circa naturam corporis Christi, necesse est ut etiam in passione eius eadem obcæcatione desipiat. nam si crucem domini non putat falsam et susceptum pro mundi salute supplicium uerum fuisse non dubitat, cuius credit mortem, agnoscat et carnem. nec diffiteatur nostri corporis hominem quem cognoscit fuisse passibilem, quoniam negatio ueræ carnis negatio est etiam corporæ passionis."

The Definition of Chalcedon (ibid., 2.1.2:129; Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:203) states that it has appended Leo's Tome to the letters of Cyril to Nestorios "since it agrees with the confession of Peter the great and is a common pillar against those with wicked beliefs" (ἄτε δὴ τῆι τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου ὁμολογίαι συμβαίνουσαν καὶ κοινήν τινα στήλην ὑπάρχουσαν κατὰ τῶν κακοδοξούντων). Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.1:78, also believe that scribal omission may have obscured additional debate over the Tome.

⁵⁷ On the possible influence of Augustine on Leo's language of miracles and sufferings, see Susan Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 233–7. Perhaps the most likely borrowing comes from Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions of the Psalms*, 56.16 (Hildegund Müller, F. Gori, and Clemens Weidmann, eds, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, CSEL, 93.1A–B, 94.1, 95.1–5 [Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002–15], CSEL 94.1:254; Boulding, *Expositions*, WSA III/17:118): "Through his flesh our Lord performed two kinds of acts, miracles and sufferings: the miracles were from above; the sufferings were from below" (Per carnem suam dominus duo genera factorum operatus est, miracula et passiones: miracula desuper fuerunt, passiones de inferiore fuerent.). Wessel, *Leo the Great*, 236, pointed me to this text.

58 On the legates, see Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, Session 2 (Johannes Flemming, ed., Akten der ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449, trans. Johannes Flemming, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft und der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, n.s., 15, no. 1 [Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1917], 8–9; S. G. F. Perry, trans., The Second Synod of Ephesus, Together with Certain Extracts Relating to It, from Syriac Mss. Preserved in the British Museum [Dartford, Kent, 1881], 21). On the fate of this text at the council, see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letters (Collectio Sirmondiana) 113 (Azéma, Correspondance, SC 111:58–63). See also Wessel, Leo the Great, 41, on the exclusion of this text.

⁵⁹ Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Session 1 (Schwartz, ACO 2.1.2:81; Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:25): Αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν πατέρων. αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Constantinople read a chapter of Cyril of holy memory, which entails the following, "While some of the sayings are very much fitting for God, others are, in turn, fitting for humanity, and still others hold a middle place, revealing that the Son of God is God and human at the same time and in the same place." 60

This section of Leo's *Tome* would be discussed in miaphysite circles in the coming decades.⁶¹ The juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings, as expressed in the *Tome*, supported a dyophysite understanding of the person of Christ.

The importance of the *Tome* in subsequent Christological debates led to its transmission in Greek and Syriac. The Greek translation of the *Tome* in the *Acts* of the Council of Chalcedon reflects the Latin: miraculis was translated as "miracles" (θαύμασι) and iniuriis as "violations" (ὕβρεσιν). ⁶² Manuscripts from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries would, however, replace "violations" (ὕβρεσιν) with "sufferings" ($\pi a \theta \dot{\eta} \mu a \sigma \iota \nu$). ⁶³ Sixth-century translations of the language of the *Tome* into Syriac use either "disgraces" (κΞς) or "sufferings" (κΞς). ⁶⁴ This dissemination into Greek and Syriac sources makes it possible

- 60 Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Session 1 (Schwartz, ACO 2.1.2:82; Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:25–6): Όμοίως ἡνίκα ἀνεγινώσκετο τὸ μέρος τὸ περιέχον ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφὴ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν, τοῦ μὲν λόγου κατεργαζομένου τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκτελοῦντος ἄπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν διαλάμπει τοῖς θαύμασι, τὸ δὲ ταῖς ὕβρεσιν ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀμφιβαλλόντων τῶν Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Παλαιστινῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων Ἀέτιος ἀρχιδιάκονος τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀνέγνω τοῦ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης Κυρίλλου κεφάλαιον περίεχον οὕτως αἳ μέν εἰσι τῶν φωνῶν ὅτι μάλιστα θεοπρεπεῖς, αἳ δὲ οὕτω πάλιν ἀνθρωποπρεπεῖς, αἳ δὲ μέσην τινὰ τάξιν ἔχουσιν ἐμφανίζουσαι τὸν υίὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἐν ταὐτῶι.
 - ⁶¹ As noted by Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:25n79.
- 62 The entire phrase is: καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν διαλάμπει τοῖς θαύμασι, τὸ δὲ ταῖς ὕβρεσιν ὑποπέπτωκεν. See Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Session 1 (Schwartz, ACO 2.1.2:82; Price and Gaddis, Chalcedon, TTH 45.2:19).
- ⁶³ See Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1:15n1. The three manuscripts that show this language are Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 555 (12th century), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hist. gr. 27 (12th/13th century), and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 40 (13th century).

For Roy See Sergios the Grammarian, Apology to Severos (Joseph Lebon, ed., Severi Antiocheni Orationes ad Nephalium, eiusdem ac Sergii Grammatici Epistulae mutae, trans. Joseph Lebon, CSCO 119–20, SS 64–5 [Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1949], CSCO 119, SS 64:180; CSCO 120, SS 65:138); Severos of Antioch, Second Oration to Nephalius (ibid., CSCO 119, SS 64:37, 39; CSCO 120, SS 65:28, 29); Severos of Antioch, Philalethes (Robert Hespel, ed., Sévère d'Antioch: Le Philalèthe, trans. Robert Hespel, CSCO 133–4, SS 68–9 [Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1952], CSCO 133, SS 68:327; CSCO 134, SS 69:266–7); Michael the Syrian, Chronicle 8.13 (Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., Chronique de Michel le Syrien, trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889–1909], 2:94; 4:219). Notably translations of the Second Council of Constantinople and the Henotikon preserve Rose, while Leo's Tome is translated as Rose in Michael the Syrian. For the translation of the conciliar

to interpret the *Henotikon* and later uses of the juxtaposition as responses to the *Tome*.

ZENO'S HENOTIKON AND THE LEGACY OF THE PAIRING

Various texts and manuscripts communicated this Christological phrase through the latter half of the fifth century. Hesychios of Jerusalem (d. after 451), an heir to the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria, used the pairing as one means of describing the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ: "But just as it is not permissible for the Word to be separated from the flesh, so it is necessary for the sufferings [$\pi a \theta \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau a$] to be intertwined with the miracles [$\theta a \dot{\nu} \mu a \sigma \iota \nu$]." As mentioned earlier in this chapter, quotations of Amphilochios are appended to the *Address to Marcian* soon after the council. Timothy II Ailouros, Patriarch of Alexandria (r. 457–58/60, 476–7), would cite the juxtaposition as found in Leo's *Tome* as evidence for the dyophysite leanings of Chalcedon. Further, the acts of the council were compiled and circulated in manuscripts during this time. Such documents made this pairing known over the thirty intervening years before the appearance of the *Henotikon*.

Zeno issued the *Henotikon* in 482 in direct response to the controversy over patriarchal succession in Alexandria, but it had deeper roots. After Zeno ascended to the imperial throne in 474, his reign was initially cut short when Basiliskos (r. 475–6) usurped the throne in January 475. Aided by Timothy Ailouros,

acts and the *Henotikon*, see 8.13 (Second Council); 9.6 (*Henotikon*); 9.30 (Second Council-Appendix 3) (ibid., 2:117, 152; 253; 4:235, 255, 315).

 65 Hesychios of Jerusalem, Homily 4.3 (Michel Aubineau, ed., Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, Subsidia hagiographica 59 [Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], 1:114, 115; Alexandra Talarico McLaughlin, "Christian Pedagogy and Christian Community in the Fifthand Sixth-century Mediterranean" [Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2017], 213): ἀλλὶ ὤσπερ οὖ θεμιτὸν τὸν Λόγον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς χωρίζεσθαι, οὕτως ἀνάγκη τὰ παθήματα συμπεπλέχθαι τοῖς θαύμασιν. Ibid., 51, brought this passage to my attention.

⁶⁷ Price and Gaddis, *Chalcedon*, 1:77–85, outline the recording and transmission of the acts. After the scribes recorded the sessions, an official effort to compile the acts was undertaken in 454 or 455. Extant Latin translations seem to have come from the time of the Three Chapters controversy in the mid-sixth century.

Basiliskos issued an *Encyclical* that opposed the Council of Chalcedon.⁶⁸ Upon his deposition in 476, he wrote an anti-encyclical.⁶⁹ William Frend describes the effect of the texts that Basiliskos issued: "After the confusion caused by the usurper's encyclical and anti-encyclical it was inevitable that an attempt would be made to find a compromise."⁷⁰ The edict that contained this compromise would come to be called Zeno's *Henotikon*.

The *Henotikon* served as a compromise by skipping over the Council of Chalcedon. The edict reaffirms the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus, expresses desire for unity among the churches, anathematizes Nestorios and Eutyches, and affirms Cyril's Twelve Chapters, as the anathemas had come to be known.⁷¹ Thus, before formulating the text's own Christology, it already hints at its approach to the Council of Chalcedon. Later in the text, it asserts its own authority and warns against false interpretations of Chalcedon: "We anathematize everyone who has thought or thinks anything else, either now or ever, either at Chalcedon or at any such synod, and especially the previously mentioned Nestorios and Eutyches and those who think as they do."⁷² It would seem that the *Henotikon* neither condemns nor supports Chalcedon.

After these preliminaries, the *Henotikon* expresses its own short confession of faith. The first part reads:

We confess that the only-begotten Son of God, even God, the one who became human in truth, our Lord Jesus Christ, the one who is consubstantial with the Father in his divinity and the same one who is consubstantial with us in his humanity,

⁶⁸ Basiliskos, *Encyclical*, is preserved in Evagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.4 (Bidez and Parmentier, *Ecclesiastical History*, 101–4; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, TTH 33:133–7); Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.2a–e (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 83, SS 38:211–13; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:177–80). It also appears in a manuscript dating to the fifth century: Eduard Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse 32, no. 6 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1927), 49–51.

⁶⁹ Basiliskos, *Anti-encyclical*, is preserved in Evagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.5 (Bidez and Parmentier, *Ecclesiastical History*, 105; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, TTH 33:138–9), and in the same fifth-century manuscript; Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 52.

⁷⁰ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 176. The association between Basiliskos's *Encyclical* and the need for the *Henotikon* has been around at least since Tillemont, see, for example, Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris, 1692–1712), 16:328; Edmund Venables, "Henoticon, The," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, vol. 2 (London, 1880), 893; Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1891), 765; G. Loeschcke, "Monophysiten und Monotheleten," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Michael Schiele and Leopold Zscharnack, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1913), 473.

⁷¹ Zeno, *Henotikon* (Bidez and Parmentier, *Ecclesiastical History*, 111–13; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, TTH 33:147–9).

⁷² Ženo, Henotikon (Bidez and Parmentier, Ecclesiastical History, 113; Whitby, Ecclesiastical History, TTH 33:149): Πάντα δὲ τὸν ἔτερόν τι φρονήσαντα ἢ φρονοῦντα, ἢ νῦν ἢ πώποτε, ἢ ἐν Καλχηδόνι ἢ οἴα δή ποτε συνόδω, ἀναθεματίζομεν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοὺς εἰρημένους Νεστόριον καὶ Εὐτυχέα καὶ τοὺς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντας.

who came down and became flesh from the Holy Spirit and the virgin and Godbearer Mary, is one and not two.⁷³

This confession of faith preserves the language of consubstantiality, featured in the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople. It calls Mary the God-bearer, a central aspect of the debate leading up to the Council of Ephesus. But it avoids the controversy perpetuated by Chalcedon by omitting divisive language of "nature(s)." It speaks of the divinity and the humanity of Christ, but does not speak of a divine or human nature. In brief, it presents a new formulation of Christology that attempts to skip over the controversy over Chalcedon.

This new formulation of Christology includes an explicit use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings. The *Henotikon* continues:

For we say that both the miracles $[\theta a \acute{\nu} \mu a \tau a]$ and the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$, which he willingly endured in the flesh, are of one. For those who divide $[\delta\iota a\iota\rhoo\hat{\nu}\nu\tau as]$, confuse $[\sigma\nu\gamma\chi\acute{\epsilon}o\nu\tau as]$, insert an illusion, we do not receive at all, since the sinless incarnation from the God-bearer in truth has not made an addition $[\pi\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta\nu]$ to the Son. For the Trinity remains a Trinity, even when one of the Trinity, the Word of God, became flesh.

The second sentence echoes the *Definition of Chalcedon*. It warns against dividing $(\delta\iota a\iota\rho\epsilon\omega)$ and confusing $(\sigma v\gamma\chi\epsilon\omega)$, both of which the definition includes and were presumably aimed at Nestorios and Eutyches, respectively.⁷⁵ But the first sentence, which contains the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings, seems aimed at Leo's *Tome*.⁷⁶ Rather than Leo's formulation in which one "form" is associated with the miracles and the other with the violations or sufferings, both the miracles and the sufferings are emphatically "of one" $(E\nu\delta)$, as the first sentence begins. Another version of the *Henotikon* preserved in an anti-Chalcedonian manuscript from the time of Zeno contains a slightly different, and perhaps more emphatic, version of the pairing: "For we say that both the miracles $[\theta a \psi \mu a \tau a]$ and the sufferings $[\pi a \theta \eta]$, which he willingly endured in

⁷³ Zeno, Henotikon (Bidez and Parmentier, Ecclesiastical History, 113; Whitby, Ecclesiastical History, TTH 33:149): 'Ομολογοῦμεν δὲ τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ θεοῦ υίὸν καὶ θεόν, τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου, ἔνα τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο.

⁷⁴ Zeno, Henotikon (Bidez and Parmentier, Ecclesiastical History, 113; Whitby, Ecclesiastical History, TTH 33:149): Ένὸς γὰρ εἶναί φαμεν τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄπερ ἑκουσίως ὑπέμεινε σαρκί. Τοὺς γὰρ διαιροῦντας ἢ συγχέοντας ἢ φαντασίαν εἰσάγοντας οὐδὲ ὅλως δεχόμεθα, ἐπείπερ ἡ ἀναμάρτητος ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σάρκωσις προσθήκην υἱοῦ οὐ πεποίηκε. Μεμένηκε γὰρ τριὰς ἡ τριὰς καὶ σαρκωθέντος τοῦ ἑνὸς τῆς τριάδος θεοῦ Λόγου. Ibid. offers a slightly different translation.

 $^{^{75}}$ See the *Definition of Chalcedon* (Schwartz, ACO 2.1.2:129; Price and Gaddis, *Chalcedon*, TTH 45.2:204), which confesses "one and the same Christ, the Son, the Lord, the only-begotten, perceived in two natures without confusion $[\mathring{a}\sigma v\gamma\chi\acute{v}\tau\omega_{S}]$, without change, without division $[\mathring{a}\delta\iota a\iota\rho\acute{e}\tau\omega_{S}]$, without separation" (ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν νίὸν κύριον μονογεν $\mathring{\eta}$, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν $\mathring{a}\sigma v\chi\acute{v}\tau\omega_{S} \mathring{a}\tau\rho\acute{e}\pi\tau\omega_{S} \mathring{a}\delta\iota a\iota\rho\acute{e}\tau\omega_{S} \mathring{a}\chi\omega\rho\acute{e}\tau\omega_{S} \gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\acute{c}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu\nu\nu$).

⁷⁶ As Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.1, 254, similarly argues.

the flesh, are of the one only-begotten Son of God."⁷⁷ Some of the authors discussed in this chapter seem to have been familiar with this version. In either case, this edict offers a response to Leo's *Tome*.

Several sources show the immediate reaction to this juxtaposition in the *Henotikon*. Zacharias of Mytilene (*c*.465/6–after 536) wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* that traces the history of the church from 449 to 491. His description of the reaction of the Alexandrian Patriarch Peter Mongos (r. 477–90) highlights the prominent place that the phrase miracles and sufferings had assumed through the *Henotikon*. In this work, Peter Mongos first accepts the *Henotikon* himself and then expounds its doctrinal content to an assembly in Alexandria:

[The Henotikon] is written well and faithfully, as it accepts the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, anathematizes Nestorios and Eutyches, confesses that the body of Christ that was from the virgin is of our nature and that the sufferings [מַבּבּא] in the flesh and the miracles [מֹבּבֹא] that he accomplished were of the same Christ God. This writing also abolishes and rebukes the whole thinking of Chalcedon and the Tome, since Dioskoros and Timothy the Great also thought and interpreted accordingly.80

The Alexandrian patriarch offers a distinctly anti-Chalcedonian view of the *Henotikon*, taking its hesitance toward interpretations of the council as evidence of its opposition. Importantly, Peter highlights the sufferings and the miracles of Christ as part of the confession of faith. The *Ecclesiastical History* records two more addresses that Peter gave on the edict; the pairing recurs in each. ⁸¹ Peter's presentation shows the prominence of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings in the *Henotikon*.

The following section—"Reception of the Pairing among Jacob's Contemporaries"—will treat the reception of the *Henotikon* among Jacob's fellow miaphysites. But it is important to note the enduring legacy of the pairing of miracles and sufferings among Chalcedonian (and neo-Chalcedonian) authors up to and including the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. Pope Gelasius I advocated the two natures of Christ in his treatise *On Two Natures in*

⁷⁷ Zeno, Henotikon (Schwartz, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431, 54): ἐνὸς γὰρ εἶναι φαμὲν τοὺ μονογενοῦς νἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄπερ ἐκουσίως ὑπέμεινεν σαρκί.

⁷⁸ On the author, the *Ecclesiastical History* itself, and the preservation of this work in the work of a later compiler, see Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:3–65.

⁷⁹ Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.7c (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 83, SS 38:224–5; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:195–6). I follow the numbering in the translation edited by Greatrex for clarity.

⁸⁰ Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.7d (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 83, SS 38:225–6; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:196):

reei occoncionis case a cael si ani alono ino accini lumpo in obnofice occoro celan celano occini ciano oco este celano c

⁸¹ Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.7e, 6.2b (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 83, SS 38:226; CSCO 87, SS 41:5; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, 197, 215).

Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios. There he offers three quotations of Amphilochios of Ikonion that emphasize the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity by using this phrase. Similar language also seeps into his own exposition of Christology in this treatise. The North African bishop Vigilius of Thapsus (fl. late 5th century) quotes Leo's *Tome* on miracles and sufferings three times in his *Against Eutyches*, attempting to reconcile it with Cyril's Christology. John Maxentius (fl. early 6th century), who led a group of monks from Scythia to accept an addition to the Trishagion related to suffering, similarly coordinates this passage from Leo's *Tome* with Cyril's thought. The use of this phrase among Chalcedonians and neo-Chalcedonians has appeared in two recent studies.

The Emperor Justinian I issued a series of Christological decrees throughout his tenure. These texts clearly echo the language of the *Henotikon*. In 539 or 540, he wrote a letter to Zoilus, Patriarch of Alexandria (r. 540–51). He refers to the miracles and sufferings when expounding the view he endorses: "For contemplating the miracles $[\theta a \acute{v} \mu a \tau a]$ of Christ, we proclaim his divinity; seeing his sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$, we do not deny his humanity.⁸⁸ The miracles $[\theta a \acute{v} \mu a \tau a]$ are not without the flesh, and the sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta \eta]$ are not without the divinity."

- ⁸² See Gelasius I, On Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios 26 (Hamman, PLS, 3:780–1). He quotes Amphilochios of Ikonion, Fragments 7, 11, and 12.
- ⁸³ Gelasius I, On Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorios 15 (ibid., 3:774), uses the terms "the injury of suffering" (passionis injuriam) and "miraculous feats" (virtutes) in close succession.
- ⁸⁴ Vigilius of Thapsus, Against Eutyches 4.2.4 5.19.2 (Sara Petri, ed., Vigilio di Tapso: Contro Eutiche, trans. Sara Petri, Letteratura Cristiana Antica: Testi [Brescia: Morcelliana, 2003], 192–3, 254–5).
 - ⁸⁵ For an analysis, see Viezure, "Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei," 34-5.
- 86 John Maxentius, *Libellus of Faith* 26 (Franciscus Glorie, ed., *Maxentius, Ioannes Tomitanus: Opuscula; Capitula sancti Augustini*, CCSL 85A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1978], CCSL 85A:21; Matthew Joseph Pereira, "Reception, Interpretation and Doctrine in the Sixth Century: John Maxentius and the Scythian Monks" [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2015], 539–40): "The miracles [*mirabilia*] and sufferings [*passiones*] are rightly believed to be of one and the same incarnate Word of God who became human, because one is not God and the other human but rather the same is God and the same is the human, according to that sentence of blessed Pope Leo, who says: "The impassible God did not refuse to become a passible human, and the immortal one [did not refuse] to be subject to the laws of death.' In like manner, blessed Cyril also [says] against Nestorios ..." (Et ideo recte unius eiusdemque, dei uerbi incarnati et hominis facti, creduntur esse mirabilia et passiones: quia non est alter deus, alter homo, sed idem deus, idem homo—secundum illam beati papae Leonis sententiam, dicentis quia: *Impassibilis deus non est dedignatus fieri homo passibilis, et immortalis mortis legibus subiacere.* His congrue etiam beatus Cyrillus, contra Nestorium ...). On this passage, see Viezure, "*Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei*," 195–6; Pereira, "Reception, Interpretation and Doctrine," 278–9.
- 87 Viezure, "Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei," 34–5, 106–7, 108–9, 111, 118, 140, 195–7, 207–8; Pereira, "Reception, Interpretation and Doctrine," 182–3, 275, 278–9.
- 89 Justinian I, Dogmatic Letter to Zoilus (Mario Amelotti and Livia Migliarde Zingale, eds, Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano, Legum Iustiniani Imperatoris vocabularium:

He uses the pairing similarly in his treatise *Against the Monophysites* from 542 or 543 and his *Edict on the Right Faith* from 551. He even appends an anathema to each of these texts for those who fail to attribute the miracles and sufferings to the one person of Christ. In his *Condemnation of Nestorianism and Other Heresies* from 553, he quotes the *Henotikon* when describing his own views: Both the miracles $[\theta a \acute{v} \mu a \tau a]$ and sufferings $[\pi \acute{a} \theta \eta]$, which he willingly endured in the flesh, are of one and the same. Justinian emphasizes that the miracles and the sufferings are of one.

Through Justinian's efforts the juxtaposition spread further. Justinian called a council in 532 between Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian bishops to resolve their differences. A Latin account of this meeting indicates that the specific phrasing regarding the miracles and sufferings of Christ was debated at this gathering. Further, the *Code of Justinian*, issued first in 529 and then in 534, includes several of the emperor's works that feature the Christological

Subsidia 3 [Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1977], 58): βλέποντες γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ θαύματα, κηρύττομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα· ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πάθη, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· οὕτε δὲ τὰ θαύματα χωρὶς σαρκός, οὕτε τὰ πάθη χωρὶς τῆς θεότητος.

⁹⁰ Justinian I, Against the Monophysites 5 (Eduard Schwartz, Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, n.s., 18 [Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1939], 8): Τούτοις οὖν ἀκολουθοῦντες τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄπερ ἑκουσίως ὑπέμεινεν σαρκί, γινώσκομεν; Justinian I, Edict on the Right Faith (ibid., 74): δι ὁ οὖκ ἄλλον τὸν θεὸν λόγον τὸν θαυματουργήσαντα καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν παθόντα ἐπιστάμεθα, ἀλλ ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, ἄπερ ἑκουσίως ὑπέμεινεν σαρκί, ὁμολογοῦμεν.

91 Justinian I, Against the Monophysites 199 (Schwartz, Drei dogmatische Schriften, 43): Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὰς δύο φύσεις τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν συνδραμεῖν ἔνα τε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀποτελέσαι καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτοις καὶ ἀδιαιρέτοις αὐτὸν γνωρίζεσθαι, καθ' ὁ τέλειον ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη εἶναι πιστεύομεν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. For Justinian I, Edict on the Right Faith (ibid., 90), see footnote 97 on the Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople, Session 8, which quotes this text.

⁹² Justinian I, Against the Nestorians (Amelotti and Zingale, Scritti teologici, 34): ένὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, ἄπερ ἐκουσίως ὑπέμεινε σαρκί. On the context of this work, see ibid 32

⁹³ On this meeting and for further bibliography, see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Orthodox-Oriental Orthodox Conversations of 532," *Apostolos Varnavas* 41 (1980): 219–27; Sebastian P. Brock, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47, no. 1 (1981): 87–121.

⁹⁴ Innocentius of Maronia, *Conversation with the Severians* (Schwartz, *ACO* 4.2:183): "After we spoke with each other in the name of the Lord, [our] opponents, trying to accuse us before the most pious emperor, suggested to him in private through a certain person, that we do not acknowledge that God suffered in the flesh or that he is one of the Holy Trinity nor that of the same person are both the miracles [*miracula*] and the sufferings [*passiones*]" (Et postquam in nomine domini conlocuti sumus inuicem, accusare nos temptantes contradicentes ad piissimum imperatorem, secrete suggesserunt ei per quendam, tamquam non confitentibus nobis deum passum carne uel unum eum esse de sancta trinitate nec eiusdem esse personæ tam miracula quam passiones). Viezure, "*Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei*," 207–8, pointed me to this passage.

phrase.⁹⁵ The Second Council of Constantinople in 553 quoted the anathema appended to Justinian's *Edict on the True Faith* as a canon,⁹⁶ where it reads:

If anyone says that God the Word who worked miracles $[\theta av\mu a\tau ov\rho\gamma\eta\sigma av\tau a]$ is one and the Christ who suffered $[\pi a\theta \acute{o}\nu\tau a]$ is another, or says that God the Word was with Christ who came from the woman or was in him as one in another, but does not say that he is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who became flesh and became human, and that of the same one are both the miracles $[\theta a\acute{v}\mu a\tau a]$ and the sufferings $[\pi\acute{a}\theta\eta]$, which he willingly endured in the flesh, let such a person be anathema. 97

Justinian's works show the endurance of this juxtaposition beyond the context that led Zeno to issue the *Henotikon*. Adherence to his understanding of this Christological phrase became law.

After Justinian's edicts and the work of the council, it becomes difficult to discern how an author came to use the pairing of miracles and sufferings. Yet it had an afterlife among Chalcedonian authors. The pairing would be heard in churches in the imperial city through a sermon of Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople (fl. mid-6th century)⁹⁸ and through a hymn of Romanos the Melode.⁹⁹ In the seventh century, Sophronios of Jerusalem (*c*.560–638) would once again turn to this language to criticize Nestorios and to align himself with

⁹⁵ Code of Justinian 1.1.5.1 (Paul Krueger, ed., Codex iustinianus [Berlin, 1877], 10); 1.1.6.5 (ibid., 11). Justinian's correspondence with Pope John II (533–5) provides a translation of this juxtaposition, based here on the *Henotikon*, into Latin: Code of Justinian 1.1.8.18 (ibid., 16): "eiusdem miracula et passiones sponte carne sustinuit." John Maxentius, Libellus of Faith 26 (Glorie, Maxentius, CCSL 85A:21; Pereira, "Reception, Interpretation and Doctrine," 539), also uses passiones: "The miracles [mirabilia] and sufferings [passiones] are rightly believed to be of one and the same incarnate Word of God" (Et ideo recte unius eiusdemque, dei uerbi incarnati et hominis facti, creduntur esse mirabilia et passiones).

⁹⁶ See Richard M. Price, trans., *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: With Related Texts on the Three Chapters Controversy*, TTH 51 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), TTH 51.1:143n73.

 97 Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople, Session 8, Canon 3 (Schwartz, ACO 4.1:240; Price, Constantinople, TTH 51.2:120): Εἴ τις λέγει ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν λόγον τὸν θαυματουργήσαντα καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν παθόντα ἢ τὸν θεὸν λόγον συνεῖναι λέγει τῶι Χριστῶι γενομένωι ἐκ γυναικὸς ἢ ἐν αὐτῶι εἶναι ὡς ἄλλον ἐν ἄλλωι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη, ἄπερ ἑκουσίως ὑπέμεινε σαρκί, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

98 Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople, Homilies 7.7.110–11 (Cornelis Datema and Pauline Allen, eds, Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae, CCSG 17 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1987], CCSG 17:246; Pauline Allen and Cornelis Datema, trans., Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople: Fourteen Homilies, Byzantina Australiensia 9 [Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1991], 90): "The one who suffers is not one, and the one who works miracles another" (οὐκ ἄλλος ὁ πάσχων καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θαυματουργῶν).

⁹⁹ Romanos the Melode, Hymns 57, Strophe 1.1 (Paul Maas and C. A. Trypanis, eds, Sancti Romani Melodi cantica: Cantica genuina [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963], 488): "When the martyrs saw the sufferings and the miracles of Jesus" (Τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὰ παθήματα καὶ τὰ θαύματα κατιδόντες οἱ μάρτυρες).

Cyril of Alexandria. 100 John of Damascus (*c.*675–749), likewise, expresses his understanding of Christology with this pairing in his *On the Divine Images* and *Exposition of the Faith*. 101 Chalcedonian writings show the legacy of the pairing of miracles and sufferings to expound Christology and to criticize opposing Christologies. A parallel legacy emerged among miaphysite authors.

RECEPTION OF THE PAIRING AMONG IACOB'S CONTEMPORARIES

The juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings—prevalent in the post-Chalcedonian debates as we have seen—recurs in the writings of miaphysite authors of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. This subsection will discuss their varied uses of this pairing, which fall into two major categories: (1) criticisms of dyophysite Christology, and (2) expositions of miaphysite Christology. The works of Philoxenos and John of Tella (482–538) represent the former, those of Severos of Antioch mostly the latter. This section argues that these authors were engaging in a debate over the use of the *Henotikon* for expressing Christology when using this pairing. It thereby provides a framework for understanding Jacob's own use of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings.

A wider debate over the *Henotikon* within miaphysite circles serves as the backdrop for the uses of the pairing surveyed below. A composite narrative drawn from histories and chronicles distinguishes several synods that outline a developing approach to the *Henotikon*. Alois Grillmeier, among others,

101 He ties it directly to the practice of icon veneration: John of Damascus, Discourses on the Divine Images 3.2 (Bonifatius Kotter, Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres, Patristische Texte und Studien 17, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos 3 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975], 71; Andrew Louth, trans., Three Treatises on the Divine Images, Popular Patristics 24 [Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003], 82): "For some have risen up, saying that it is not necessary to make icons and set forth the saving miracles of Christ and the sufferings for contemplation, glory, marvel, and zeal" (ἀνέστησαν γάρ τινες λέγοντες, ώς οὐ δεῖ εἰκονίζειν καὶ προτιθέναι εἶς θεωρίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ θαῦμα καὶ ζῆλον τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σωτήρια θαύματά τε καὶ πάθη). See also John of Damascus, On the Orthodox Faith 47 (Bonifatius Kotter, Expositio fidei, Patristische Texte und Studien 12, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos 2 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973], 115, 137, 149; P. Ledrux, trans., Jean Damascène: La foi orthodoxe, SC 535, 540 [Paris: Cerf, 2010–11], SC 540:25, 77, 105).

identifies four: "Constantinople (507), Antioch (509), Sidon (511) and Antioch (513)." Philoxenos arrived in the imperial city for the Synod of Constantinople in 507. During and soon after the synod, Philoxenos came into conflict with the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem over the *Henotikon*. After the Synod of Antioch in 509, Philoxenos made four demands of Flavian II, the Patriarch of Antioch (r. c.498–512), to prove his orthodoxy: (1) anathematize Nestorios, (2) ratify the Twelve Chapters, (3) affirm the *Henotikon*, and (4) approve of a miaphysite formula while rejecting dyophysite ones. After the second of these synods, it is clear that adherence to the *Henotikon* no longer served as a sole basis for unity.

At the emperor's request, Severos then drafted an imperial letter that contained a new definition of faith, entitled the *Formula of Satisfaction* or the *Typus*. ¹⁰⁴ But this text did not satisfy Flavian. At the third synod in 511 at Sidon, Philoxenos and Severos agreed that the *Henotikon* could only serve as a basis for unity when coupled with rejections of Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*. ¹⁰⁵ The fourth synod, at Antioch in 513, was called after Severos had replaced Flavian as patriarch of Antioch in the previous year. ¹⁰⁶ This synod addressed three items: (1) the legitimacy of Severos's episcopacy, (2) an anathema of Chalcedon and the *Tome*, and (3) a restoration of unity on this basis. ¹⁰⁷ Severos offered "the same terms to all clergy as a basis for unity, namely acceptance of the *Henotikon* coupled with denunciation of the *Tome* and Chalcedon." ¹⁰⁸ Thus, through these four synods,

¹⁰² Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, 269. Grillmeier's comment on the Synod of Tyre (514) supports the view of de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 81–3, and it responds to Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 227. De Halleux's and Grillmeier's solution to the problem of this synod has been well received, see Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, 19; F. K. Haarer, *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 46 (Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2006), 159.

¹⁰³ De Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 50–1. For the letter, see Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Letter to the Monks of Palestine* (André de Halleux, "Nouveaux textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabbog: I—Lettre aux moines de Palestine—Lettre liminaire au *Synodicon* d'Éphèse," *Le Muséon* 75, no. 1–2 [1962]: 33–7, 40–4). De Halleux dates this text between 509 and 512 (ibid., 56–8).

¹⁰⁴ The text of the *Typus* is preserved in two parts: Anastasios I, *Typus* (Karapet Ter-Měkěttschian, ed., Ψάμρ δωιωυπη μάηδωῦπη υπιρρ μίμημσιη [Etschmiadzin: Tparan Mayr Atoroy, 1914], 128; J. Ismireantz, ed., Ψήηρ ρηρης, Sahag-Mesrop Library 5 [Tbilisi: Éditions Peeters, 1901], 277–8). A full English translation appears in Frederick C. Conybeare, "Anecdota Monophysitarum," *The American Journal of Theology* 9, no. 4 (1905): 739–40. But the revisions of this translation should also be noted: Paul R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D.* 535 (London: S.P.C.K, 1966), 950–1; Haarer, *Anastasius I*, 281. On the dating of the *Typus* and Severos's role in its composition, see C. Moeller, "Un fragment de Type de l'empereur Anastase I," *Studia Patristica* 3 (1961): 246–7; Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, 8.

But, on their slight differences, see Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, 275, 286.
 Chronicle of Zuqnin (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 104, SS 53:13–14; Amir Harrak, trans., *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, *Parts III and IV: A.D. 488–775*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 36 [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999], 47–8).

De Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 80; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, 282.
 Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 223. Frend draws on several sources in creating this summary. It does not appear directly in this form in Severos's writings.

a common approach developed: the *Henotikon* served as a basis for proving one's orthodoxy when accompanied by rejections of dyophysite texts.

The reports of the historians and chroniclers on Philoxenos's and Severos's debates over the usefulness of the *Henotikon* represent what may have been a wider discussion. Severos's colleague, Zacharias of Mytilene, may have written his *Ecclesiastical History* in support of the *Henotikon* as a unifying document for the church. Located near the capital of the Sasanian Empire, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the Syriac author Symeon of Beth Arsham (d. before 548) seems to model his own exposition of the faith, composed in 505 or 506, on the *Henotikon*. Symeon had attended the Council of Dvin in 505 or 506 called by Babgēn I, Catholicos of Armenia (r. 491–516). The proceedings of this council juxtapose miracles and sufferings to describe the beliefs of their opponents:

They say that it is proper to divide and say openly: "Perfect God and perfect human, that is, the perfect God assumed the perfect human, Jesus Christ. Since he loved him, he made him worthy to be honored in his own worship, and the human who acquired grace was honored. As for the signs [½½½½] and the miracles [½½½½]hu½] that he performed through the Word of God, who came down from heaven and dwelled in him, that is, in Jesus, these same miracles [½½½½]hp½] that he performed became strengthened in him. In regard to the sufferings [½½½] and humility that he had in himself and [that] he was found mortal like us, he was the Son of God by means of the Word of God [although being] from a [stock] equal to our human stock."

¹⁰⁹ Greatrex, *Chronicle*, 29: "Zachariah's work was that of a moderate anti-Chalcedonian who believed in the *Henotikon* as a solution to the divisions that had rent the empire."

¹¹⁰ As argued by Theresia Hainthaler, "Der Brief des Simeon von Bet Aršām über den Nestorianismus in Persien: Eine Positionsbestimmung der persischen Anti-Nestorianer auf der Grundlage des Henotikon," in *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich*, ed. Arafa Mustafa, Jürgen Tubach, and G. Sophia Vashalomidze (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007), 189–204. Her article offers an interpretation of Symeon of Beth Arsham, *Letter on Barsauma and the Heresy of the Nestorians* (Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 1:346–58). On the life of Symeon of Beth Arsham, see Jeanne-Nicole Mellon Saint-Laurent, *Missionary Stories and the Formation of the Syriac Churches*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 55 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 80–95.

¹¹¹ Nina G. Garsoïan, *L'église arménienne et le grand schisme d'orient*, CSCO 574, Subsidia 100 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 186–94.

112 Letter of the Armenians to the Orthodox of Persia (Ismireantz, Գիրք թղթոց, 45–6; Garsoïan, Léglise arménienne, 444–5; Karekin Sarkissian, The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church, 2nd ed. [New York: The Armenian Church Prelacy, 1975], 200)։ Եւ шսեն. թէ արժանի է բաժանել և шսել յայտնապէս՝ Աստուած կատարեալ և մարդ կատարեալ։ այսինքն է, Աստուած կատարեալ եառ մարդ կատարեալ գՅիսուս Քրիստոս. և վասն զի սիրեաց զնա. արժանի արար զնա պատուել ընդ իւր յերկրպագութիւն, և պատուեցաւ մարդն որ եառ շնորհս յինքն։ և նշանս և սբանչելիսն զոր առնէր բանիւն Աստուծոյ՝ որ էջն յերկնից և բնակեաց ի նմա այսինքն է ի Յիսուս, և զաւրացան ի նմա սբանչելիքն զոր առնէր, և զամենայն ցաւս և զիսնարհութիւն ունէր յինքեան, և գտաւ մահկանացու որպէս զմեզ, լեալ՝ ի մարդկան ազգէս հաւասար իւր, բանիւն Աստուծոյ, որդի Աստուծոյ. I am grateful to Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev for assisting me with the translation of this passage. The writings of Timothy Ailouros seem to have served as a means of communicating the teachings of the Council of Chalcedon and perhaps along with it Leo's Tome to the Armenian church (Sarkissian, Chalcedon, 194–5).

Authors in the Roman Near East and in Sasanian Armenia and Persia engaged with the *Henotikon*. The widespread knowledge of this edict suggests that it served as one source for the language of miracles and sufferings in the texts discussed in this chapter.

Philoxenos's corpus refers regularly to the *Henotikon*, framing it as an anti-Chalcedonian edict. Several texts within Philoxenos's corpus take the genre of chapters. André de Halleux describes them as follows: "[They] appear in the form of short theses, articles, or anathemas, gathered in a numbered collection... They sometimes reflect synodal resolutions." In two such texts, Philoxenos explicitly states that he understands the *Henotikon* as a text that involves the rejection of Chalcedon. His *Letter to the Monks of Palestine*, from between 509 and 512, states that he adheres to the *Henotikon* "because it anathematized and rejected the addition that entered through Chalcedon." His *Letter to the Reader Maron of Anazarbos*, dated between 513 and 518, states: "We also receive the writing, the *Henotikon*, as a rejection of those things that were at Chalcedon and an anathematization of Eutyches." His continued support for the *Henotikon* lasted into his second exile in 520, as seen in another letter from this time of his life. These texts demonstrate that Philoxenos on the whole supported the edict and interpreted it in an anti-Chalcedonian sense.

Between the years 482 to 484, Philoxenos engaged in a heated exchange with the monk Habib who supported a dyophysite Christology. 118 Their debate

¹¹³ De Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 178: "Les 'chapitres' philoxéniens se présentent sous la forme de courtes thèses, articles ou anathématismes, réunis en des séries numérotées…ils sont parfois le reflet de résolutions synodales."

114 Philoxenos of Mabbug, Particular Chapters That it is Fitting to Anathematize Everyone Who is a Nestorian 4–5 (E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., The Discourses of Philoxenus: Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519 [London, 1894], xxxviii–xxxix, cxxi–cxxii); Seven Chapters Against Those Who Say that It Is Fitting that the Evil Portion of the Doctrines of the Heretics Should Be Anathematized, But that It Is Not at All Right that They Should Be Rejected with Their Whole Doctrine 4 (London, British Library, Add. 14604, fol. 114r).

Philoxenos of Mabbug, Letter to the Monks of Palestine (de Halleux, "Nouveux textes I," 35, 42):

Philoxenos of Mabbug, Letter to Symeon, Abbot of Teleda (Lebon, "Textes inédits," 181, 192): "They anathematized like us the synod and the Tome, and they also received with us purely, and not in deceit as Flavian and Macedonius, the writing, the Henotikon" (מאמאס אסבר משושה משולים בער מונים אסבר משושה משולים).

118 On this debate and the dossier of texts related to it, see de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 225–38; André de Halleux, "Le *Mamlelā* de 'Ḥabbīb' contre Aksenāyā: Aspects textuels d'une polémique christologique dans l'Église syriaque de la première génération post-chalcédonienne," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History*, ed. C. Laga, J. A. Munitiz, and Lucas Van Rompay, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1985), 67–82.

started when Philoxenos wrote a *Letter to the Monks on Faith*. This letter advocates a miaphysite Christology and incorporates the pairing of miracles and sufferings:

Let us guard ourselves from the wickedness of those who say that the virgin bore both God and a human. They divide and number the one only-begotten of God as two, who is from two—from the divinity and from the humanity. They separate and attribute in the one God who was embodied, the lowly things to one and the exalted things to the other, the miraculous feats [معتلاء] to one and weakness to the other.

The phrase "and attribute" (محصحه) is reminiscent of the debates among Cyril, Nestorios, and Theodoret. In the same section of the letter, Philoxenos mocks a Christological view that asserts that "One suffered [حصه] and one did not…One suffers [العنعة] in reality, but one [suffers] only in name." Although miracles and sufferings do not occur in in the same phrase, their inclusion in this short section anticipates the type of accusations that Philoxenos will make of his opponents. 121

Habib wrote a *Tractate* that criticized the Christology expressed in Philoxenos's letter. This prompted Philoxenos to write two works to counter Habib's criticisms of his miaphysite Christology: a brief *Refutation* and *Ten Discourses against Habib*. Neither Habib's *Tractate* nor Philoxenos's *Refutation* contain the pairing of miracles and sufferings. But an extended passage in the eighth discourse explores the problem of understanding the miracles and sufferings of Christ as representing his divinity and humanity. Philoxenos responds to a question posed to him by Habib: "How then do you discern between the things that are fitting for the divinity and the things that are fitting for the humanity?" 124

In reply, Philoxenos first contrasts Christ's sufferings with the miracles that he performed: "If from the birth from a virgin until the death on the cross I see the sufferings of a human, and through these things he is known as a human,

¹¹⁹ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Letter to the Monks on Faith* 17 (Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes decem*, PO 41.1:46, 47):

urmi क ioses rous rotas rotas ocius dri cholds. ocely a ocus to this two ur unra rotas. rotas e sicho ur unra rotas rotas rotas rotas soco ur otas soci ur otas soc

¹²⁰ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Letter to the Monks on Faith* 17 (ibid., PO 41.1:46, 47):

מעו על הפא מעול לא ... מעו נעד כבבו א מעו כבולא.

¹²¹ Philoxenos also quotes this passage in *Florilegium* 134 (ibid., PO 41.1:92, 93).

¹²² Habib, *Tractate* (ibid., PO 41.1:10-32, 11-33).

¹²³ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Refutation* (ibid., PO 41.1:32–6, 33–7); *Ten Discourses against Habib* (ibid., PO 15.4, 38.3, 39.4, 40.2).

how shall I understand the things that are fitting for the divinity? Clearly through the signs [which he accomplished." 125 Yet, he notes, other figures from biblical history also performed miracles and experienced human sufferings: "But then also in Moses, Joshua, Elijah, and Elisha, I should understand these things which are fitting for the divinity, since they also accomplished such signs [אמֹמֹא]. When they too are naturally tested through all the sufferings of their nature, as you have said also about Christ, then the things that are fitting to the divinity also pertain to them." 126 Philoxenos then asks how someone should distinguish Christ from these figures: "Yet none of them is called 'God and human, 'Son of God,' 'Christ,' 'only-begotten,' or 'the Lord.' If you say that Moses is called 'God,' then, look!, Joshua is also the Lord through the honor of grace, and there is then nothing to distinguish [them]."127 This passage ends with a polemical remark against Habib: "After these things, what should we say to you, except: 'Shut your mouth and do not blaspheme!' For the faith will not be troubled by its truth." ¹²⁸ Philoxenos's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this treatise parallels his use of this phrase in his Letter to the Monks on Faith. He urges Habib not to emphasize the distinction between the divinity and the humanity of Christ. While his language does not directly parallel the Henotikon in either of these works, it reflects very well the edict's emphasis on unity.

Philoxenos wrote a letter to Zeno sometime before the emperor's death in 491. This letter coordinates his commitment to the edict with his use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings. He does not refer to the *Henotikon* by name, but uses the juxtaposition:

Therefore, I anathematize the wicked Nestorios and his teaching that separates [عنع] the natures and the hypostases in the one Christ, attributes the miracles to God and the sufferings to the human [מביב לבינים למלכי למלכים למכיל למנים למכיל למנים למכיל למנים למכיל למנים למכיל למנים למנ

Philoxenos of Mabbug, Ten Discourses against Habib 8.33 (ibid.):

כבה אב כבנישא נישה ב האלא באלא באלא אלא מלך נפאה לאנמטולא. בלל ג'אב מניים ג'אהיי מלך אולמט אל באל באל באל האיי אולמולא שבה מניים יום בבלמים של הבעמים בינונמים בינולמים מניים בעלא איי האכלול אב של בשעל מניים מניים מניים במ במניים אה מלה נפאה לאנמטולא.

Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 8.33 (ibid.):

 $^{^{128}\,}$ Philoxenos of Mabbug, Ten Discourses against Habib 8.33 (ibid.):

ארטה אות בעל היא ביים ביאלו ביים אות ביים אות ביים אות ביים אותם הוא המביז אותם לא השלובים אותם אותם ולא השלובים אותם ולא איים אותם ולא Philoxenos may have taken a trip to Constantinople in 484, which would have provided a context for his relationship with the emperor Zeno (Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.1, 269). On his previous contact with Zeno, see Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, Chronicle 7.80; 7.10a (Brooks, Historia ecclesiastica, CSCO 87, SS 41:47–8, 50; Greatrex, Chronicle, TTH 55:264, 266).

denies openly the economy of the Word who became human. With this one, I also anathematize the heretic Eutyches. 130

Linguistic similarities suggest that Philoxenos has the *Henotikon* in mind. He uses the same words for miracles and sufferings as the Syriac translation of the *Henotikon*. Further, Philoxenos states that Nestorios separates (عنه) the natures, which the *Henotikon* explicitly prohibits: "We in no way accept those who separate [حصات] or confuse [the natures]." He also quotes a passage from one of Nestorios's works in his *Letter to Abu Ya'fur* in which Nestorios uses the language of separation. The *Henotikon*'s expression of the juxtaposition underlies Philoxenos's criticism of dyophysitism. On Philoxenos's view, Nestorios's Christology directly contradicts that of the *Henotikon*. The juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings helps him emphasize this contrast.

John of Tella, present at several of the synods mentioned above, ¹³³ uses the pairing in a similar way. John would assume an important role in the development

¹³⁰ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Letter to the Emperor Zeno* (Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde, ed., *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh (485–519)*, trans. Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde [Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1902], 172–3):

Resident som and liser suppisson obsolera an seise and aus course course hereis sollow and source the sollow sollow sollows and sollows and sollows and sollows and sollows and sollows sollows sollows.

¹³¹ Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.8b (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CŠČO 83, SS 38:230; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:200):

لملع بعة وحداعيم مه محلطي ... ليحة لم مصطلع سي. Written between 498 and 503, Philoxenos of Mabbug, Letter to Abu Ya'fur, includes a quotation from the correspondence between Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorios. The quoted passage includes some of the language that Philoxenos attributes to Nestorios here. See Philoxenos of Mabbug, Letter to Abu Ya'fur (Jean-Pierre Paulin Martin, Syro-chaldaicae institutiones, seu introductio practica ad studium linguae aramaeae [Paris, 1873], 72–3): "For this reason, it is fitting for us to separate [منطع and to attribute [منطح] properties to the two natures. This is, namely: the conception, birth, swaddling, circumcision according to the law, offering to Symeon the priest, flight to Egypt, upbringing, baptism in the Jordan from John, temptation from the slanderer, hunger, thirst, rest, sleep, weariness from the labor of life, suffering [سعته], death, burial, and resurrection, to that man who was born from Mary; and the miraculous feats [ستك], signs, and mighty acts to God the Word who dwelled in him from time to time. This is the faith of wicked-סבקלל חניא לב באיא ל הנפוש בעלל הולעיא אלוניתם בי בניאי חני הן לבי בקליא בער א הכבובאי הבעודים (ness" ם בוסואה ובערמשה מסובה ולחול שמנת במנה ביומה מבומה ולביב ון מולובעולה וממכולה מבכוח ובעולונן ובן הענן. בענים ובן אבל פון אי בפנאים, כאי מאי בנהכלא בעלא ולאפלא ובן בכלא וא היא נייאי בעלא סכיסולאי. ססביסולאי ססעיכולאי. לחים כינשאו נכן כיוש אולגו סעולאי סאולולאי זיין בייסולאי. לחים אלחיאי כלולא .הבבל מסא במ כובן ובן. מגא מי מבנטולא גוֹסבא. This is a highly contested text "due to the interpolation of a section about the Turks in the text" (David Allen Michelson, "A Bibliographic Clavis to the Works of Philoxenos of Mabbug," Hugoye 13, no. 2 [2010]: 298). See Sebastian P. Brock, "Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenos to Abu 'Afr," Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 50 (1967): 199-206. But the contested portion does not include the selection quoted above.

¹³³ Chronicle of Zuqnin (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 104, SS 53:11–14; Harrak, Chronicle, 46–8), places John at Sidon (511) and Tyre (514), which we can identify with Antioch (513). This part of the chronicle may be derived from the lost part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus. See Witold Witakowski, trans., Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: Chronicle (Known Also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin), Part III, TTH 22 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), xxvi–xxix.

of the miaphysite ecclesiastical hierarchy by ordaining clergy in the 520s and 530s. 134 Around 536 or 537, he composed a *Profession of Faith*. The audience for this text was likely individuals in his former diocese from which he had been sent into exile. 135 Near the beginning, John states his didactic focus: "The divine Paul, the wise architect, has laid for us a spiritual foundation that the scandals of the heretics cannot shake so that everyone might wisely build a heavenly building on it according to the measure of the gift that he receives from God." The *Profession* contains both positive statements about what one ought to believe and negative statements about what "heretics" believe. The language of miracles and sufferings appears in the latter. He writes: "They attribute miracles [מוביות to the human."137 The words for miracles and sufferings parallel those in Philoxenos's Letter to the Emperor Zeno and in the Syriac translation of the Henotikon. John uses the pairing to express the erroneous Christology of his opponents which contradicts the *Henotikon*. John's teaching would not be lost on his followers. The *Life* of John of Tella, written only a few years later, also features the language of miracles and sufferings. 138

As indicated above, Severos of Antioch's use of the juxtaposition generally differs from that of Philoxenos and John with one important exception. Several of Severos's letters are associated with the debate over whether the edict can be accepted without explicit condemnations of Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*. ¹³⁹ It is

¹³⁴ On John's activities, see John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 24 (E. W. Brooks, ed., *John of Ephesus: Lives of the Eastern Saints*, trans. E. W. Brooks, PO 17.1 (82); 18.4 (89); 19.2 (92) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923–5], PO 18.4:311–24). See also Volker L. Menze, "The *Regula Ad Diaconos*: John of Tella, his Eucharistic Ecclesiology and the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Exile," *Oriens Christianus* 90 (2006): 44–90.

¹³⁵ Volker L. Menze and Kutlu Akalın, eds, *John of Tella's* Profession of Faith: *The Legacy of a Sixth-century Syrian Orthodox Bishop*, trans. Volker L. Menze and Kutlu Akalın, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 25 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 36.

¹³⁶ John of Tella, *Profession of Faith* (ibid., 58, 59):

הביבוא מבילאי המשל המשל בל ממל לב במל המה המולאים המשלה במשלה המשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה במשלה John of Tella, Profession of Faith (ibid., 84, 85):

המכבן לגיבוא לאומא המשא לבושא.

Life of John of Tella (E. W. Brooks, Vitae virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum, CSCO 7–8, SS 7–8 [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1907], CSCO 7, SS 7:81; Joseph Renee Ghanem, "The Biography of John of Tella (d. A.D. 537) by Elias Translated from the Syriac with a Historical Introduction and Historical and Linguistic Commentaries" [Ph.D. diss., The University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970], 93): "his wonders and his sufferings" (מספים (הספים). There is unfortunately a lacuna immediately preceding this phrase, but John is engaged in a dispute over Christology throughout this section. I am grateful to Jack Tannous for this reference.

139 Several of his letters point to a general debate over this point. See Select Letters 6.1:2 (E. W. Brooks, ed., The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis, trans. E. W. Brooks [London: Williams and Norgate, 1902–4], 1.1:16–17; 2.1:15–16), which dates between 508 and 511; Select Letters 6.4:2 (ibid., 1.2:288–9; 2.2:255–6), which dates between 513 and 516; Letters 46 (E. W. Brooks, ed., A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts, trans. E. W. Brooks, PO 12.2 (58); 14.1 (67) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919–20], PO 12.2:320), which dates between 516 and 517; Letters 49

in this context that the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings appears. Before becoming bishop, Severos addressed Leo's *Tome* in both his *Second Oration to Nephalius* and his *Philalethes*. He quotes the section of the *Tome* on the miracles and the sufferings, and makes clear that he sees this part of the *Tome* as an expression of erroneous dyophysitism.¹⁴⁰

Severos far more regularly used the juxtaposition to expound his Christology. His support for the edict likely developed over time, as the historian Liberatus of Carthage (fl. mid-6th century) states that Severos rejected the moderate Peter Mongos and did not accept the *Henotikon* before going to Constantinople in 508. Although Severos's letters still show opposition to Peter Mongos, he took a positive view of the *Henotikon*. By the time he delivered his inaugural homily after his installation as bishop of Antioch in 512, he would pair miracles and sufferings to expound his Christology:

Just as the one who at the beginning will confess with an upright heart, an unmovable mind, and unchangeable faith that the Word of God became flesh in the flesh that is consubstantial to our own, as I said earlier, he will then confess that the same one is God in truth and human, and he will accord to this same one the sufferings [\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{p}\beta qqqueres] and the miracles [\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{e}qqqueres], the words that are suitable for

(ibid., PO 12.2:323-4), which dates between 516 and 517; and Select Letters 6.5:11 (Brooks, Select Letters, 1.2:373; 2.2:330), which dates between 520 and 534.

¹⁴⁰ Severos of Antioch, Second Oration to Nephalius (Lebon, Orationes et Epistulae, CSCO 119, SS 64:37, 39; CSCO 120, SS 65:28, 29). See also Severos of Antioch, Philalethes (Hespel, Le Philalèthe, CSCO 133, SS 68:327; CSCO 134, SS 69:266-7): "How do you put forward the teachings of the Synod of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo that openly say, 'Each of the forms works in participation with its companion that which is its own. While the Word does that which is of the Word, the body completes those things that are of the body. One of them shines with miracles [בלגיפיולא]; the other succumbs to disgraces [تريد]. But if the Word does the things of the Word, and the body completes its own things, and one of them shines with miracles, while the other succumbs to disgraces, the participation is some sort of love and is from an idea of indulgence, just as the mad Nestorios rand must be been rapined on, reclasors of pocaso who is flowed motion of a section in) בל עדא כב, וכבולא בצחלפסולא ועביולה מם כנב דאשלפת, ולה: בו כללא כב, שבי מם כנב דאשלפת, וכללא פגוא ון כשכלא מלן ואנימת ופצוא סעו כעמם כן כן כן כע כלוכוואא מם ון אעוא על לעוף ה בדאה הם הם הלולא מבו מלב הכלולא מס הם פליא השבלא מלב הלוחי מעה בעמם ב בה בה בע במנכדולה מס ובן אשונה עבל מעול ב בדה שחמפחמה מנמ גושבחמה המלמה חנמן מגבעלה נעסכה הי معند، اread معنام. I read معند as معند , as ibid., CSCO 133, SS 68:327n4, suggests. I read אגבאל as אובאל as Hespel's translation (pensée) indicates that this is a misprint.

¹⁴¹ Liberatus of Carthage, A Brief Account on the Matter of the Nestorians and Eutychians 19 (PL 68:1033A): "However, Severos, when he was dwelling earlier [that is, before he went to Constantinople in 508] in the monastery, did not accept Zeno's edict nor Peter Mongos" (Is autem Severus, cum sederet prius in monasterio, non suscipiebat Zenonis edictum, nec Petrum Moggum). Liberatus indicates that he received this report from John the Rhetor, the author of the Life of Severos, which may refer to John of Beth Aphthonia. But this does not reflect information found in the extant version of that text. Torrance, Christology after Chalcedon, 4, pointed me to Liberatus.

 142 See, for example, Severos of Antioch, *Select Letters* 6.4:2 (Brooks, *Select Letters*, 1.2:286–90, 2.2:253–7). This letter was composed between 513 and 516. See the following paragraph for his letters that support the *Henotikon*.

the divinity and for the humanity, the cross, the grave, the resurrection, immortality, and death. 143

Severos attributes both the miracles and the sufferings to the one incarnate Word of God. The Coptic words used here are often used to translate the Greek words for miracles and sufferings as found in the *Henotikon*. ¹⁴⁴ Further, the word used for "miracle" corresponds to a translation of the *Henotikon* in a Coptic paraphrase of the edict. ¹⁴⁵ Unlike the *Philalethes* and the works of Philoxenos and John, this homily uses the juxtaposition to expound his Christology rather than criticize dyophysites.

Severos's view of the *Henotikon* as an orthodox expression of Christology surfaces in a letter from later in his episcopacy. ¹⁴⁶ Severos wrote to Alexandrian priests who had told him: "When we were saying that the edict has an orthodox confession of faith... we were saying this as an allowance, not in truth." ¹⁴⁷ The priests, Severos asserts, have confused that which is not worth anything from that which is imperfect and therefore can still contain some truth. ¹⁴⁸ He challenges them: "Let someone go on and say what heresy [the *Henotikon*] is introducing which states: 'For we say that both the miracles [מבּבּיבּה], which he endured willingly in the flesh, are of the

¹⁴⁴ Walter Ewing Crum, A Coptic Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 712, cites πάσχω as the first Greek corollary to ωεπειςε, and κακοπάθεια for the nominal form used in Severos's homily. Ibid., 581, likewise marks θανμα as the first Greek corollary to ωμπρε.

Letters of Peter Mongos and Akakios (E. Amélineau, Memoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, Monuments pour servir a l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IVe et Ve siècles 4 [Paris, 1888], 219): теперомологен ммоч поул понрі оуог в ан. нюї мкаг нем пюфирі тепмеуї ерфоу же наоулі не. The Boharic rendering of орпире із фирі. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 164, lists $\pi \acute{a} \sigma \chi \omega$ as a translation of нюї мкаг. On the text and its inauthenticity, see Amélineau, Memoires publiés, xxxi-xlvi. An apparently authentic translation of these letters exists in Armenian, see Ismireantz, 9 pp pang, 243–76. On its authenticity, see Conybeare, "Anecdota Monophysitarum," 719.

¹⁴⁶ Brooks, *Collection*, 123, dates this letter between 516 and 518.

Severos of Antioch, *Letters* 39 (ibid., PO 12.2:126):

הען (בן) אפין האינושלם אסינים אליים ולא ונים ולא) המשבטולא אינו ליים ולאיים ולאיים ולאיים ולאיים ולאיים ולאיים

 $^{^{143}}$ Severos of Antioch, Cathedral Homilies 1.13 (Brière and Graffin, Homiliae cathedrales: I à XVII, PO 38.2:16, 17): гос де петнарфоррії йфгомологеї гії оугнт ечсоутом. мій оумебує наткім. мій оушетіє натфіве мілогос мілюуте, же ачрсар \bar{z} \bar{z} \bar{u} оусар \bar{z} еснії етбіоусіа ноуфт ймман. Ката бе йтаіфрії жоос. Чнагомологеї он мілеіоу \bar{x} ноуфт же йточ пе пноуте ги оуме ауф проме. Ауф чнафп ёпбіоу а ноуфт йммітречфігісе. мій нефінре ййфаже єттооме єтмітноуте. мій на тмитроме. Пес-рос. Птафос. Танастасіс. Тмитатмоу. Ауф пмоу.

one only-begotten Son of God."¹⁴⁹ Severos concedes that the priests might say that "they are not sufficient to overturn the scandals."¹⁵⁰ Severos still frames the *Henotikon* and the pairing as useful for the construction of Christology at this point in his career. They are not all that is necessary. And Severos will even urge the monks to make the ambiguous parts of the edict clear. ¹⁵¹ But the *Henotikon* and the juxtaposition with it should not be dismissed.

The approaches of these three authors differ, even if they are complementary. For Philoxenos and John, the pairing of miracles and sufferings served as a rebuttal to the Christology of Nestorios and Leo's *Tome*. They found it serviceable for pointing out the heterodoxy of their opponents' thought. For Severos, the *Henotikon* and the pairing were mostly helpful in constructing Christology. These three authors and their uses of the juxtaposition provide the nearest context for Jacob's uses of the same.

Before turning to Jacob's writings, it is important to note the broader theological debates occurring in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Most relevant for the discussion of miracles and sufferings is the theopaschite controversy. Dana Viezure's recent dissertation incorporates the pairing of miracles and sufferings into the narrative of this debate, drawing especially on Latin and Greek sources. An addition to the Trishagion served as focal point in this debate which affected liturgical practices. It may be fruitful to investigate the discussions of the miracles and the sufferings of Christ in works related to this controversy. For example, Philoxenos discusses the pairing of miracles and

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¹⁵² Viezure, "Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei." See the previous citations of this work in this chapter for the particular topics that appear in this dissertation.

153 For overviews of this debate, see Edith Klum-Böhmer, Das Trishagion als Versöhnungsformel der Christenheit: Kontroverstheologie im V. u. VI. Jh. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979); Sebastian P. Brock, "The Thrice-Holy Hymn in the Liturgy," Sobornost 7, no. 2 (1985): 24–34; Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.2, 254–62; Viezure, "Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei," 121–41; Luise Abramowski, "From the Controversy on 'Unus ex Trinitate passus est': The Protest of Ḥabib against Philoxenus' Epistula dogmatica to the Monks," in Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), part 3, The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600, ed. Theresia Hainthaler, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 545–620; Michelson, The Practical Christology, 155–9.

sufferings in his debate with Habib on only two occasions and includes two quotations in the *Florilegium* that feature this phrase.¹⁵⁴ Yet, the topic of miracles appears in four of the works included in the collection of texts related to Philoxenos's and Habib's debate.¹⁵⁵ Sufferings are discussed in each of the texts in this dossier.¹⁵⁶ Further studies may fruitfully situate the additional Latin, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian sources discussed within such debates. This monograph focuses only on texts that pair the miracles and sufferings of Christ. This precision helps demonstrate that Jacob of Serugh participated in this debate through his homilies. Such clear and strong verbal connections are necessary to connect his subtle allusions to these controversies.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the development of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings from the late fourth century through the early sixth. Greek and Latin writers ensured that the pairing would be a topic of discussion at the Council of Chalcedon. This Christological phrase spread through Leo's *Tome* and its affirmation at this council. Zeno's use of the juxtaposition offers a response to Leo's *Tome*. The *Henotikon* and the *Tome* both served as vehicles that communicated this pairing to later centuries. Justinian cemented its legacy by making it part of his law code. Jacob's fellow miaphysites used the Christological phrase both to expound their own Christology and to criticize that of their opponents. The use of this phrase in Jacob of Serugh's works should not be seen as mere

¹⁵⁴ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Florilegium* 93, 140 (Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes decem*, PO 41.1:82, 83; 94, 95). The first quotation comes from Cyril of Alexandria and the second from Basil of Caesarea.

¹⁵⁵ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Florilegium* 83, 93, 134, 140, 252, 272 (ibid., PO 41.1:80–3, 92–5, 118–19, 124–5); *Ten Discourses against Habib* 1.35 (ibid., PO 15.4:25–6); 2.41 (ibid., PO 15.4:87); 3.70 (PO 38.3:66–7); 8.33 (ibid., PO 39.4:138–9); 10.138 (ibid., PO 40.2:128–9). I have adopted a different citation practice in this footnote and the following due to the number of citations. The edited text and the translation are cited continuously rather than separated by commas for citations from PO 38.3, 39.4, 40.2, and 41.1.

¹⁵⁶ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 1.32–6, 42, 45 (Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes decem*, PO 15.4:23–6, 28, 34–6); 2.12, 14, 28, 30–1, 33 (ibid., PO 15.4:61–2, 74–5, 78); 3.45, 48 (ibid., PO 38.3:44–7); 4.32, 38 (ibid., PO 38.3:92–3, 96–7); 5.35–8 (ibid., PO 38.3:146–9); 6.16–17, 56 (ibid., PO 39.4:14–17, 34–5); 7.12, 18, 27, 29, 43, 49, 57, 60, 62 (PO 39.4:70–5, 78–81, 86–9, 92–7); 8.12, 15–16, 20, 30, 32–3, 120, 128, 157–8, 174 (ibid., PO 39.4:128–33, 136–9, 182–3, 186–7, 200–1, 208–9); 9.21–2, 25–6, 42, 48–9, 51–3, 67–8, 83, 90, 92, 96, 107, 112–13, 118, 120, 128, 144–5 (ibid., PO 40.2:16–19, 24–9, 34–7, 42–9, 52–7, 60–1, 66–7); 10.14–15, 22, 24, 26, 69–70, 75, 77, 102–3, 118–19, 124, 137, 139 (ibid., PO 40.2:76–7, 80–3, 96–101, 112–13, 120–3, 128–9). See also Habib, *Tractate* 12, 35, 41, 43–6, 49, 53 (ibid., PO 41.1:41–15, 20–1, 24–9), and Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Florilegium* 3, 23, 81, 93, 134, 140, 189, 204, 230, 264–8, 273–4 (ibid., PO 41.1:58–9, 64–5, 78–9, 82–3, 92–5, 106–7, 110–11, 114–15, 122–5); *Letter to the Monks on Faith* 17, 20, 23, 26, 32 (ibid., PO 41.1:46–55); *Refutation* 73 (ibid., PO 41.1:36–7).

coincidence. Rather Jacob was participating in a discussion of the miracles and sufferings of Christ that spanned the Roman Empire—and beyond to Armenia and the Arabian Peninsula—and across no less than five languages. In what follows, we will see how Jacob of Serugh appropriated this phrase into his native language of Syriac and used it to promote his Christology in his own corner of the Roman Empire.

Jacob of Serugh's Letters as a Context for his Homilies

Write to us fully and make anathemas in your letter just as Mar John, bishop of Alexandria, did, and as the friend of God, Mar Philoxenos, bishop of Mabbug, also did, who in their letters anathematized Diodoros, Theodore, Theodoret, Nestorios, Eutyches, the *Tome* of Leo, the bishop of Rome, the addition and innovation that came through Chalcedon, everyone who refuted the Twelve Chapters of blessed Cyril, everyone who assents to a dispensation for them, everyone who does not accept the unifying writing, the *Henotikon* of the deceased Emperor Zeno, and all who divide the natures or their properties or their activity in the one Christ, with all the rest of the heretics.¹

Abbot Lazarus of the Monastery of Mar Bassus to Jacob of Serugh

I accept the writing, the *Henotikon*, which was made by the blessed Zeno, the faithful emperor. I anathematize the addition that came through Chalcedon... Those who dared to interpret him in a natural way were confused by him. Because they saw in him the miraculous feats of God and the sufferings of a human, they erred by dividing him so that he would be two: one God and the other human.²

Jacob of Serugh, Letter to the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus

¹ Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:62):

The L certismes orwing coloride. The same received and seasons substantions of such some start for ing whom rie, extransor seasons second seco

INTRODUCTION

The debate over the *Henotikon* encircled the Mediterranean world. Extant texts reveal that ecclesiastical and political figures quarreled over the edict's Christology in Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and many places between the patriarchal sees. Jacob, serving as a *periodeutes* in the Roman Near East, was no stranger to this debate. His correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus (*Letters* 13–17), the *comes* Bessas (*Letter* 35), and the Himyarites (*Letter* 18), connect Jacob to this wider controversy. This chapter demonstrates that Jacob uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings to explain the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity in each correspondence. He draws on this language both to argue against the Christology of his opponents and to exposit his own understanding of Christology. The consistent polemical usage of this juxtaposition will be critical for linking Jacob's letters to his homilies in the following chapters. His letters justify the connections Chapters 4 through 6 draw between Jacob's homilies and the specific debate over the *Henotikon* in the second and third decades of the sixth century.

The examination of Jacob's correspondence has the further goal of linking him to the activities of his peers, Severos of Antioch, Philoxenos of Mabbug, Symeon of Beth Arsham, and John of Tella. Thus, each section devotes considerable attention to the recipients of letters: a monastery in the Roman Near East, a military official stationed in Edessa, and a Christian community in the Kingdom of Himyar in South Arabia. As his contemporaries, he advocated for miaphysite Christology locally, from afar, and with both ecclesiastical and public figures. Since the specific audiences to whom Jacob addressed his homilies prove difficult to discern, this chapter describes the contexts that prompted his correspondence. It offers a window into Jacob's connections to networks of individuals involved with the post-Chalcedonian debates.

No comprehensive study on Jacob's letters has appeared. Thus, a brief description of this corpus will place the letters featured in this chapter in context. Jacob's forty-two letters survive in over thirty manuscripts.³ Jacob addresses bishops, priests, monastic audiences, and secular figures. His letters feature discussions on asceticism, clerical concerns, consolation, biblical exegesis, and theology. Around half have Christology as their central theme. This high percentage likely is disproportionate, and many may have been preserved because of their later utility for theological debates.⁴ The letters that stand at the center of this chapter address Christology as their principal concern.

³ Ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:iii–v, lists the twenty-five manuscripts used for the critical edition. There are at least seven additional manuscripts that contain the letters, as discussed in Philip Michael Forness, "New Textual Evidence for Jacob of Serugh's Letters: An Analysis and Collation of Five Monastic Miscellanies," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 20, no. 1 (2017), 51–128.

⁴ The earliest manuscript, London, British Library, Add. 14587, which dates to 603, provides marginal notes near the beginning of each letter, which may suggest why individual letters were preserved. They specify the content of each letter when the title does not make this clear.

ECCLESIASTICAL DEBATES: CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MONASTERY OF MAR BASSUS

Jacob's correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus demonstrates his involvement in the debate over the *Henotikon* in ecclesiastical circles. The series of five letters exhibits the monastery's efforts, and particularly those of its abbot Lazarus, to encourage Jacob to declare his opposition to dyophysite Christology. They succeeded in this venture, and Jacob expresses his support for the *Henotikon*, as seen already in the epigraphs to this chapter. He uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings in these letters to represent the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ. This links Jacob's use of this phrase to the *Henotikon*. It therefore serves as an interpretive key for understanding the appearance of this phrase in other letters and homilies. This section first locates the monastery of Mar Bassus within miaphysite networks of the early sixth century before turning to an exposition of the correspondence. These letters solidify Jacob's involvement in miaphysite ecclesiastical networks during the early-sixth-century debates over the *Henotikon*.

The Monastery of Mar Bassus

The monastery of Mar Bassus assumed important roles in the miaphysite movement in late antiquity. Already in the fifth century, Theodoret of Cyrrhus reports that Mar Bassus himself had gathered more than two hundred followers. The *Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite*, from the year 473, likewise commemorates Mar Bassus for founding a successful monastery. A late hagiographic account of the founding of the monastery claims that this number increased more than

 $^{^5}$ For the figure of two hundred followers, see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, History of the Monks of Syria 26.8 (Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, eds, Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie, trans. Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, SC 234, 257 [Paris: Cerf, 1977–9], SC 257:174; Richard M. Price, trans., A History of the Monks of Syria by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Cistercian Studies 88 [Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985], 163): "Then when that great Bassus was exceedingly pleased, he laid hold of the flock by describing this great miracle. For he had more than two hundred religious followers" (Υπεραγασθεὶς τοίνυν ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος Βάσσος τὴν οἰκείαν ἀγέλην κατέλαβε τὸ μέγα τοῦτο διηγούμενος θαῦμα. Πλείοσι γὰρ ἢ διακοσίοις θιασώταις ἐχρῆτο).

thirtyfold within the sixth century.⁷ Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene (fl. 569) names the monastery of Mar Bassus as one of the monasteries forced into exile because of a Christological disagreement at the beginning of the reign of Justin I.⁸ When miaphysites started establishing their own ecclesiastical hierarchy, John from the monastery of Mar Bassus would assume one of these posts, as John of Ephesus narrates.⁹ The Tritheist controversy, lasting from 557 to 571 would necessitate gatherings of monastic leaders. The monastery of Mar Bassus hosted two such meetings.¹⁰ The abbots of this monastery subscribed to synodical decrees from this controversy and were involved with other major miaphysite debates of the sixth century. The importance of this monastery frames Jacob's correspondence within a larger miaphysite network.

The monastery also associated with Philoxenos and Severos. Philoxenos himself states that he stayed in the monastery before he went back up to Constantinople around 507.¹¹ Mar Bassus seems to have been located near modern-day Batabo in northwestern Syria, about halfway between the

⁸ Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* 8.5c (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 87, SS 41:80–1; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:303–5).

⁹ John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 50 (Brooks, *Lives*, PO 19.2:502.). See also ibid., PO 19.2:587, which quotes this passage in a spurious work.

¹⁰ Marlia Mundell Mango, "Where Was Beth Zagba?" *Harvard Ukranian Studies* 7 (1983): 407–9. On this controversy and the role of Mar Bassus in it, see R. Y. Ebied and Lionel R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum: Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 10 (Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1981), 20–33, especially 23; Albert Van Roey, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication de Conon et d'Eugène (557–69)," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 16 (1985): 140–65, especially 155–6, 158–9, 161–2; and Alois Grillmeier, "The Tritheist Controversy in the Sixth Century and its Importance in Syriac Christology," in *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, *From the Council of Chalcedon* (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), part 3, *The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600*, ed. Theresia Hainthaler, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 268–80, especially 273.

major cities of Antioch and Aleppo. ¹² This placed the monastery within the jurisdiction of Antioch. ¹³ Based on its location, Severos not surprisingly had regular correspondence with its abbots. ¹⁴ The surviving letters evidence several different occasions for contact. During Severos's episcopate, their correspondence addresses matters of discipline within the monastery, ¹⁵ a debate over the episcopal succession of a bishop, ¹⁶ and a response to the inclusion of the names of individuals who attended Chalcedon in the diptychs. ¹⁷ One of Severos's letters, from around 516, helps identify the current Abbot in the monastery: Abbot Antiochus. ¹⁸ A letter signed by Abbot Julian of Mar Bassus reached Severos during his exile in Alexandria. ¹⁹ Two letters from this same period concern the monastery's request for additional clerics, and Severos addresses one to Abbot Julian. ²⁰ Philoxenos's and Severos's connections to the monastery suggest the large network of communication to which Jacob's own letters belong.

- - ¹³ See the map in Mango, "Beth Zagba?" 11.
- ¹⁴ The anonymous author of the *Foundation of the Great Monastery of Mar Bassus at Apamea, near Emesa* knew of Severos's correspondence with the monastery. See Chabot, *La légende*, 61.
 - ¹⁵ Severos of Antioch, Select Letters 10.6 (Brooks, Select Letters, 1.2:503–4; 2.2:447).
 - ¹⁶ Severos of Antioch, *Select Letters* 1.11 (ibid., 1.1:52–7; 2.1:47–52).
 - ¹⁷ Severos of Antioch, Letters 40 (Brooks, Collection, PO 12.2:133).
- 18 Severos of Antioch, *Letter to Antiochus, Abbot of Mar Bassus*. This letter appears in Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Syr. 22, fol. 68r-v, 61r-v, 74r-76v, 80r-v. It is discussed in Sebastian P. Brock, "Some New Letters of the Patriarch Severos," ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *Studia Patristica* 12, no. 1 (1975): 22–4. This letter discusses a condemned miaphysite leader named Romanos, who, as Brock, ibid., 24, points out, "has sometimes been described by modern scholars as a Julianist. Severos' letter to Antiochos shows that this is impossible, Romanos having been dead several years before the controversy between Severos and Julian of Halikarnassos broke out." Brock (ibid., 22n4), points to René Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ: Étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* (Leuven: P. Smeesters, 1924), 79–81; and Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés*, 82–3.
- ¹⁹ Letter Sent by the Holy Orthodox Monasteries of the East to Alexandria, to the Holy and Renowned Patriarch Severos. This letter appears in Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Syr. 22, fol. 1r–3r. See Brock, "Some New Letters," 18–19.
- ²⁰ Severos of Antioch, *Select Letters* 5.15 (Brooks, *Select Letters*, 1.2:402; 2.2:357), reports that the monastery has requested more clerics. Severos of Antioch, *Select Letters* 1.59 (ibid., 1.1:197–8; 2.1:178–9) suggests that the request has been fulfilled. Severos addresses the second letter to Julian.

The Debate over the *Henotikon*

The five letters exchanged between Jacob and the monastery contain internal evidence for their dating. The letters come from the reign of Emperor Anastasios I (r. 491–518), whom Jacob mentions by name in *Letter* 17.²¹ They must date before 516, as Jacob addresses Abbot Lazarus rather than Abbot Antiochus, who corresponded with Severos of Antioch around 516.²² Finally, *Letter* 17 discusses what was said "at an eastern synod" (حماية المعارفة الم

Taeke Jansma has offered a compelling system of dating for the entire corpus that links it to miaphysite debates over the *Henotikon*. He suggests that *Letters* 13 and 14 date to 511 or 512, that *Letter* 17 dates to the time shortly after Severos's accession, and that *Letters* 15 and 16 appeared in between. ²⁵ This dating explains the explicit reference to Severos's teachings in *Letter* 17 and suggests why such allusions do not appear in earlier exchanges. Dating all the letters to this time-frame also corresponds to the period of the most intense discussion of the *Henotikon* in miaphysite circles.

Jansma's dating, which I accept, has implications for Jacob's involvement in the debate over the *Henotikon*. After a salutation, the monks of Mar Bassus write in their letter: "May our Lord, sir, reveal to your fatherhood that we were much grieved after we understood through the letter those things that you did for us when you were with us." Jacob took a trip to the monastery at some point, and seemingly during the time of this debate. Thus, Jansma's dating coupled with this glimpse of Jacob's own activity suggest why the *Henotikon* appears prominently in this exchange.

- ²¹ Gunnar Olinder, *The Letters of Jacob of Sarug: Comments on an Edition*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, n.f., avd. 1, 34.1 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1939), 36.
 - ²² Brock, "Some New Letters," 22.
 - ²³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 17 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:85).
- ²⁴ Jansma, "Encore le credo," 366–7, and Olinder, *Comments*, 46–7, opt for dating this letter after 512, while Behnam M. Boulos Sony, trans., *Lettere di Giacomo vescovo di Sarug, 451–521 a.d.* (Rome: Guaraldi, 2008), 33, suggests that the "eastern synod" refers to the synod of 513.
- ²⁵ Jansma, "Encore le credo," 350–1, 366–7. Jansma, "Credo of Jacob," 33, provides a chart of these dates.
- 26 Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:62):
- حق محذر دلے کہ کا درموں اور کی الم علم سال مے حاف المالوم سے حدادی کی المحدد اللہ المحدد اللہ المحدد اللہ الم
- ²⁷ See, Olinder, *Comments*, 36, on the chronology of when Jacob visited: "בו אים לאיט בי ארב, 'when you were with us,' makes us presume that the letter number 14, to which this is a reply, had been written by Jacob during a visit to the monastery of Mar Bassus and not sent there after his return home. Or may we add a מבסס and translate 'when you had been with us'?"

Renouncing Heretics through the Henotikon

Jacob addresses the first letter in the correspondence to Abbot Lazarus, and points to the importance of the *Henotikon* for his Christology. He begins with the ineffability of Christ: "God the Word, the only-begotten of the Father, the eternal child, the one who is incomprehensible, unsearchable, inexplicable, uncontainable, unspeakable, inscrutable, which no word can approach and [to which] no tongue can respond, appeared in the flesh through the holy virgin, the God-bearer." Jacob then expounds on the incarnation of the ineffable Word of God before turning to the crucifixion. The cross provided a place for his sufferings:

The activity developed and came to the cross of sufferings [شعنہ], and he received the sufferings [شعنہ] without complaint, and he endured [سعنه] the cross without murmuring. He was able to die because he wanted to be embodied and because he was repaying the debt for those things that he endured [سعد] by his will [صوحته]. He was not wearied in the pains, nor did he fear the disgrace of the cross of reproach, but he mocked the shame and did not consider the suffering [عدده].

This quote does not pair miracles and sufferings, but it does reflect the language of the *Henotikon*. The coordination of "sufferings" (هعنة), "endured" (هعنة), and "by his will" (صيحة), parallels the *Henotikon*, which speaks of "the sufferings [هعنة] that he willingly [صحة] endured [عمدة] in the flesh."³⁰ Jacob then specifies that it was precisely through the crucifixion that he revealed his divinity.³¹ The remainder of the letter treats the relationship between the divinity and humanity of the Word of God. Here Jacob expresses miaphysite Christology in this way: "One nature that was embodied without receiving an addition [همده المحمده على المحمده المحمد المحمده
²⁹ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 13 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:54):
שבר הלא המשבל והלים המשבל ה

³⁰ Zacharias of Mytilene, Ecclesiastical History 5.8b (Brooks, Historia ecclesiastica, CSCO 83, SS 38:230; Greatrex, Chronicle, TTH 55:200): אינאלא אינער פעמילים פעמילים פעמילים אינער הערטים פעמילים פעמילים אינער פעמילים פעמילי

³² Jacob of Serugh, Letters 13 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:56):

עד בעל האל בשת. בו לא מבל ולחספלא.

Henotikon which rejects the "addition" ($\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\theta\dot{\eta}\kappa\eta$) made at Chalcedon.³³ Jacob indicates that the sufferings should be attributed not to a human nature, but to the one incarnate Word of God.

Letter 14 provides deeper insight into both Jacob's relationship with Mar Bassus and his perspective on the *Henotikon*. He restates the question that prompted him to write: "The chaste brothers from the holy monastery of your fathers came to me, testing me and saying: 'We wish, sir, that you would make known to us through your letter if you, sir, anathematize Diodoros and Theodore, who became a cause of the scandal for the true teaching of faith." Jacob claims that he not only anathematizes these teachers of dyophysitism, but that he even rejected them in his youth while studying at the school of the Persians in Edessa where their works were being taught and translated into Syriac. Jacob concludes the letter by expressing his own Christology:

Because Christ is not divided [כאפוע] in two, for he is one God in truth who became human in truth through the embodiment from Mary, as it is written, "The Word became flesh and dwelled among us" [John 1:14]. He both performed miraculous feats [סבי עינואר] and endured sufferings [סבי עינואר]. Both the exalted things and the humble things are of the one only-begotten who is indisputable, untranslatable, inscrutable, indivisible, unsearchable, and unspeakable.³⁶

This passage pairs Christ's miracles and sufferings and predicates them on one Christ.

The word used for "miraculous feats" (متلکم) differs from that used in the Syriac translation of the Henotikon for "miracles" (مالله المدحة المدحة (المدحة المدحة المدحة) regularly translated the Greek word $\delta \dot{\nu} \nu a \mu \iota s$, which often refers to Christ's miracles in the New Testament. Thus But Jacob uses this word consistently when pairing miracles and sufferings, as will become evident. The addition of "by his will" (حيات عنه) in a twelfth-century copy of this text after "endured sufferings" (منت سته) strengthens the connection to the Henotikon, which specifies that Christ "endured the sufferings willingly" (منت المدحة
³³ Zeno, *Henotikon* (Bidez and Parmentier, *Ecclesiastical History*, 113; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, TTH 33:149).

³⁴ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 14 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:58):

אינא ובפא כן במכוא מושא האכימום בם במושה לה מושבת לה מאכון. בב בת כלו הוסוב ל בוג

³⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 14 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:61):

of U is call country thing. Fur no shows caries, two so is such caries, and U is called the sign of U
³⁷ Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 263. Passages in which the Peshitta translates δύναμις as in reference to Christ's miracles are: Matt. 11:20, 21, 23; 13:54, 58; Mark 6:2, 5; Luke 10:13, 19, 27; 19:37; Acts 2:22.

גביבים (גביבים). 38 Jacob does not mention the edict in this letter. Yet he does, as his contemporary Severos, use the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings from the *Henotikon* to express his Christology.

After expounding the *Henotikon*, he turns to Leo's *Tome* and dyophysitism. He explains this erroneous view of Christology:

He is the one who appeared in the flesh from Mary so that two hypostases might be known in Emmanuel: one, the recipient of sufferings [כמבטלא געיבאה], and one, the performer of miraculous feats [מבסל א העיבאה], and so that the exalted things might be attributed to one and the humble things to another and in all ways two might be confessed: one God and the other human; two who are one Son. 45

- ³⁸ This is London, British Library, Add. 14733, fol. 79r, as Olinder, *Epistulae*, 61n12, points out.
- 39 The title indicates that it is from the "Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus" (מביא רביה לביה,), but the first line specifies that it was Lazarus who sent it: Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:62): "To the holy one and friend of God, Mar Jacob, the wise periodeutes [רלם מום בים בים בים האומים לביו גדולים לביו גדולים לביו היום לביו היום לביו בים לבים בים שלבים בים לביו בים בים לביו בים לביו בים לביו בים בים בים בים בים בים בים בים
 - Letter of the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus to Jacob (Letter 15) (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:62):

ملحلة الم حمحل لحلاحم حسيتم صدر إس العم حلم الله .

- - ⁴³ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:66):
 - تحصد لسد بعنی ان به حلک . حرامل الموصولات وسورات در محالمترون . حل صحدولی دعنی .
 - ⁴⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:68):

סבן ולמיד מבבל אמליה למספמא.

⁴⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:71):

מסבת מס דכבשו אולעו, כך כדובך. סדטל בגם בבכנטאבל ולוך שנטפיץ. עד כבבלא ועייאה. סעד שבטוא דעיילא: סדטל הייים וכלא לעד סכבלא לאעונאי סכבל פסומב על לסדם לווך. אלמא עד סכו אעיא אעונאי דאיל עסק אבן לוונמס ב עד כוא. Here the miraculous feats and sufferings are attributed to two hypostases, as Leo's *Tome* attributes the miracles and violations to two. The similarity in language here between *Letters* 14 and 16 shows Jacob interpreting this pairing as a reversal of the *Henotikon*'s Christology. This reversal appears a second time near the end of this letter. Here he condemns their views even more strongly: "Because they saw in him the miraculous feats [عناص] of God and the sufferings [صناص] of a human, they erred by dividing [عناص] him so that he would be two: one God and the other human." Jacob uses the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings to criticize dyophysite Christology, just as Philoxenos and John of Tella did.

The final letter (*Letter* 17) in the correspondence emphasizes Jacob's miaphysite understanding of the *Henotikon*. Jacob describes the reason for the *Henotikon*'s composition: "[Zeno] rejected that gathering of Chalcedon through this unifying writing so that its history would neither be spoken in any way nor recounted among the orthodox." When Jacob turns to the eastern synod, he says that Severos's speech expressed in the open what the *Henotikon* left hidden. Here Jacob seems in line with Severos, who regarded the *Henotikon* as orthodox yet imperfect in that it does not make explicit all that it implies. This final letter in the extant correspondence secures Jacob's connection to the debate over the *Henotikon*. He knows of Severos's interpretation of the document after his accession. His familiarity with the opinions of his contemporary miaphysites reinforces the argument laid out here that he interacts with their uses of the juxtaposition in these letters.

Jacob's correspondence with Mar Bassus brings out a number of important themes. It demonstrates that Jacob was involved in writing to a location much more centrally located to the debate over *Henotikon* surrounding Severos's accession than his region of Batnae east of the Euphrates. The pairing of miracles

⁴⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:81):

[.] הצור ים המושר מ המאר אין. או המשוא, ממען העבר ל- הצור ים הציים המארא הלביי מים משא של-47 Jacob of Serugh, Letters 17 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:84):

אפסת מה הן לה למה בנהשיא הבלסההיא כמיא בלכא בענהיא. השיף לא נולכלל שוכת. הלא נולכניא בכך להיים, של מה לא נולכניא בכך להיים, שה מה להיים, מהכניאה.

and sufferings indicates Jacob's participation in a wider miaphysite debate. As Severos of Antioch, he uses it to expound miaphysite Christology; as Philoxenos of Mabbug and John of Tella, he criticizes his dyophysite opponents through the pairing. The *Henotikon* through the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings overturns the dyophysite Christology expressed at Chalcedon and in Leo's *Tome*. The firm evidence for Jacob's involvement in this debate serves as a bridge between the ecclesiastical debate and his wider use of the *Henotikon* in other letters and homilies. Perhaps most significantly, it exhibits his specific knowledge of the *Henotikon* and links his use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings to this text.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND CHRISTOLOGY: THE LETTER TO THE COMES BESSAS

The post-Chalcedonian debates affected a wide spectrum of society. Close relationships between the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy amplified the importance of doctrinal debates. The Emperor Zeno, for example, collaborated with the Patriarch Akakios (r. 472–89) to write the Henotikon. Thus, it is not surprising that the Henotikon proved relevant to Jacob's interactions with a military officer. His Letter to the comes Bessas consists primarily of an exposition of miaphysite Christology. A marginal note in the earliest manuscript that contains this text indicates the value of the theological content of the manuscript: "Of the true faith" (אומיבעסאל). Perhaps later generations preserved the manuscript for this reason. To provide an interpretive framework for this letter, this section begins with an exposition of the role of the military in society and of episcopal correspondence with civic and military leaders in the sixth-century Roman Near East. It then identifies for the first time the context that prompted Jacob to compose this letter before exploring its Christological content. In conclusion, I argue that this letter represents an attempt to garner local support for miaphysite Christology at the beginning of the imperial persecution of miaphysites.

Episcopal Correspondence with Public Figures

The importance of this letter for understanding Jacob's role as an advocate of miaphysite Christology can be found through an examination of the relationship between the military and the church in late antiquity, with special reference to

⁵⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:257n4). The marginal note appears in London, British Library, Add. 14587, fol. 96v.

Jacob's contemporaries. The military of the Roman Empire had a large influence on society both broadly and in the Roman Near East particularly. The percentage of the military in society hovered around one and a half to two percent throughout late antiquity. Michael Whitby has identified four areas of contact between soldiers and the broader society: they (1) helped determine who held power, (2) maintained order, (3) negotiated local relationships, and (4) interacted with ordinary citizens. The military likewise had great influence during times of religious strife. The military coup of the imperial throne from Zeno by the military leader Basiliskos, discussed in Chapter 2, provides one extreme example. But the importance of the military in these matters was experienced on a local level as well. Within Jacob's context, military leaders intervened in the disputes between Chalcedonian supporters and miaphysites in Antioch repeatedly throughout the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Associated in the disputes of the military sixth centuries.

During time of war in embattled regions, the impact of the military on society grew. Citizens in the Roman Near East had experienced the burdens of the military.⁵⁴ In the early sixth century, Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite described the effects of the military on the Edessene population during the Roman–Persian war of 502 to 506.⁵⁵ As A. H. M. Jones summarizes:

Owing to the very large numbers of the army which had been assembled troops were billeted not only in inns and private houses, but, contrary to the regulations, in shops and on the clergy. The soldiers turned the poor out of their beds, stole their clothes and provisions, made them wait on them, and beat them up into the bargain: furthermore they exacted oil, wood and salt.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Warren T. Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army*, 284–1081 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 162.

⁵² Michael Whitby, "Armies and Society in the Later Roman World," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors*, *A.D. 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 469–95.

⁵³ As described by Benjamin H. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 272: "In the seventies of the fifth century there were troubles between monophysite and orthodox factions at Antioch. In 484 Illus, the *magister militum per Orientem*, who had been based at Antioch since 481/2, made an attempt at usurpation, which was suppressed by the emperor Zeno. He had found support amongst both pagans and the orthodox in the city. Towards the end of this century there were factional and anti-Jewish disorders at Antioch. These broke out again under Anastasios in 507. On both occasions the *comes* suppressed the troubles. Under Justin there was a change of religious policy in favour of orthodoxy, and this caused serious disorders at Antioch, which was a centre of monophysite activity. They were accompanied by fighting between the blue and green factions between 520 and 526. Despite attempts to suppress them they broke out again in 529, the year of the great Samaritan revolt in Palestine."

⁵⁴ Ibid., 250: "In Mesopotamia even more than elsewhere the imperial authorities and the army made the citizens bear the burdens of military organization."

^{55'} See A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), 2:631–2. Jones points to Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 86, 93–6 (Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum*, CSCO 91, SS 43:306–7, 310–13; Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 32:103–5, 111–15).

⁵⁶ Jones, Later Roman Empire, 2:632.

The frontier between the Roman and Sasanian Empires, including the eastern parts of the Roman Near East, remained contested throughout late antiquity.⁵⁷ The sixth century saw the creation of new officers to manage this region along with new infrastructure to support the increasing number of troops.⁵⁸ As the numbers of military personnel swelled,⁵⁹ it would have been difficult for ordinary citizens, much less clerical leaders, to ignore the presence of the army. Indeed, both the Byzantine and Sasanian armies crossed through Jacob's region of Serugh between the years 502 and 504.⁶⁰

The prominent roles bishops assumed in late antique society have received increasing attention in recent decades.⁶¹ The Constantinian establishment of

⁵⁷ The source materials for wars between Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity are extensive. See Michael H. Dodgeon and Samuel N. C. Lieu, eds, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, Part I: AD 226–363: A Narrative Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1991); Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier, Part II.* For a narrative of the wars during the early sixth century, see Geoffrey Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532*, ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 37 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1998). On the conceptual importance of this frontier, see C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); C. R. Whittaker, *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire* (London: Routledge, 2004).

⁵⁸ For the increase of officers, see Geoffrey Greatrex, "Dukes of the Eastern Frontier," in Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected: Essays Presented by Colleagues, Friends, and Pupils, ed. John F. Drinkwater and Benet Salway, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 91 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2007), 87–98. Archaeological evidence also shows the increasing military presence in this area, see James Howard-Johnston, "Military Infrastructure in the Roman Provinces North and South of the Armenian Taurus in Late Antiquity," in War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives, ed. Alexander Sarantis and Neil Christie, Late Antique Archaeology, 8.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 854–91.

⁵⁹ In the war between Rome and Persia from 502 to 506, the number of troops in the eastern frontier amounted to around 52,000 soldiers. On this army and its relatively large size, see Michael Whitby, "The Army, c.402–602," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 292–3.

⁶⁰ Katarzyna Maksymiuk, *Geography of Roman–Iranian Wars: Military Operations of Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Siedlce, Poland: Instytut Historii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczo-Humanistycznego w Siedlcach, 2015), 62–3.

61 Landmark studies include: Éric Rebillard and Claire Sotinel, eds, L'Évêque dans la cité du IVe au Ve siècle: Image et autorité, Collection de l'École française de Rome 248 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998); Peter Brown, Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001); Andrea Sterk, Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Claudia Rapp, Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 37 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

For the Roman Near East, see Nina G. Garsoïan, "Le rôle de l'hiérarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides," *La revue des études arméniennes*, n.s., 10 (1973–4): 119–38; Rita Lizzi, *Il potere episcopale nell'Oriente romano: Rappresentazione ideologica e realtà politica (IV–V sec. d.C.)*, Filologia e critica 53 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987); Volker L. Menze, "Jacob of Sarug, John of Tella and Paul of Edessa: Ecclesiastical Politics in Osrhoene 519–522," in *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 3 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 421–38; Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil, *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410–590 CE): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

the church, as many have argued, transformed bishops into prominent social leaders. ⁶² Claudia Rapp's *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity* provides the most thorough introduction to development of episcopal leadership in the post-Constantinian Roman Empire. She highlights three aspects of episcopal authority: (1) spiritual authority, (2) ascetic authority, and (3) pragmatic authority. ⁶³ Spiritual authority came as a divine gift granted through the bishop's role in the clerical hierarchy. Personal practice of virtuous behavior, when recognized by others, granted ascetic authority. ⁶⁴ Rapp defines pragmatic authority, most relevant for the present discussion, as follows:

The third member of this triad, pragmatic authority, is based on actions... It arises from the actions of the individual, but in distinction from ascetic authority, these actions are directed not toward the shaping of the self, but to the benefit of others. Access to pragmatic authority is restricted. Its achievement depends on the individual's wherewithal, in terms of social position and wealth, to perform these actions. Pragmatic authority is always public. The actions are carried out in full public view. The recognition of pragmatic authority by others depends on the extent and success of the actions that are undertaken on their behalf.⁶⁵

Interactions with civic and military leaders can be seen as examples of bishops exercising their pragmatic authority.

Such interactions varied and testified to close relationships between bishops and public officials. Bishops made requests to the civic and military leaders on behalf of their flocks and cities. Basil of Caesarea, as Rapp notes, "wrote to praetorian prefects, the master of offices, military generals, and provincial governors and asked for clemency in judicial proceedings, for leniency in financial matters, or for privileges of status." Laws decreed under Anastasios charged bishops with attending to city corn supplies and the provisions of military troops quartered nearby. One fifth-century papyrus even shows a bishop ask-

For surveys of the secondary literature, see Rita Lizzi Testa, "The Late Antique Bishop: Image and Reality," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau and Jutta Raithel, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World: Ancient History (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 525–38; David M. Gwynn, "Episcopal Leadership," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 876–915.

⁶² David Gwynn's recent survey of episcopal leadership in late antiquity emphasizes very strongly the change effected during the reign of Constantine. See Gwynn, "Episcopal Leadership." Important for the developing understanding of bishops in this era is Harold A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance*, Ancient Society and History (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

⁶³ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 16–17. See the same pages for the exploration of each of these categories in the following sentences.

⁶⁴ On this, see especially Sterk, *Renouncing the World*.

⁶⁵ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 17. 66 Ibid., 265.

⁶⁷ Lizzi Testa, "Late Antique Bishop," 537: "Emperor Anastasius included the bishop among those who chose officials charged with a city's corn supplies (the *sitônes: Cod. Iust.* 10.27.3), and made him responsible, with the *archôn* (the most important official), for the distribution of provisions to troops quartered near his town (*Cod. Iust.* 1.4.18)."

ing to have troops placed under his command.⁶⁸ The pragmatic roles that bishops assumed, which granted them authority when successful, provided a reason for contact with civic and military leaders.

The letters of Severos and Philoxenos provide evidence of such interactions in the Roman Near East in Jacob's time (see Table 1).⁶⁹ They had contact with a wide range of military officials including an ordinary soldier, a brigand chaser, military *comites*, a duke, and a master of soldiers. Equally well represented are public officials including a chief physician, various chamberlains, patricians, scholastics, grammarians, and various *comites*. As with Jacob's letters, the letters that survive likely present an imbalanced view of the percentage of letters that address theological and ecclesiastical matters, due to their transmission.⁷⁰

An exploration of select letters between Severos and military leaders will provide points of comparison for Jacob's *Letter to the* comes *Bessas*. The duke Timostratus, a leader of the army during the Roman–Persian War of 502 to 506 who remained in the area into the 520s,⁷¹ received a letter from Severos sometime during his episcopate (513–18). Severos addresses Timostratus's request for individuals to be ordained, telling him that he should have higher regard for the process of ordination.⁷² Likewise, Severos sent a letter to the general Hypatius between 515 and 518 concerning a question about church property.⁷³ These two figures continued to have conflicts, as Cyril of Skythopolis (*c*.525–d. after 559) points to later enmity when the military officer became Chalcedonian.⁷⁴ These letters demonstrate the involvement of military leaders in pragmatic ecclesiastical concerns in the Roman Near East.

- ⁶⁸ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 264: "One such precious document is a papyrus of the second quarter of the fifth century. It is probably the archival copy of a request of Bishop Appion of Syene for military help against the unruly tribes of the Blemmyes and Nobades; further, the bishop also asked that the soldiers be placed under his own command. The outcome of this request is not known."
- ⁶⁹ In addition to the summary of Severos's letters to civic and military leaders in the table, at least two letters of Philoxenos show engagement over theological themes with civic leaders. See his *Letter to the Emperor Zeno* (Vaschalde, *Three Letters*, 118–26, 163–73), and *Letter to Abu Ya'fur* (Martin, *Syro-chaldaicae institutione*, 71–8).
- ⁷⁰ The main indications we possess for the preservation of Jacob's letters are the notations in the margins of the two earliest manuscripts. As noted above, Christology features largely in the collection and these notes.
- ⁷¹ See J. R. Martindale, *PLRE*, vol. 2, *A.D.* 395–527 (Cambridge: University Press, 1980), 1119–20 "Timostratus."
 - ⁷² Severos of Antioch, Select Letters 1.8 (Brooks, Select Letters, 1.1:45–8; 2.1:41–4).
- 73 Severos of Antioch, Select Letters 1.40 (ibid., 1.1:126–9; 2.1:113–15). On Hypatius, see Martindale, PLRE, vol. 2, 576–81 "Hypatius 6."
- ⁷⁴ Cyril of Skythopolis, *Life of Sabas* 56 (Eduard Schwartz, ed., *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49.2 [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1939], 151–2; Richard M. Price, trans., *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, Cistercian Studies 114 [Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990], 160–1); Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle* AM 6005 (Carl de Boor, ed., *Theophanis chronographia* [Leipzig, 1883–5], 1:158–9; Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, trans., *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 240). In both accounts, Severos is denounced alongside Nestorios and Eutyches. The entry on Hypatius in *PLRE*, cited above, pointed me to both of these sources.

Other letters demonstrate the interest of military officers and civic leaders in theological issues. Sometime after his exile from Antioch in 518, Severos sent a letter to the general Probus in which he address scriptural questions concerning the seventh day and the millennium. Other sources testify that this Probus supported missionaries among the Huns, introduced Severos to the Emperor Anastasios, and was a miaphysite. Huns, introduced Severos addressed a letter to the wife of Calliopus, a patrician. He outlines a confession of faith that is staunchly miaphysite. We learn from another of Severos's letters that this Calliopus had instructed a military officer named Conon, who held the rank of brigand chase, to support the miaphysites. Severos's interactions on ecclesiastical and theological matters with these military and civic leaders suggest his perception of the importance of the military and government for ecclesiastical disputes over both pragmatic and doctrinal concerns. They provide a framework for Jacob's similar activities.

Bessas and Edessa

The Letter to the comes Bessas consists of five parts: (1) a salutation; (2) a short section that contrasts the riches of the world with the riches of faith; (3) an exposition of Christology; (4) an admonition to be faithful to the Christology outlined; and (5) a doxological valediction. I will treat the Christological exposition below. But the details found in the surrounding sections prove vital to determining the context in which Jacob wrote the letter. The first two

⁷⁵ Severos of Antioch, *Letters* 79 (Brooks, *Collection*, PO 14.1:295–6).

⁷⁶ On missions to the Huns, see Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* 12.7n (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 84, SS 39:216; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:453); Prokopios of Caesarea, *On the Wars* 1.12.6–9 (Jacob Haury and Gerhard Wirth, eds, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana [Leipzig: Teubner, 1963–4], 1:56–7; Henry Bronson Dewing, trans., *Procopius*, LCL 48, 81, 107, 173, 217, 290, 343 [London: H. Heinemann, 1914–40], LCL 48:97–9). On introducing Severos to Anastasios, see Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* 7.10d (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 84, SS 39:51; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:269). On his miaphysite Christology, see Severos's letter, the two locations in Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene already noted, and John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 10 (Brooks, *Lives*, PO 17.1:157–8).

⁷⁷ See Martindale, *PLRE*, vol. 2, 252–3 "Calliopius 6."

⁷⁸ Severos of Antioch, Select Letters 7.7 (Brooks, Select Letters, 1.2:430–2; 2.2:382–4). Severos writes on Christology (ibid., 1.2:431; 2.2:383): "For, look!, when something like this is spoken simplistically, as you have said, it is foreign and alien to the right confession, namely that Christ should be counted as an addition to [عدي المحمد
⁷⁹ Severos of Antioch, *Select Letters* 1.45 (ibid., 1.1:139–40; 2.1:125–6). On Conon, see Martindale, *PLRE*, vol. 2, 307–8 "Conon 6."

sections provide important information about the addressee and Jacob's reason for composing the letter. The salutation praises Bessas and acknowledges his faith: "To the great, victorious, and faithful believer, Mar Bessas, the *comes*, Jacob the worshipper of your greatness in our Lord: Peace." The title *comes*, which Jacob assigns Bessas, is rather imprecise and merely provides evidence for Bessas's involvement in the civic or military hierarchy. The second section, which contrasts the riches of the world to those of faith, contains two relevant pieces of information for reconstructing the context of the letter. First, Jacob mentions an unnamed city while praising Bessas for his faith: "Your city has been exalted through you." Second, he notes that plundering and seizure have befallen the *comes*:

Your mind rejoiced in our Lord that he made you worthy to suffer $[x \omega \lambda]$ for his sake and to be plundered and disgraced, because you determined in your soul that if the one who is not needy suffered $[x \omega]$ for our sake when he does not need to, how much more is it right that we, who are needy, wretched, and weak, suffer $[x \omega]$ for his sake in those things that befall [u s].

This mention of suffering provides a natural transition to Jacob's exposition of Christology, as explored below. The mention of a city and the suffering Bessas endured will help situate the letter.

⁸⁰ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:257):

The title comes was used for over one hundred different positions. The largest listing of these appears in O. Seeck, "Comites," in Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, vol. 4.1, ed. Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1900), 622–79. The meaning of this rank changed around the time of Constantine, and it had reduced in importance by the fifth century (see Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Comes," in The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, vol. 1 [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], 484–5; Christian Gizewski, "Comes, comites: A. Roman Republic and Imperial Period," in Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity, ed. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Christine F. Salazar, vol. 3 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 615–17; Franz Tinnefeld, "Comes, comites: B. Byzantine Period," in Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity, ed. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Christine F. Salazar, vol. 3 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 617).

In the next extant reference to Bessas after Jacob's letter, he has the title of "duke." But this does not clarify his rank. A "duke" could simultaneously bear the title of *comes* (Robert Grosse, "Die Rangordnung der römischen Armee des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts," *Klio* 15 [1918]: 152–3). But "duke" could also indicate a lower rank than a certain type of military *comes*, known as a *comes rei militaris* (David Alan Parnell, "The Careers of Justinian's Generals," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 10 [2012]: 5). In the discussion that follows, I will interpret the *comes* Bessas as a Roman military officer who served under a higher-ranking general. It does not seem possible with the extant evidence to specify his rank further.

⁸² Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:258):

היבה בת מועה ת.

⁸³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid.,):

The fourth section specifies the city and links Bessas to prominent religious leaders. It begins:

It is good for you, faithful Christian, to guard this true faith in your soul. You have become a good heir to Abgar the Parthian.⁸⁴ Just as you have inherited his city, so its faith you have also inherited. You have risen powerfully and mightily. You have demonstrated the truth of your faith to Mar Paul, the shepherd and confessor.⁸⁵

The reference to Abgar makes the city's identification as Edessa clear, which in turn clarifies that "Mar Paul" is Bishop Paul of Edessa (r. 510–22), ⁸⁶ to whom Jacob addressed another letter. ⁸⁷ Jacob then elaborates on the suffering Bessas endured, specifying that he stood strong against the persecutors ("the wolves") of the Christian community ("the flock"):

For when the wolves pressed to come against the flock, you did not allow yourself to lie down in your place as a sheep. But rather you stood as the exalted diligent one, for as much as you are able you will help the flock, even when you are going to be harmed by the wolves.⁸⁸

Due to Bessas's faithfulness, Jacob states that he will receive special recognition: "Then, sir, that which the Messiah promised is preserved for you, when he says, 'The one who confesses me before people, I will confess him also before my Father who is in heaven' [Matt. 10:32]." Other ancient witnesses to Bessas, the city's identification as Edessa, the mention of suffering and persecution, and the allusion to Paul of Edessa will help identify the particular situation Jacob addressed through this letter.

Only one known military leader from the fifth and sixth centuries had the name Bessas. Prosopographical entries on this figure assume that he should be

But Olinder believes that ביסלב means Euphratean, and that is derived from אביה, "Euphrates." Either is possible, but I have chosen to follow Payne Smith because of the association with Osrhoene, which seems very likely to me. Further, Jacob calls Edessa the "daughter of the Parthians" (בוֹא בּוֹאֹסִי) in his Homily on the Martyr Habib (Bedjan, Acta martyrum, 1:169–70). Abgar also appears as a mark of orthodoxy in Jacob's other two letters written to leaders in Edessa. See Jacob of Serugh, Letters 20 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:130, 132–4); 32 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:245).

⁸⁵ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:260):

⁸⁶ Olinder, *Comments*, 121. The most thorough discussion of Paul of Edessa's life and thought appears in Jansma, "Encore le credo," 193–236. But see also Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés*, 49–50; Menze, "Jacob of Sarug, John of Tella and Paul of Edessa," 423–7.

⁸⁷ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 32 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:241-6).

 $^{^{88}}$ Jacob of Serugh, $Letters\ 35$ (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:260):

סבר עיי בים הדאה ומאום בעל ביאה לא מבל בל בעי וברסבל מי איני בור ולובב. אל מכול איני בל ביל איני בל איני בל אי

⁸⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:260):

סכבול כיוֹר. על יוֹז אך מי, ואשלסו, כשנעאי. בו אכיוֹי וכץ ונסוא כי, מנכן כיי, אוצאי. אסוא כמ אפ אנא מנכן אכן וכשכנאי.

identified with the Bessas in Jacob's letter. ⁹⁰ Late ancient histories and chronicles attest to Bessas's presence in the Roman Near East throughout the first half of the sixth century. In 503, the Emperor Anastasios dispatched troops to a besieged Amida in the Roman Near East. The Greek historian Prokopios of Caesarea (6th century) names the four commanding generals and then lists other officers who would assume important roles in later affairs, Bessas among them: "and also Godidisklos and Bessas, Gothic men, of the Goths who did not follow Theoderic going to Italy from Thrace, both of very noble birth and experienced in matters pertaining to war." The Latin historian Jordanes (d. 552) also mentions Bessas's Gothic origin, specifying that he comes from the Sarmatians, a people group whose identity remains unclear. ⁹² Thus, as early as 503, this Roman military leader was stationed in the Roman Near East. ⁹³

90 Martindale, PLRE, vol. 2, 226 "Bessas", and Telemachos Lounghis, "Bessas," in Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization, ed. Alexios G. Savvides, Benjamin Hendrickx, and Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 112–13. On the name, as pointed to in this entry, see M. Schönfeld, Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personenund Völkernamen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911), 51. Likewise, Patrick Amory, People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 364–5, asserts that the Bessas listed in Jacob of Serugh's letter should be identified with the well-known military officer for several reasons: "his name is very rare, and the title and date are correct; the identification seems safe." These entries helped me locate many of the historical references to this figure. Lounghis, "Bessas," 112–13, only mentions the main sources for Bessas's life (Prokopios and Agathias). On the later years of Bessas's life, see Telemachos Lounghis, "Διαδοχή στη διοίκηση στο μέτωπο τον Καυκάσου," Βυζαντινός Δόμος 12 (2001): 31–7.

91 Prokopios of Caesarea, On the Wars 1.8.3 (Haury and Wirth, Procopii, 1:37; Dewing, Procopius, LCL 48:63): καὶ Γοδίδισκλός τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γότθων τῶν οὖκ ἐπισπομένων Θευδερίχω ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναίω τε ὑπερφυῶς ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρω. For a similar comment, see Prokopios of Caesarea, On the Wars 5.16.2 (Haury and Wirth, Procopii, 2:83; Dewing, Procopius, LCL 107:63).

92 Jordanes, Gothic History 50.265 (Theodor Mommsen, ed., Iordanis: Romana et Getica, MGH, AA, 5.1 [Berlin, 1882], MGH, AA 5.1:126; Charles Christopher Mierow, trans., The Gothic History of Jordanes [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1915], 127): "But the Saurmatae, whom we call Sarmatians, the Cemandri, and certain of the Huns lived in Castra Martis, a city given to them in part of Illyricum. Blivila, the Duke of Pentapolis, was of this stock and his brother Froila, as well as Bessas, a patrician in our time" (Sauromatae vero quos Sarmatas dicimus et Cemandri et quidam ex Hunnis parte Illyrici ad Castramartenam urbem sedes sibi datas coluerunt. ex quo genere fuit Blivila dux Pentapolitanus eiusque germanus Froila et nostri temporis Bessa patricius). On the confusion over the identity of the Sarmatians, see Omeljan Pritsak, "Sarmatians," in The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1844.

⁹³ Ethnic identity among the Goths remains a highly debated topic. I interpret Bessas as a Roman military general without taking a side on the importance or unimportance of his ethnic identity, in agreement with David Alan Parnell, "A Prosopographical Approach to Justinian's Army," *Medieval Prosopography* 27 (2012): 6–7. On the presence of non-Romans in the army, see David Alan Parnell, "Justinian's Men: The Ethnic and Regional Origins of Byzantine Officers and Officials, *c.*518–610" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 2010), 73–97. Around one-third of the identifiable generals during Justinian's reign came from non-Roman backgrounds (see Parnell, "The Careers of Justinian's Generals," 7). For a concise summary of the debate over "barbarian" ethnicity, see Walter Pohl, "Rome and the Barbarians in the Fifth Century," *Antiquité Tardive* 16 (2008): 93–101.

Aside from Jacob's letter to Bessas, historical sources next attest to Bessas in the year 531 when he was appointed a duke in Maipherqat and engaged in skirmishes with the Persian army. He later rose to some of the highest ranks in the military, magister utriusque militum in Italy and magister utriusque militum per Armenian, and was given the title of patrician. He would travel west for battles starting in 536, but he ended his career in the Roman Near East in 554. Three historians of the sixth century make note of these accomplishments. None of these sources notes Bessas's interactions with ecclesiastical figures or any interest he had in the ecclesiastical conflicts of his time. Yet as a leading military officer, Bessas would have served the civic roles expected of military officers more broadly, including interaction with local ecclesiastical leaders.

Jacob's mention of Paul of Edessa provides important information for dating the letter and determining the specific context of this letter. Jacob calls Paul of Edessa, "Mar Paul, the shepherd and confessor." The titles of "Mar" and "shepherd" correspond to Paul's honored role as a bishop—the same bishop that likely ordained Jacob as a bishop in 51998—and deserve little further comment. But the title of "confessor" is a technical term reserved for those who suffered persecution on account of their faith but were spared death. It provides a strong foundation for dating this letter.

One key event in Paul of Edessa's biography points to his status as a confessor. Paul rose to the episcopate on April 10th, 510. After Severos became patriarch of Antioch in 512, Paul's relationship to other miaphysites became ambiguous. He did not sign Severos's proclamation of faith, but he managed to

⁹⁵ According to Jordanes, *Gothic History* 50.265 (Mommsen, *Iordanis*, MGH, AA 5.1:126; Mierow, *Gothic History*, 127), as quoted earlier in this chapter.

ci, estrica i con oco cus.

⁹⁴ Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, Chronicle 9.5a, 6c (Brooks, Historia ecclesiastica, CSCO 84, SS 39:96, 98; Greatrex, Chronicle, TTH 55:325, 327–8); Prokopios of Caesarea, On the Wars 1.21.5 (Haury and Wirth, Procopii, 1:111; Dewing, Procopius, LCL 48:195).

⁹⁶ Prokopios provides extended descriptions of Bessas's activities. Both the critical edition and the translation of Prokopios's corpus provide convenient summary of Bessas's appearances in his *On the Wars*: Haury and Wirth, *Procopii*, 4:214; Dewing, *Procopius*, LCL 343:427. Other sixth-century chronicles and histories that describe these events include: Agathias, *Histories* 2.18.8; 3.2.3, 6–7 (Rudolf Keydell, ed., *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, CFHB, SB, 2 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967], 65, 85–6; Joseph D. Frendo, trans., *The Histories*, CFHB, SB, 2A [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975], 52, 69); Marcellinus Continuator, *Chronicle* 540.6, 542.3, 545.3 (Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora*, vol. 2, MGH, AA 11 [Berlin, 1894], MGH, AA 11:106, 107; Brian Croke, trans., *The Chronicle of Marcellinus: A Translation and Commentary*, Byzantina Australiensia 7 [Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995], 49, 50, 51).

⁹⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:260):

⁹⁸ Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés, 49.

⁹⁹ On the technical meaning of this term, see the dictionary entries on κ in Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, 1:1551, and on $\delta\mu$ ολογητής in Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 957.

¹⁰⁰ This brief recapitulation of Paul's career draws heavily on Jansma, "Encore le credo," 210–26. As noted above, Jansma includes an excellent discussion of the primary sources. I have only indicated those that are immediately relevant for the present chapter.

gain Severos's favor after he repented. ¹⁰¹ Justin I's ascent to the imperial throne and the subsequent deposition of Severos affected Paul's episcopate tremendously. Early in his reign, Justin worked toward the reconciliation of Rome and Constantinople. The Acacian schism finally ended on March 28th, 519, when both sides agreed to the *Formula of Faith* written by Pope Hormisdas (r. 514–23). ¹⁰²

Shortly thereafter, a priest from Constantinople named Paul became bishop of Antioch in Severos's stead. This Paul of Antioch (r. 519/20–21), called "the Jew" by his opponents and later historians, ¹⁰³ began enforcing subscription to Pope Hormisdas's *Formula of Faith*. ¹⁰⁴ It proved untenable for miaphysites, as it demanded adherence to Chalcedon ¹⁰⁵ and acceptance of Leo's *Tome*. ¹⁰⁶ Paul

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 215–16; Menze, "Jacob of Sarug, John of Tella and Paul of Edessa," 423. See Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* 8.4a (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 83, SS 38:74–5; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:293–4).

48-54.

The most thorough study of Hormisdas's *libellus* is Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel*. But see also Rhaban Haacke, "Die kaiserliche Politik in den Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (451–553)," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, vol. 2 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1953), 144–6; Fritz Hofmann, "Der Kampf der Päpste um Konzil und Dogma von Chalkedon von Leo dem Großen bis Hormisdas (451–519)," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, vol. 2 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1953), 75–83, 86–91; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2.1, 312–17, 325; Adrian Fortescue, *The Reunion Formula of Hormisdas*, Unity Series 16 (Garrison, NY: National Office, Chair of Unity Octave, 1955), 11–15; Menze, *Justinian*, 58–105.

Hormisdas, Formula of Faith 6 (Haacke, Die Glaubensformel, 10): "... and following in all ways the ordinances of the fathers, that is of the 318 holy fathers who gathered in the city of Nicaea and set forth the holy teaching or symbol of faith, and of the 150 holy fathers who convened in the city of Constantinople and elucidated and exhibited that same holy teaching, and of the holy fathers who gathered in the first synod of Ephesus, and of the holy fathers who convened in Chalcedon" (... et Patrum sequentes in omnibus constituta. id est trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum Patrum qui in Nicaea sunt congregati et santum mathema sive symbolum fidei exposuerunt, et centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum qui in Constantinopolitana civitate convenerunt et id ipsum sanctum mathema dilucidaverunt atque manifestaverunt et sanctorum Patrum qui in Epheso prima synodo congregati sunt et sanctorum Patrum qui in Chalcedone convenerunt). Thus, in one of the surviving affirmations of the Formula of Faith, all four synods are named. See Copy of the Libellus of John, the Bishop of Constantinople (Collectio Avellana 159) (Otto Günther, ed., Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae: Avellana quae dicitur collectio, CSEL 35 [Prague, 1895-8], CSEL 35.2:608): "I assent to all the acts from those four holy synods, that is, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, concerning the confirmation of the faith and the state of the church" (omnibus actis a sanctis istis quattuor synodis, id est Nicaeae Constantinopoli et Ephesi et Chalcedone, de confirmatione fidei et statu ecclesiae adsentio). For the clearest presentation of the different versions of the Formula, see Fortescue, The Reunion Formula of Hormisdas, 15, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Hormisdas, *Formula of Faith 6* (Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel*, 10): "approving in every respect and embracing all the letters of Leo of blessed memory which he wrote about the Christian faith" (probantes per omnia atque amplectentes epistolas beatae memoriae Leonis omnes quas de fide Christiana conscripsit). For an affirmation of the *Formula of Faith* on this point, see *Copy of*

of Antioch was not able to convince Paul of Edessa to sign the *Formula of Faith*. In response, he sent Patricius, a high-ranking military official (magister utriusque militum praesentis), to force him to sign. 107 Volker Menze summarizes the historical accounts of these events well: "Patricius tried on 4 November 519 to force Paul to accept the council of Chalcedon (certainly by signing the papal libellus) or leave his see. Paul did neither but retreated instead to a baptistery, and monks and citizens of Edessa rioted against Patricius and attacked him." 108 Patricius then attacked the citizens of Edessa and drove Paul out of the city. 109 Justin, perhaps desiring to appease this region, ordered that Paul of Edessa be allowed back into the city some forty days later. 110

Jacob wrote a letter welcoming Paul back into the city, commending him as a confessor. 111 After describing the sojourn of Joseph in Egypt—perhaps as a veiled reference to Paul's exile—he labels him a confessor: "But to you, O prince of God, God has truly shown favor, so that you might rise to the step of the confessors and be persecuted by those who worship a human." This letter demonstrates Jacob's knowledge of Patricius's attack on the city of Edessa in 519. 113 Paul of Edessa experienced exile again in the year 522, after Jacob's death. 114 But only Patricius's persecution of Paul in 519 provides a solid reason for Jacob to give him the title "confessor." Thus, Jacob's letter to Bessas must date after the events of 519 and before Jacob's death late in 521.

the Libellus of John, the Bishop of Constantinople (Collectio Avellana 159) (Günther, Epistulae imperatorum, CSEL 35.2:609): "wherefore we confirm and embrace all the letters of Pope Leo of the city of Rome, which he wrote concerning the true faith" (unde probamus et amplectimur epistolas omnes beati Leonis papae urbis Romae, quas conscripsit de recta fide).

¹⁰⁷ Patricius is widely attested in both documentary and literary sources (see Martindale, PLRE, vol. 2, 840-2 "Fl. Patricius 14").

Menze, "Jacob of Sarug, John of Tella and Paul of Edessa," 424. The accounts of his attack on Edessa in 519 appear in five Syriac histories and chronicles: Chronicle of Edessa 88-95 (Ignazio Guidi, ed., Chronica minora, pars I, trans. Ignazio Guidi, CSCO 1-2, SS 1-2 [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1903], CSCO 1, SS 1:10-11; CSCO 2, SS 2:9-10); Chronicle to the Year 819 (Chabot, Anonymi auctoris Chronicon, CSCO 81, SS 36:8); Chronicle to the Year 846 (E. W. Brooks, ed., Chronica minora, pars II, trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, CSCO 3-4, SS 3-4 [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1904], CSCO 3, SS 3:228-9; CSCO 4, SS 4:173-4); Chronicle of Zuqnin (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 104, SS 53:24-5; Harrak, Chronicle, 55); Michael the Syrian, Chronicle 9.14 (Chabot, Chronique, 2:173-4; 4:267-8).

¹⁰⁹ Chronicle of Edessa 88 (Guidi, Chronica minora, pars I, CSCO 1, SS 1:10; CSCO 2, SS 2:9) specifies that he was driven to Seleucia.

¹¹⁰ Chronicle of Edessa 88 (ibid.). Jacob's letter to Paul, welcoming him back into the city, has also been seen as evidence that Justin ordered Paul of Edessa's return to the city. See Jacob of Serugh, Letters 32 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:244-5).

Jansma, "Encore le credo," 500–1, previously associated these two letters. Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 32 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:243):

לאי גיש או באוראו בשווא מכל לאי אורא אינאי גולססק כגו לא גיסגילאי. הולולוגפ כן סיבו, לבו אוצאי. As noted above, Jacob mentions Paul's return to Edessa later in the letter (Jacob of Serugh, Letters 32 [ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:244-5]).

¹¹⁴ Jacob and Paul met just before the former's death according to the Chronicle of Zugnin (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 104, SS 53:26; Harrak, Chronicle, 56).

Two historical sources connect Bessas to the attack on Edessa in 519. The first remains more speculative. The *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, which describes the battle between the citizens and monks of Edessa and Patricius's forces, further suggest that Bessas was in the city:

When this one [i.e., Patricius] saw a great number of people gathered against him and the severe stoning on all sides, he commanded a massacre against them. Thus the army of Goths came out with bows and arrows. Many were struck and died, and they fled from before them. Then they started slaughtering them with swords, and especially those in monastic habits. Everyone whom they found, they slaughtered with the sword.¹¹⁵

The chronicler specifies the Gothic ethnicity of military troops only here in the narrative. These troops did not necessarily include Bessas, but it provides one scenario for how he may have arrived. But Prokopios provides greater evidence. He associates Bessas with the expedition sent by Anastasios to Amida in 503, mentioning Patricius as one of the four leading generals on the mission. ¹¹⁶ The two officers thus had ties that dated to the very early part of the sixth century. Based on Jacob's description, Bessas seems to have stayed in or returned to Edessa after the battle and he may have interacted with Patricius whom he had known since at least 503.

Paul of Antioch's visit to the city of Edessa to persuade Paul of Edessa to sign Hormisdas's *Formula of Faith* and the violent aftermath provide the most likely context for Jacob of Serugh's letter to the *comes* Bessas. It accounts for a number of details specified in the letter: the repeated references to Edessa, the title of "confessor" for Paul of Edessa, the mention of plunder, spoil, and suffering, and the interest shown in Christology. And it is to the latter, that we must now turn to see how Jacob responded to this situation.

¹¹⁵ Chronicle of Zuqnin (Chabot, Chronicon, CSCO 104, SS 53:25; Harrak, Chronicle, 55): רבים אולים בילים בי

¹¹⁶ Prokopios of Caesarea, On the Wars 1.8. $\dot{1}$ –2 (Haury and Wirth, Procopii, 1:36; Dewing, Procopius, LCL 48:61): "The Emperor Anastasios then, learning that Amida was besieged, sent a sufficient army at once. While there were leaders for each symmory, four generals were set over everyone: Areobindus...and...Celer... and in addition, the leaders of the soldiers in Byzantium, Patricius the Phrygian and Hypatius the nephew of the emperor; these were the four" (Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμιδαν στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκὲς ἔπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδός τε... καὶ...Κέλερ... ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίω στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιός τε ὁ Φρὺξ καὶ Ύπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς· οὖτοι μὲν τέσσαρες στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν).

Miaphysite Christology for a Military Officer

Jacob's treatment of Christology in his Letter to the comes Bessas contains hints of strife at its outset. After describing the suffering that Bessas endured, Jacob alludes to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed and the biblical text: "For you know that Christ is the Son of God, of the same nature of his glorified Father, the image of his glory, and the brilliance of his divine being [cf. Heb. 1:3]."117 He then reminds Bessas that some do not confess his divinity: "You have not agreed to hear those who consider him a human who was taken from the virgin and is conjoined to the Word of God."118 Jacob uses the language of "conjoining" later in this letter to criticize his opponents¹¹⁹ and in a similar manner elsewhere in his epistolary corpus. 120 Allusions to the *Henotikon* become more specific: "For he is Jesus, God the Word. He is the only-begotten of the Father. He appeared in the flesh, and he is God. He is one of the Trinity which does not receive an addition (പ്രക്കരം)." The rejection of the "addition" (പ്രക്കരം), as we have seen, appears in the *Henotikon*, in Jacob's letters to the monastery of Mar Bassus, and in the works of his contemporary Philoxenos. The introductory segment already points toward a miaphysite Christology.

The second lengthy section introduces a series of contrasts that present Christ as divine and human simultaneously. He begins with the double birth: "He was born from the Father before all the worlds without a body and without a beginning. He was born from Mary the virgin bodily at the beginning that he made for his coming." The contrasts continue in a similar fashion with reflection on the differences between Christ's actions as an infant and as God:

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<sup>117</sup> Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:258): בעב אנגעאי, אנגלא מיינטאי, אנגעא מיינטאי מיי
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¹¹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:258): המשב אנש באני האלום בא בארא השביש האלוש בא האלושב בא באלוא האלוש
¹¹⁹ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:259): "He did not say, 'This one is of my Son,' or 'In this one, my Son is dwelling,' or 'My Son is conjoined to this one' " (הובה הבוה הילה הכלם מילי היים מילי). This language also appears in the title of Philoxenos of Mabbug, Treatise on the Faith, Concerning what Simon said: "Jesus of Nazareth is a Man from God" (Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 2:45): "was spoken against those who think that 'Jesus' and 'Christ' are names of a human that is conjoined to God and not of God who became human" (היים המולה מלם המולה מלם המולה בלבים). The authenticity of this work has been called into question. See the discussion of this work in Chapter 2.

¹²⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 17 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:81); 19 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:114–15, 119, 124, 128); 21 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:137).

¹²¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:258):

ܡܝܠ ܕܣܝܘ ܩܘܥ. ܡﻟܬܐ ܐܠܡܐ. ܘܣܝܘ ܝܚܝܕܝܣ ܕܐܟܐ. ܘܣܘ ܐܬܚܝܝ, ܡܩܩⅰ ܘܐܝܬ٥ܣ, ܐܠܣܐ. ܘܣܘܝ ﺳﺔ ܡܢ ﺍﻟﯩﯜﯨﻤﺎܬܐ. ܡ, ܕﻟܐ ܡܩܒﻙܐ ﺍﻩﺻﻌﻪﻟܐ.

¹²² Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:258): אטריבים בא באים בונם בא האל בין בל באר באום באום המשמע הלא השל באום המשמע הלאל בין פיל בל באום אים המשמעה. בשני בשמיש וגבו להשאלים.

Human Divine

He was an infant in the womb.

He was swaddled.

He dandled on Mary's knees.

He nursed at Mary's breasts.

Divine

He showed the way from darkness.

He bound the sea by his signal.

He rode the chariot of Cherubs.

He sent rain from the clouds. 123

Jacob concludes this section by restating the theme of the two births: "For the Son of God is the only-begotten, and he was born with two births: one from the Father and one from the virgin." These contrasts express the central tension of the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity.

After the tightly constructed series of contrasts, Jacob brings forth biblical allusions and quotations from the *Henotikon* by way of summary.

He took the appearance of a servant, and he was found in form as a human [Phil. 2:7]. For the Word became flesh without changing [John 1:14]. He was sent from the Father so that he might bear our iniquity [Isa. 53:4] and he might heal our sickness, [Ps. 103:3], as it is written, "He sent his Word, and he healed us. He delivered them from the corrupter" [Ps. 107:20]. Again it is written, "God sent his Son to the world. He was from a woman, and he was under the law" [Gal. 4:4]. 125

Jacob quickly turns to the pairing of miracles and sufferings as a means of summarizing the contrasts and the message of these biblical passages:

The allusion to the *Henotikon*'s language should by now seem unmistakable. The phrase starts precisely as it does in the *Henotikon* "of [this] same" (... ملم), and the words for "miraculous feats" (ساده) and "sufferings" (ساده) mirror those used in his letters to the monastery of Mar Bassus that specifically mention the *Henotikon*. Significantly, Jacob reengages in polemic at this point. He refers to those individuals who "worship a human," just as he had at the

¹²³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:258–9).

 $^{^{124}\,}$ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:259):

omo wer record ne et n ochwaren nede u nen et hen si edd n si edd n on et n nedelle omo ned et n nedelle omo neder et n neder. The neder et neder et neder et neder en et neder et neder en et neder onde et neder omon et neder omon et neder.

¹²⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:259):

ordo row were noteno, alog nels reservanteriores resteins to ordo no sub rosi. Ordo no sub rosi, ordo no sub rosis, ordo no or

start of the exposition of Christology. 127 The Henotikon proves useful for Jacob here. It expresses his distinctive view of Christology in opposition to dyophysite opponents.

The final section in Jacob's exposition of Christology offers further scriptural proof for the unity of the Son's divinity and humanity. He focuses on passages related to John the Baptist. He begins: "God the Father has no other Son than that one who was born from the holy virgin, who was the daughter of David, [and] that one who was hung on the cross. The same one is from the Father and from the virgin." To summon evidence for these claims, he argues grammatically about the Father's words to the Son at the Jordan River: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am pleased" (Matt. 3:17). 129 He encourages Bessas to read this statement plainly, rather than adding words to it. Jacob then moves on to John's testimony about the one who will come after him. He argues that this too expresses his divinity. John said, "He came after me," because Elizabeth gave birth to John six months before Mary bore Jesus (John 1:15). But John added, "and was found before me," because Jesus's birth "from the Father to Adam and to the world was before me."131 Jacob concludes: "The same one who was baptized in the Jordan is the one after John and before him. They were not two, one after John and one before him. But rather, as it is written, 'He is Jesus Christ yesterday, today, and forever' [Heb. 13:8]."132 Thus, as above, Jacob reflects on the relationship between Jesus Christ's divinity and humanity. He offers a thoroughly miaphysite Christology with anti-dyophysite polemic throughout.

Iacob of Serugh's Letter to the comes Bessas demonstrates his involvement with an important military officer during a crucial period for the development of the Syriac Orthodox Church. Jacob responded to the doctrinal strife that led to skirmishes in Edessa by encouraging the *comes* Bessas to adhere to miaphysite Christology. Significantly, in this late period in Jacob's life, he still uses the

¹²⁷ See the discussion of this phrase in Chapter 5.

¹²⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:259):

مكملهم بمحه دنم بمسنته لمنه له له بمكم وه ديمهمله هي دهملكم مدعمه. وبمنطورة دنوه وومد. وهو האלאה מס בו מס כב מס כב מס משאה אלסמ, מס בו מס כב מס מבן באס לאה

¹²⁹ Matthew 3:17. Peshitta Translation (The New Testament in Syriac, 3):

 $^{^{\}diamond}$ שנה כיו, עבובא המח בא בא הא Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:260): "the one about whom John calls out: 'He came after me and he was before me, because he was before me' [John 1:15]. For after Elizabeth bore John, and six months passed, then the virgin bore the Lord of John" (am تحلمه, محه صهم مصل . تحلف به مله مصه له متحر . حيل تمتحر صه حدر حلف بعد تحليله بالمصحد للمسل ممين حيادة المالك المناس المالك المالك المناسك المن Jacob of Serugh, Letters 6 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:31).

¹³¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 35 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:260): "And the fact that he said that he was found before me, because his birth was before me that was from the Father to on, גאבי מסא גאשלבע לה סגב. בלל גסגב מסא בסלגה גב אבא לאגב "Adam and to the world .(ەلحلمكم)

¹³² Jacob of Serugh, Letters 35 (ibid.):

סמם בד מם מם דבבד בים ודב. אבלסמ, מם א כלומ המעב: סמוכממ,. לא לוב מם מסם עד כלומ המעב. מעד סומה חוא איני ובלב. ושהב משנאי אלמל הנהמא מהא בלב.

Henotikon to express his Christology and to criticize the views of his dyophysite opponents. Thus, the language of miracles and sufferings to express the divinity and humanity of Christ did not remain merely a matter of ecclesiastical debate. Rather when the imperial government demanded adherence to the Formula of Faith that expressed support for Chalcedon, Jacob turned to the language of the Henotikon to express his understanding of Christology. The pairing of miracles and sufferings to represent the divinity and humanity of Christ still served as a productive means for him to express the distinctions between his views and those of his dyophysite opponents.

Our exploration of this phrase has already shed considerable light on Jacob's involvement in miaphysite ecclesiastical circles during his time and, in this section, his interactions with local leaders. The next section will demonstrate the intersection of this phrase with the spread of miaphysite Christology beyond his local context.

CHRISTOLOGY BEYOND THE ROMAN NEAR EAST: THE LETTER TO THE HIMYARITES

Miaphysite churches spread far in the sixth century, and Jacob and his contemporaries assumed important roles in the early decades. Jacob's Letter to the *Himvarites* offers a glimpse of the communication between miaphysites in the Roman Near East and in South Arabia during time of persecution. He comforts those who suffer by reminding them that Christ too suffered. Here again, in expounding his Christology, he utilizes the pairing of miracles and sufferings to represent Christ's divinity and humanity. This section contextualizes Jacob's letter first by surveying the evidence for the dating of the letter and the persecutions of Christians in the Himyarite Kingdom and second by summarizing the interactions between miaphysite leaders in the Roman Near East and the Christian communities of South Arabia. In light of this wider setting, I analyze Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings. I argue that Jacob saw this Christological phrase as a tool for explaining miaphysite Christology in distinction from dyophysite Christologies present among Arab dynasties in the early sixth century. The term "Arab" has held manifold meanings with complex relationships to concepts of ethnicity, nationality, and identity. I follow Greg Fisher in using it as a convenient label for the people who occupied this region. 133 Jacob did not restrict his usage of the Henotikon to ecclesiastical debates or local strife. Rather this edict shaped the way he taught Christology. 134

¹³³ Greg Fisher, Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2.

¹³⁴ Schröter compared Jacob's Christology to that found in the *Henotikon* in his examination of this letter in the late nineteenth century: Robert Schröter, "Trostschreiben Jacob's von Sarug

The Persecution of the Himyarites

The sources for understanding the persecution of Christians in the oasis town of Najran in the northern part of the Himyarite Kingdom have grown over the last one hundred fifty years. First, we will consider the contemporaneous literary sources. Joseph Simonius Assemani published an edition of Symeon of Beth Arsham's *Letter on the Himyarite Martyrs* in the early eighteenth century. He by this time, the letter's account of the martyrdom had already spread knowledge of the persecution through versions of the letter that appear in Syriac histories and chronicles. The *Martyrdom of Arethas* had similarly communicated this narrative to Greek audiences. The martyrdom's translation into at least five languages likewise had spread knowledge of these events east and

an die himyaritischen Christen," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 31 (1877): 366–7.

¹³⁵ On Himyar in general, see Walter M. Müller, "Himyar," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Ernst Dassman, vol. 15 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991), 303–31. On Syriac sources for Himyar, see Lucas Van Rompay, "The Martyrs of Najran, Some Remarks on the Nature of the Sources," in *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*, vol. 2, *Orientalia antiqua*, ed. Jan Quaeqebeur, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 13 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, Katholieke Universiteit, 1982), 301–9; Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "The Syriac Sources Relating to the Persecution of the Christians of Najran in South Arabia," *The Harp* 8–9 (1995–6): 41–51; Lucas Van Rompay, "Himyar," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 197–8.

136 This letter was first published in Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 1:364–79. More recent editions and translations appear in Ignazio Guidi, "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm sopra I martiri omeriti," *Reale Accademia dei Lincei (Anno CCLXXVIII 1880–1881): Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filogiche*, 3rd series, 7 (1881): 480–95, 501–15; Bedjan, *Acta martyrum*, 1:373–97; Ignazio Guidi, *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 1, *Oriente cristiano I*, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1945), 43–60, 15–36. English translations appear in Arthur Jeffery, "Three Documents on the History of Christianity in South Arabia," *Anglican Theological Review* 27, no. 3 (1945): 195–205; Arthur Jeffery, "Christianity in South Arabia," *The Muslim World* 36, no. 3 (1946): 204–6.

137 A version of the letter appears in Pseudo-Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* 8.3a–g (Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica*, CSCO 84, SS 39:64–74; Greatrex, *Chronicle*, TTH 55:285–93). Another sixth-century author, John of Ephesus, also transmitted a version of this letter in his *Ecclesiastical History*. But it only remains extant in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum*, CSCO 104, SS 53:57–67; Harrak, *Chronicle*, 78–84). Another version appears in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 9.18 (Chabot, *Chronique*, 2:184–9; 4:273–6). An independent account appears in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Syr. 234, fol. 266r–270v (Marina Detoraki, ed., *Le martyre de Saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (BHG 166*), trans. Joëlle Beaucamp, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 27, Le Massacre de Najrân 1 [Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007], 21). For the text of this version, see Paul Devos, "L'abrégé syriaque *BHO 104* sur les martyrs himyarites," *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972): 344–54, 354–9; and earlier, Gustaf Knös, *Chrestomathia syriaca maximam partem e codicibus manu scriptis collecta* (Göttingen, 1807), 37–54.

¹³⁸ Martyrdom of Arethas (Detoraki, Le martyre, 183–284; 182–285). Two editions appeared in the nineteenth century: Jean-François Boissonade, Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis (Paris, 1829–33), 5:1–62; E. Carpentier, "Martyrium S. Arethae," Acta Sanctorum: Octobris 10 (1869): 721–60. This martyrdom was recounted in liturgical settings, as indicated by the many extant witnesses which come from hagiographic collections designed to be read throughout the year (Detoraki, Le martyre, 121).

west.¹³⁹ But only in the twentieth century would important new finds influence perceptions of the persecution. This century saw the publication of two new Syriac sources: the *Book of the Himyarites* in 1924, and a second letter, entitled the *History or Martyrdom of the Blessed Himyarites*, in 1971.¹⁴⁰ Irfan Shahîd has argued for the attribution of these latter texts to Symeon of Beth Arsham, but this has met resistance.¹⁴¹ These four texts, all written within a couple decades

On the versions in general, see André Binggeli, "Appendice: Les versions orientales du Martyre de Saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons," in Le martyre de Saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (BHG 166), ed. Marina Detoraki, trans. Joëlle Beaucamp, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 27, Le Massacre de Najrân 1 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007), 163-77. For the Latin text, see Carpentier, "Martyrium," 761-2. For the Arabic, see Alessandro Bausi and Alessandro Gori, eds, Tradizioni orientali del "Martirio di Areta": La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica: Edizione critica e traduzione, trans. Alessandro Bausi and Alessandro Gori, Quaderni di semitistica 27 (Florence: Dipartimento di linguistica, Università di Firenze, 2006), 30-88, 31-89; Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "An Episode of the 'Massacre of the Christians of Najrān' in a Fragment at the 'Mingana Collection' (Ming. Chr. Arab. 246)," in Cultures in Contact: Transfer of Knowledge in the Mediterranean Context: Selected Papers, ed. Sofía Toralles Tovar and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Series Syro-Arabica 1 (Cordoba: CNERU; CEDRAC; Oriens Academic, 2013), 179-206. For the Ethiopic, see Francisco María Esteves Pereira, Historia dos martyres de Nagran (Lisbon: Imprensa nacional, 1899); Bausi and Gori, Martirio di Areta, 116-304, 117-305. On the Armenian and Georgian versions, see Michel van Esbroeck, "L'Éthiopie à l'époque de Justinien," in IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (anno CCCLXXXI-1974), Quaderno 191.1 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974), 123-35; Bernard Outtier, "L'apport des versions arménienne et géorgienne du martyre d'Aréthas," in Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: Regards croisés sur les sources, ed. Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Christian Julien Robin, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32, Le Massacre de Najrân 2 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance,

¹⁴⁰ Book of the Himyarites (Axel Moberg, ed., The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work, trans. Axel Moberg, Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 7 [Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1924]); History or Martyrdom of the Blessed Himyarites (Irfan Shahîd, The Martyrs of Najrân: New Documents, Subsidia Hagiographica 49 [Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971], iii–xxxii; 43–111).

¹⁴¹ For the major articles in this debate, see Irfan Shahîd, "The Book of the Himyarites: Authorship and Authenticity," *Le Muséon* 76, no. 3–4 (1963): 349–62; Jacques Ryckmans, "Les rapports de dépendance entre les récits hagiographiques relatifs à la persécution des Himyarites," *Le Muséon* 100, no. 1–4 (1987): 297–306; Jacques Ryckmans, "A Confrontation of the Main Hagiographic Accounts of the Najrān Persecution," in *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul: Symposium at Yarmouk University, December 8–11, 1984*, ed. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim, Yarmouk University Publications: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 113–33; Irfan Shahîd, "Further Reflections on the Sources for the Martyrs of Najrān," in *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul: Symposium at Yarmouk University, December 8–11, 1984*, ed. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim, Yarmouk University Publications: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 161–72; Irfan Shahîd, "The Martyrs of Najrân: Further Reflections," *Le Muséon* 103, no. 1–2 (1990): 151–3.

For a contemporary perspective on the authorship of both the supposed second letter of Symeon and the *Book of the Himyarites* see Detoraki, *Le martyre*, 37–40; David G. K. Taylor, "A Stylistic Comparison of the Syriac Himyarite Martyr Texts," in *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: Regards croisés sur les sources*, ed. Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Christian Julien Robin, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32, Le Massacre de Najrân 2 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010), 143–76.

of the persecution, 142 provide a portrayal of Christianity in Najran and the interest of others in this community.

Second, epigraphic evidence in Sabaic and in classical Ethiopic has significantly increased the ability of historians to describe and date the complicated political relations between Ethiopia and the Himyarite Kingdom in this time period. The dating of the persecutions of Christians in Najran and the political skirmishes that may have precipitated them or been precipitated by them have proven controversial. Based on the literary evidence, the dating of the major persecution has oscillated between 518 and 523, with 523 appearing more likely. I follow the recent chronology in George Hatke's dissertation on the political events of this time:

- 518 The Aksumites invade Himyar for the first time in the summer; Ma'dikarib Ya'fur, a Christian, becomes king of the Himyarites.
- 523 Ma'dikarib Ya'fur dies; Yusuf, a Jew, becomes king of the Himyarites; the persecution of Christians in Najran begins.
- ¹⁴² Van Rompay, "Martyrs of Najran," 301-2.
- ¹⁴³ In his recent dissertation on the political history during this time, George Hatke, "Africans in Arabia Felix: Aksumite Relations with Himyar in the Sixth Century C.E." (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2011), 418, notes that "much of the epigraphic evidence from both Ethiopia and Yemen on which this dissertation is based was not discovered until at least the mid-twentieth century." On the archeological record in Najran, see Jérémie Schiettecatte, "L'antique Najrān: Confrontation des données archéologiques et des sources écrites," in *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: Regards croisés sur les sources*, ed. Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Christian Julien Robin, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32, Le Massacre de Najrân 2 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010), 11–37.
- ¹⁴⁴ Articles that specifically address the dating of the persecution are numerous: Jacques Ryckmans, La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 1 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1956), 1-4; Paolo Marrassini, "Note di storia etiopica 3: Problemi cronologici relativi ai fatti di Nagran," Egitto e Vicino Oriente 2 (1979): 173-96; G. L. Huxley, "On the Greek 'Martyrium' of the Negranites," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature 80C (1980): 41–55; Yuzo Shitomi, "Note sur le Maryrium Arethae §20: Date de la persécution de Nagrân," Le Muséon 100 (1987): 315-21; Yuzo Shitomi, "La persécution de Nağrān: Réexamen des dates figurant dans le Martyrium Arethae," Orient: Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan 24 (1988): 71–83; Yuzo Shitomi, "De la chronologie de la persécution de Nagran," Orient: Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan 16 (1990): 27–42; François De Blois, "The Date of the 'Martyrs of Nagrān,'" Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy 1, no. 2–3 (1990): 110–28; Yuzo Shitomi, "Une note sur la chronologie de la persécution de Nagran," in Humana condicio, ed. Aristide Théodoridès, P. Naster, and Aloïs van Tongerloo, Acta Orientalia Belgica 6 (Brussels: Société Belge d'Études Orientales, 1991), 355-61; Irfan Shahîd, "On the Chronology of the South Arabian Martyrdoms," Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy 5, no. 1 (1994): 66–9; Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Christian Julien Robin, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrân et la chronologie himyarite," *Aram* 11, no. 1 (1999): 15–83.

¹⁴⁵ Christian Julien Robin, "Najrān vers l'époque du massacre: Notes sur l'histoire politique, économique et institutionnelle et sur l'introduction du christianisme (avec un réexamen du *Martyre d'Azqīr*)," in *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: Regards croisés sur les sources*, ed. Joëlle Beaucamp, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Christian Julien Robin, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32, Le Massacre de Najrân 2 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010), 79.

146 Hatke, "Africans in Arabic Felix," 66-83.

525 The Aksumites invade Himyar for a second time, perhaps in response to the persecutions.

This chronology hints at the complicated intertwining of political and religious divisions in South Arabia during the early sixth century.

Jacob, who died in 521, must have addressed a persecution that predates 523. Previous studies of the persecutions relegated Jacob's letter to the footnotes, noting that it may point to an earlier persecution. ¹⁴⁷ But the letter prompted Hatke to look for coordinating evidence for an earlier persecution:

The trouble is that, whereas the *Martyrium Arethae* gives 835 of the Seleucid Era, i.e. 523 CE, as the date for the beginning of the persecution of the Christians of Najrān by Yūsuf, the Syriac writer Jacob of Serūg, who died in 521, already refers to a wave of persecutions in South Arabia during his time in his letter to the Ḥimyarite Christians. 148

A lost chapter of *The Book of the Himyarites* suggests that there was an earlier persecution. The fourth chapter's title, preserved only in the listing of the contents at the beginning of the work, reads: "Narrative that relates how the bishop Thomas went to the Abyssinians and informed them that the Himyarites were persecuting the Christians." This must refer to an earlier persecution, as the narrative of the persecution of 523 begins in the eighth chapter, the title of which is: "Narrative that relates the beginning of the persecution by Masruq, the crucifier, the burning of the church in the city of Zafar, and the massacre of the Abyssinians in it." The persecution of Christian communities in South Arabia is also reported at a council that took place in the city of Ramla, to the southeast of al-Hirah, in either the year 519 or 524. If the earlier dating is correct, this would form an additional witness to the earlier persecution mentioned in Jacob's letter.

¹⁴⁷ As noted already by Ryckmans, *La persécution*, 12n46; Huxley, "On the Greek," 46. Robin, "Najrān," 68, assumes that Jacob's letter could refer to an even earlier persecution. He likewise argues that the title of the fourth chapter of the *Book of the Himyarites* could refer to a similar event. I advocate a date around 518 based on Hatke's analysis, on the late date of miaphysite interest and interaction with Najran, and on the language of Jacob's letter that seems to assume a recent persecution.

¹⁴⁸ Hatke, "Africans in Arabic Felix," 69.

Book of the Himyarites (Moberg, Book of the Himyarites, ci, 3):

المعسلام و و مالا على مال موم الامورث موسودة لمالا معتنم. ومالد مال على ما سحنات واوم الماسم

¹⁵⁰ The author's language of "the crucifier" (حکمے) draws on a stock anti-Jewish polemical trope in which Christian authors associate contemporary Jews with the individuals responsible for the death of Jesus.

Book of the Himyarites (ibid., cii, 3-4): מבל בפונים ב בפונים אולים ולא או היים ב לא ביים אונים ולא אונים ולא היים אונים ולא אונים אונים אונים ולא אונים אונים אונים ולא אונים אונים ולא
¹⁵² On the competing dates for the conference, see Isabel Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Ḥīra: Eine arabis-che Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext*, Islamic History and Civilization 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 191, 191n214. She argues against the dating presented in Irfan Shahîd, "Byzantino-Arabica: The Conference of Ramla, A.D. 524," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 23, no. 2 (1964): 115–31.

Based on this chronology and the unique place of Jacob's *Letter* within it, what can be determined about the persecution to which his letter responds? It is important to note, first of all, that the Ethiopic *Martyrdom of Azqir* attests to an earlier persecution in Himyar under a Jewish leader, sometime between 455 and 475. Thus, at least three persecutions are reported in the Himyarite kingdom in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Jacob learned about one such persecution, likely around the year 518, and wrote a letter of comfort to the Christians involved. He also identifies the persecutors as Jews within the letter, as explored later, in the section "Christology and Consolation." The examination of the interest of Jacob and his peers in this region will explain why a *periodeutes* or bishop from the Roman Near East would address communities in South Arabia concerning this persecution.

Miaphysite Missions to Arab Dynasties

The growth of Christian communities of various confessional identities among the Arabian Peninsula and the northern frontier regions provides a productive framework for understanding miaphysite interactions in this region. Recent studies have rapidly changed common understandings of the Christianization of the Arabs who inhabited these regions. The following description of the people groups and their relationship to Christianity thus remains provisional. In the northwest, the Jafnid (or Ghassānid) dynasty converted to Christianity in the sixth century and had a complex relationship

¹⁵³ Martyrdom of Azqir (Carlo Conti Rossini, "Un documento sul cristianesimo nello Iemen ai tempi del re Šarāḥbil Yakkuf," Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 5th series, 19 [1910]: 729–38; 739–46). On the dating, see Witold Witakowski, "Azqir: Gädlä Azqir," in Encyclopedia Aethiopica, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 421.

Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:89–91, 99).

¹⁵⁵ Recent studies include Robert G. Hoyland, Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam (London: Routledge, 2001), 146-50; Theresia Hainthaler, Christliche Araber vor dem Islam: Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit: Eine Hinführung, Eastern Christian Studies 7 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007); Robert G. Hoyland, "Late Roman Provincia Arabia, Monophysite Monks and Arab Tribes: A Problem of Center and Periphery," Semitica et Classica 2, no. 2 (2009): 117-39; Fisher, Between Empires, 34-71; Philip Wood, "Christianity and the Arabs in the Sixth Century," in Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity, ed. J. H. F. Dijkstra and Greg Fisher, Late Antique History and Religion 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 353-68; Greg Fisher and Philip Wood, "Arabs and Christianity," in Arabs and Empire before Islam, ed. Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 276-372. Such recent attempts to describe the Christianity of these regions are superseding the pioneering and voluminous, but highly criticized writings of Irfan Shahîd: Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984); Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989); Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995–2009). ¹⁵⁶ On the changing terminology, see Fisher, Between Empires, 3.

to miaphysite communities.¹⁵⁷ Christianity within the Naṣrid (or Lakhmid) dynasty to the northeast and in the Sasanian Empire is attested in the fifth century. Unlike the Jafnids, their relationship was with the Church of the East. Their connection to this church was at times close and at other times ambiguous.¹⁵⁸ The specific histories of these communities will certainly become clearer over time. But the Christological diversity of the Arab dynasties emerges even from preliminary studies.

A council held in Ramla in 519 or 524 draws out the confessional diversity of Arab Christian communities. ¹⁵⁹ It brought together Chalcedonian, miaphysite, and Church of the East ecclesiastical figures and included representatives from the Naṣrid dynasty, the Byzantine Empire, and the Sasanian Empire. ¹⁶⁰ The Arabian Peninsula was neither a continuous geographic or political region in the sixth century. ¹⁶¹ And the confessional identity of one dynasty did not necessarily have implications for the whole. But these various confessional identities do provide evidence for the interest of different Christian communities in regions beyond their own. Chalcedonians, miaphysites, and the Church of the East were all invested in different areas of the Arabian Peninsula. The oasis of Najran was one of this peninsula's major centers during late antiquity. ¹⁶²

As for the Himyarites in southwestern Arabia, the historical record suggests that they were miaphysite by early sixth century. ¹⁶³ The sources are few for the introduction of Christianity to the region. ¹⁶⁴ The *Chronicle of Seert* from the

- ¹⁵⁷ For an overview, see ibid., 49–64. On the Jafnids, see recently George Bevan, Greg Fisher, and Denis Genequand, "The Late Antique Church at Tall al-'Umayrī East: New Evidence for the Jafnid Family and the Cult of St. Sergius in Northern Jordan," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 373 (2015): 49–68; Denis Genequand, ed., *Les Jafnides: Des rois arabes au service de Byzance: VIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne: Actes du colloque de Paris, 24–25 novembre* 2008, Orient & Méditerranée 17 (Paris: De Boccard, 2015).
- ¹⁵⁸ Fisher, *Between Empires*, 64–70. On the Nasrids and Christianity, see also Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber*, 83–90; Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Ḥīra*, 151–211; Greg Fisher and Philip Wood, "Writing the History of the 'Persian Arabs': The Pre-Islamic Perspective on the 'Naṣrids' of al-Ḥīrah," *Iranian Studies* 49, no. 2 (2016): 268–76.
 - On the dating of the council, see Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Hīra*, 191, 191n214.
- ¹⁶⁰ The attendees and sources for the council are discussed in Shahîd, "Byzantino-Arabica," 117–22; Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Hīra*, 191–3.
- ¹⁶¹ Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Arabia," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 1, *The Formation of the Islamic World: Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Chase Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 397–447, has emphasized the disunity of the peninsula in the early Islamic period.
 - 162 As argued by Robin, "Najrān," 42-61.
- ¹⁶³ Jacques Ryckmans, "Le christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique," in Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente nella storia della civiltà (Roma 31 marzo-3 aprile 1963) (Firzenze 4 aprile 1963), Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (anno CCCLXI-1964) 62 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1964), 448-9.
- ¹⁶⁴ See Robin, "Najrān," 64–8, on the introduction of Christianity to the region. General introductions to Christianity in this area include: Ryckmans, "Le christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique"; René Tardy, *Najrân: Chrétiens d'Arabie avant l'islam*, Recherches, Nouvelle Série, B. Orient chrétien 8 (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1999), 67–185; Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber*, 111–36.

vear 1036 reports that the Himvarite Hannan went to al-Hirah and learned Christian teachings. He brought these teachings back to Himyar, baptized his whole family, and converted the region. 165 Hannan's association with al-Hirah has led some to assume that he converted to a form of Christianity under the influence of the Church of the East. 166 The Chronicle's brief discussion of Hannan notes that this took place under the reign of Yazdgird, who has been assumed to be Yazdgird II (438-57), indicating that Christianity was introduced in Himyar in the mid-fifth century. 167 The Ethiopic Martyrdom of Azqir, preserved in manuscripts from the fourteenth century, claims to reveal the introduction of Christianity to Najran. The text commemorates Azgir at the beginning: "The combat and the martyrdom of the holy martyr Azqir, the priest of Najran, who first taught the Christians in the city of Najran¹⁶⁸ and proclaimed publicly the Christian [faith] in the days of Sarahbi'il Dankef, 169 the King of Himyar." 170 He became a martyr under the Jewish King, Sarahbi'il Yakkuf, whose reign can be dated to around 455 to 475 CE. 171 This martyrdom again suggests the mid-fifth century for the introduction of Christianity to Himyar—and specifically Najran—and highlights the tensions between Jews and Christians as a part of the memory of this time.

Two fragments preserved from the *Ecclesiastical History* of the miaphysite John Diacrinomenos (late 5th/early 6th centuries) bring the introduction of Christianity in Himyar into the sixth century.¹⁷² One fragment notes that his

¹⁶⁵ Chronicle of Seert 74 (Addai Scher, ed., Histoire nestorienne, PO 5.2:218–19): "In the land of Najran in Yaman, in the days of Yazdgird, there was a famous merchant in the region, whose name was Hannan. He went to Constantinople for trade, and he returned to his region. Then he intended to go to the region of Persia. He passed by al-Hirah, became acquainted with the Christians, and learned their teachings. He was then baptized and remained in [the city] for a while. When he returned to his own region, he urged the people toward what he had entered into. He made his household Christian along with a gathering of the people from the region and the area. A group joined him and helped him in converting the people of the region of Himyar and the nearby area of the region of Abyssinia to Christianity" (معروف في العام المنافق على المنافق على المنافق على المنافق على المنافق المنافق على المنافق
¹⁶⁶ Tardy, Najrân, 103-4.

¹⁶⁷ Christian Julien Robin, "Arabia and Ethiopia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, trans. Arietta Papaconstantinou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 296.

¹⁶⁸ On the spelling of Najran in the Ethiopic, see Conti Rossini, "Un documento," 739n2.

On the name Dankef, see ibid., 739n4.

¹⁷⁰ Martyrdom of Azqir (ibid., 729): ገድል ፡ ወስምዕ ፡ ዘቅዱስ ፡ ስጣዕት ፡ አብቂር ፡ ቅሲስ ፡ ዘናግራይ ፡ ዘመሀረ ፡ ክርስቲያነ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ በናግራን ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወአግሀደ ፡ [ሃይጣኖት ፡] ክርስቲያን ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ሰራብሂል ፡ ዳንክፍ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሐሜር ...

¹⁷¹ Witakowski, "Azqir: Gädlä Azqir," 421.

¹⁷² John's epithet "Diacrinomenos" suggests that he was a miaphysite, as one who "hesitated" (διακρινόμενος) to accept the Council of Chalcedon (see Millar, "Syrian Orthodox Church," 53). His location in Syria derives from the interest he shows in Antioch and Syria in the surviving fragments. See Angelo di Berardino, ed., *Patrology V: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (†750)*, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke,

maternal uncle Silvanus was the bishop of the Himyarites, ¹⁷³ and the other that the Himyarites, although Jewish in this time, had requested a bishop after becoming Christian under the reign of Anastasios I. ¹⁷⁴ These three sources for the early history of Christianity in Himyar and Najran suggest that Christianity became more prominent in the mid-fifth century, that it may originally have had influences from the Church of the East, but that it was in contact with miaphysites during Anastasios's reign.

2006), 221–2. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 401–4, provides an analysis of John's writing and what it reveals about the Himyarite Kingdom.

¹⁷³ John Diacrinomenos, Ecclesiastical History (Günther Christian Hansen, ed., Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte, 2nd ed., GCS, n.s., 3 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1995], 152): "Silvanus, bishop of the Homerites [Himyarites], who is the maternal uncle of John, urged him to write the history" (Σιλουανὸς ἐπίσκοπος τῶν Ὁμηρηνῶν μητράδελφος ὢν Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸ ἱστορίαν γράψαι αὐτὸν προετρέψατο).

174 John Diacrinomenos, Ecclesiastical History (ibid., 157): "The Himyarites (and this people was a tributary under the Persians, dwelling in the farthest areas of the south), were Jews from the time that the Queen of the South came to Solomon earlier, but after becoming Christian under Anastasios, they received a bishop which they had sought" (Τμμερινοί [ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο τελοῦν ὑπὸ Πέρσας, οἰκοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ νότου] Τουδαῖοι μὲν ὑπῆρχον ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐλθούσης πρὸς Σολομῶντα βασιλίδος τοῦ νότου ἐπὶ ἀναστασίου δὲ χριστιανίσαντες ἐπίσκοπον αἰτήσαντες ἔλαβον). See Irfan Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century, 1.2:709.

On this theme in general, see Hainthaler, Christliche Araber, 51–80.

 176 Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century, 1.2:702–9, pointed me to many of the sources in this paragraph.

¹⁷⁷ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Letter to Abu Ya'fur* (Martin, *Syro-chaldaicae institutione*, 72–3). On this letter in the wider context of the politics of al-Hirah, see Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Hīra*, 171.

Severos of Antioch, Letters 23 (ibid., PO 12.2:45-6).

letter from al-Hirah. ¹⁸⁰ Further, both the *Martyrdom of Arethas* and Symeon's *Letter* suggest that he was present at a conference at Ramla in 519 or 524. ¹⁸¹ Thus, these three contemporaries of Jacob showed a strong interest in spreading miaphysite doctrine to the Naṣrid dynasty.

The evidence for miaphysite leaders' interest in the Himyarite Kingdom in South Arabia is equally well documented. The History or Martyrdom of the Blessed Himyarites reports that the city of Najran had two bishops, both named Paul and both ordained by Philoxenos. Symeon of Beth Arsham helped communicate the story of these martyrs through his Letter. Additionally, all four of the sources for the persecutions of Christians in Najran emanate from miaphysite settings and the Syriac ones appear to come from miaphysite authors of the Roman Near East. The mission of the Bishop Silvanus to an unspecified place in the Himyarite Kingdom attested by John Diacrinomenos provides evidence for further contact. Likewise, two individuals mentioned in the History or Martyrdom of the Blessed Himyarites have connections to John of Tella and a monastery in the city of Edessa. These sources suggest a strong

180 The full title reads (Symeon of Beth Arsham, Letter on the Himyarite Martyrs [Guidi, "La lettera," 501]): "From the letter or history concerning the Himyarite martyrs of Symeon, the bishop of the Persian Christians, which was sent from al-Hirah of Beth Numan" (אבסר ראוב אינה באל בבל בעל מעולא האבל מעולא בעל מע

¹⁸¹ Martyrdom of Arethas 25 (Detoraki, Le martyre, 252, 253); Symeon of Beth Arsham, Letter on the Himyarite Martyrs (Guidi, "La lettera," 501–2). For mostly complementary, but sometimes competing accounts of these conferences, see Shahîd, "Byzantino-Arabica"; Toral-Niehoff, Al-Ḥīra, 191–3.

¹⁸² Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, 1.2:709–11, pointed me to many of the sources in this paragraph.

¹⁸⁴ Later versions of the letter, as Hatke, "Africans in Arabic Felix," 69, points out, suggest that it was addressed to Symeon of Gabbula. Jacob also sent a letter to this monastery: Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 19 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:102–29).

 185 Van Rompay, $^{\hat{\alpha}}$ Martyrs of Najran"; Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century, 373–6.

186 See History or Martyrdom of the Blessed Himyarites (Shahîd, Martyrs, iv-v, 45): "Holy Mar Eliya, the priest, was killed first of all in Hadramawt, this one who was instructed in the monastery of Beth Mar Abraham of Tella, which is near the city of Callinicum. He had been ordained as a priest by Mar John, bishop of Tella. His mother and her brother were crowned with him, along with Mar Thomas the priest, whose left hand had previously been cut off because of the confession about Christ and was taught in the monastery of Mar Antiochina which is in the city of Edessa" (בשמים היים איבי היים אול הוא היים איבי היים אול אול בי באים איבי היים אול אול בי באים איבי אול אול בי באים איבי אול אול בי איבי אול אול בי באים איבי אול אול בי באים איבי אול אול אול בי באים אול אול בי באים איבי אול אול בי באים אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול בי באים אול בי באים אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול בי באים אול בי באים אול אול בי באים אול אול בי באים
connection between the Roman Near East and South Arabia and provide a context for understanding Jacob of Serugh's *Letter to the Himyarites* between 518 and 521.

Jacob was writing this letter at a time when miaphysite leaders from the Roman Near East took an interest in the Arabian Kingdoms in the early sixth century. Christians in the Arabian Peninsula and its frontiers represented diverse confessions, and most Christians in the Himyarite Kingdom seem to have been miaphysite. The letters of Philoxenos and Severos combined with the missionary efforts of Symeon of Beth Arsham show that miaphysites were attempting to enforce their Christological ideas in these regions. The church within the Himyarite Kingdom had developed to the point that it had its own ecclesiastical hierarchy, but this too was novel at the time of the persecutions. It remained deeply connected, and perhaps dependent on, leadership from the Roman Near East.

Christology and Consolation

Jacob's Letter to the Himyarites, although much longer than the Letter to the comes Bessas, breaks down into five broad sections: (1) a salutation; (2) consolation for the persecuted, with reminders of Christ's suffering; (3) an exposition of Christology; (4) consolation for the persecuted, with eschatological hope; and (5) a valediction. Again, Jacob's exposition of Christology, comprising around one-third of the letter, appears in the middle. Here it connects directly to the suffering of the addressees. The sections that frame the central treatment of Christology prove important for understanding the purpose of his letter, and they will be explored first.

The salutation already introduces the persecution of the Himyarites and identifies the close relationship between the Roman Near East and South Arabia. Jacob writes:

To the chosen athletes, the friends of true victory, the astonishing and the powerful, the servants of God, the truly faithful, our Christian brothers, and the tested confessors, in the city of Najran of the Himyarites, the lowly Jacob, who is from the region of Edessa, the faithful city of the Romans, in Jesus, the light of the gentiles and the hope of the worlds, and the judge of the dead and the living: Peace. ¹⁸⁷

The terms "athletes," "victory," and "tested confessors" anticipate the discussion of persecution that follows, where Jacob will describe the persecution as a

cosmic battle between Christ and Satan. Jacob's own identification as from the city of Edessa appears nowhere else in the salutations of his extant letters. ¹⁸⁸ Only in the second piece of correspondence between Jacob and the monks of Mar Bassus does he identify himself as from the city of Edessa. ¹⁸⁹ This salutation asserts a relationship between two cities, Najran and Edessa, and two realms, Himyar and Rome. A common faith in Jesus unites the communities in these distant cities. And this Jesus, Jacob specifies, has a unique relationship with the gentiles and, at the end, he will judge all people. The salutation provides a glimpse of the remainder of the letter where Jacob will assert a strong bond with the Himyarites, explain to them the true faith, and provide comfort for them through that same faith.

The salutation leads into an expression of solidarity between Jacob's people and the Himyarites. Jacob rejoices in the faith that the Himyarites are preaching, and he assures them that the whole church prays for them: "For the church was consistently praying for you that everyday Christ might be victorious among you and that the captain of the wicked army, the enemy tyrant of our race, who is Satan, would be trampled under your feet [Rom. 16:20]." The final phrases in this quotation turn toward a cosmic significance for the persecution of the Himyarites. Jacob's first statement of consolation thus points to the eternal battle between the enemy, Satan, and Christ. The enemy will surely falter, for "every time that he fights, he falls, and everywhere that he fights, he is conquered." This marks the beginning of the consolatory statements that Jacob provides the Himyarites. In the center stands his exposition of Christology.

Before turning to Christology, Jacob offers two more consolations to the Himyarites. First, he reminds them that their Christian faith demands suffering, "For the crucified one does not know how to walk without sufferings [حنع]." Here Jacob identifies the persecutors as the Jews who live in Himyar. Although he likely knew nothing about the Himyarite Jewish community, he nevertheless associates them with Jews mentioned in the New Testament, including Caiaphas and Judas. In this, Jacob stands with a tradition of anti-Jewish polemic that frames Jews in general as Jesus's persecutors. ¹⁹³ These

 $^{^{188}\,}$ Schröter, "Trostschreiben," 364, suggests that he refers to Edessa because it would be better known than Serugh or Batnae.

¹⁸⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 14 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:58).

¹⁹⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:88):

حداث به بنا بمحمد بالموسم و حو لت. دول محر بای و دم به حصور و تعمید. میده عیمور راهنده و بالیدم به لاد سالی وضعاتی بر فرونی در الدوری و با بعض و بیمانی و باید.

¹⁹¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:88):

סבל אכא, וכבוב מם עבל. סבל אבא וכלבלב מם כוובא.

¹⁹² Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:88–9):

אבי מב ועובא הנוכל הל

¹⁹³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:90). Much scholarship has appeared on the use of anti-Jewish rhetoric to form Christian identity. See, for example, Christine C. Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem's Hymns in Fourth-century Syria*, Patristic Monograph Series 20 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

comparisons become more elaborate, and Jacob concludes by reminding the Himyarites again that their suffering is efficacious:

Then, for all of this, the rank of your confession is greater than that of the confessors, as much as your persecutors are more wicked than the persecutors. Their wickedness is multiplying sufferings [متعنه] for you. As much as the sufferings [متعنه] are multiplying, so are your crowns growing. As much as the persecution is growing stronger, so is the victory shining.

His third consolation asks the Himyarites to compare the sufferings of this world with new life in God. He begins: "But we Romans, who dwell in the peace of the Christian emperors, are giving blessings to your wearied, punished, and repellent lives, which are entangled with the sufferings [,wind] of the cross. Thus, we look at our peace as the cessation from life and reckon your persecution as the true life that is embodied in God." The comparison of life in the Roman Empire and in the Himyarite Kingdom serves as an introduction to Jacob's reminder that the present world fades and that their hope should only be in the world to come. These consolations provide a reason for the exposition of Christology that follows.

Jacob makes the connection between these consolations and the extended treatment of Christology quite clear. He writes:

But as the eye of your soul looks with understanding on the sufferings [منعتم] of the cross, are you not able to regard your sufferings as sufferings [منعتم], for are you not able to say, "If the immortal one by his will was handed over to death for our life, [for us] who are subjected to death by the decree of the transgression of the law, how much more is it right for us to give ourselves over to death for his truth, so that we might honor by our death the death that was on our behalf"?¹⁹⁷

The hypothetical speech of the Himyarites continues by enumerating the various means by which the Son suffered during his passion. Jacob then introduces the alternative to suffering with the Son: "Fearful is the great fire beyond, which is prepared for those who deny, for they will be punished in it without mercy." Rather "the soul will wait in its truth, be bound to the

ען דיך דומספטי דולפת כשעימי דולפת בדוסלעימי. קרובימי המכנין ענן לעמודים ין כתיאורים מיולעים מי חלדונימי מסוד הת האל עשדומי, דומעפימי. ממכנימי ענדין ענן כשעימי דילן מיקמי כקאאנימי דוכן עמימי. מעשב אן 1100פימי דולבים ין. מיקמ שלינד'מי דבימאלמימי המשנים.

¹⁹⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:92–3).

¹⁹⁷ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:93). ארי זיט אר ביני הפשבה השנה אוני ב מבשות משבה אוני ביני הארים אואר ביני ביני הארים אוני ביני הארים אוני ביני הארים אוני ביני הארים אוני ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני הארים ביני הארים ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים ביני ביני הארים
¹⁹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:94):

بسلطه مر زدهم به ند در المد ورابعه لحورة مد و المام مر وحدة بعلامه و

promises of its resurrection, scorn the sufferings [[]] if they are pressing on it, and, while rejoicing, endure the punishments when they have come to it." The contrast of the faithful who yearn for the sufferings of the Son and those who deny and are punished provides a bridge to state what it is precisely that they deny.

The exposition of Christology begins with a warning against those who teach falsely. Jacob continues: "Let [the soul] not be inclined to denial and fall from God, who is full of all blessings for everyone who is zealous for his truth."200 He encourages the Himyarites to consider what the two destinies amount to: "Look! The kingdom is desirable, and Gehenna is fearful. The cross is dear and beloved; denial is hateful and despised; confession is beautiful and virtuous. All of these support one another so that we might wait for God through them all in the truth that does not turn from its hope."²⁰¹ Both the beautiful and the fearful sights should encourage the Himyarites to remain strong in their faith. Then, Jacob warns them: "My brothers, beware of the dogs! Beware of the wicked workers! Beware of teachers who are liars, those who instead of the one onlybegotten Son, proclaim two: one from the Father and one from the virgin!"202 Here the opponents' identity becomes clear: dyophysites. The following lines draw in the language of the "addition" (תֹמְשֵׁבֵּא), as seen in other letters. 203 Thus, Jacob again frames his exposition of Christology by pointing out the errors of other understandings of Christology. This conflict fits well the context of the miaphysite interest in Himyar as well as the confessional diversity of Arab dynasties more broadly. Jacob equates a dyophysite Christology as a denial of the confession of the one Son of God.

The letter continues by outlining a basic Christology rooted in the second article of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. It begins with the Son's relationship to God the Father, with words taken from the creed in italics:

One *Son who was born from the Father before all the worlds*; one who was like his Father in everything; *one only-begotten* who does not receive with him order or

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<sup>199</sup> Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:94):
האב ביל היים או היים היים בילה ביל היים למצאה המדלים המשמבי .
המהלקה משמבים המשמבים המש
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²⁰⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:94):

[.] היו בשנישה בייות המאר בא להפיש ובא בל היי המשל האיש המאר בא אומי המאר בא אלס היים אלא הא הלס ממול א ממאר בא אלס האיש אלס ממול א ממאר בא אלס ממול אלס ממאר אלט מאר אל

רא משא המבאיז. מכסגיאה משלא המשלא לעוד מעביב. בפנילא משא המכאיז. מכסגיאה מא א מפנילא מילא מבילא המבלא המבלא המלא א מבילא המשלא הבאלים. הבולא הא מבילא השלא הא מבילא השלא א במלים. בילא בא מבילא במביל Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:94):

אינה. אוגחוֹם כך בובאי. אוגחוֹם כך פבאא כשאי. אוגחוֹם כך כבאביא ג'באאי. חלה דעלב עג כוֹא העוגאי לוֹק בבוֹן ה. עג כה אבאי באמונאי כה כילבאלאי.

²⁰³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:95): "And everyone who thinks or considers or seeks to add [בבסש] something or to subtract from this glorious name of the Holy Trinity is hateful to it" (רביש אול האים מול אים בין ווא מול אים בין האים מול אים
another number. This one is the Son and the Lord *and of the same nature of his Father*: this one who is from the Father and with the Father.²⁰⁴

After asserting the equality of God the Father and God the Son, Jacob turns to consider the Son's sending to earth:

The Father desired and sent him to the world, and *he came down from heaven* with the message of Gabriel. He dwelled in the virgin who was made holy by the Holy Spirit so that she might be a mother to him by grace. He was clothed from her spiritually with a body without an addition [ماصعاء] to the hypostases. He was born in the flesh from the seed of the house of David without intercourse.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:95):

עד כו א הלגד כך אכא מדכ בלמם , בלכאה עד הרכאה לאכסמר, כבל. עד אינעדיאה הלא בכבל בככם שגו א ספעיאה אעולאי. מס מנאי כו א ספולא ספו בעא האכסמר. מנאי האנאסמר, כך אכאי סבא אכאי.

²⁰⁵ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:95):
ביא ביא ביל האלים ביא ביל ביא ביל ביליאי. העול כין ביא ביל שביל האלים ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי. האלים ביליאי הוא היא ביליאי. האלים ביליאי ביליאי האלים ביליאי. האלים ביליאי ביליאי ביליאי האלים ביליאי. בילי ניסיא ביליאי
²⁰⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:95):

ممحل علمه, محملته المنعم. عمر علمه ب تعم متعم.

²⁰⁷ See Jansma, "Credo of Jacob."

²⁰⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:95–6):

० गत्या, ट्यक्ने अध्यात ७ मिक्नार्य, अध्यात स्थ्यंत्र ७ मिक्नार्य स्थापेत. ० व्यम् स्थावस्य । ४० हे विहास अतं व ० ते ० से व्याप्त १ स्थापित १ व्यापित १ स्थापित १

²⁰⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:96).

resurrection. The transitional summary reads: "These lowly things and these great things of the one great one who came to a lowly state so that he might raise the lowly ones to the height of his greatness and repay the ancient debt of that bond that was written as a judgment against our race."210 The end of this statement indicates that the following section will look toward the redemptive purpose of the Son's sending to earth. The lowly acts focus on the Son's suffering during the passion and the exalted acts on the earth's reaction to his death "so that it might be known that the one who was crucified is the creator." ²¹¹ The whole section concludes with a final summary statement that again invokes the Henotikon: "These wondrous things and these lowly things are of the one hypostasis of the only-begotten Son. For of him are the sufferings [عنعام] and the miraculous feats [معيكم]."²¹² The pairing of miracles and sufferings serves as a convenient way of both introducing and recapitulating the relationship between the divinity and humanity of the Son. Jacob uses this Christological phrase as shorthand for expressing the proper understanding of the Son for his Himyarite audience.

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210 Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:96):
מאש בסושים . היאסיון המסין אומים לו המסין האומים לו המסים בסושים . היאסים בל המסים המשום היאסים לו המסים לו המסים בל באראיה. השלים מסים המשום בל באראיה השלים מסים המשום בל באראיה בל באראים מסים המשום בל Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:97):
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[.] הלגים מאר מואד. הנה משמעה הבל א העודה. הואה משמעה בל מים א המשלא בעלה בל משמעה בל מואר מואר. א בענילא בעלה בל משמעה בל מואר
מבן גיו שו גיה לאסוטא וכבובינטולות. וולמסא וולא כיכטולא סכובסוטולא. סשב לח עיצא בו עם לבלאא. וכיצוסבעא סבן ביא נולעואא.

²¹⁴ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:98).

²¹⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:98):

ره العلسة هر ترجع عناه البلحم هدناه حدّده العلم مسيدة حددت. المالم المسلم و منس المالم المسلم و منسود المسلم و منسود المسلم و منسود المسلم ال

dwells in glory with his Father."²¹⁶ Thus, here at the end of the exposition of Christology, Jacob returns to the problem of the Himyarites' suffering. Jacob's Christology, as this suggests, answers the questions they encounter when confronted with persecution. Here it is specifically the miaphysite understanding of Christology that can address their concerns.

After the exposition of Christology, Jacob offers three consolations. The first frames the persecution as a cosmic battle between Satan's armies and Christ, associating Judas with the persecutors once again. The second distinguishes the soul from the body. The soul grasps that it is better to suffer with Christ in the flesh than for the soul to be corrupted through denying the faith. The third returns yet again to the cosmic battle between Satan and Christ, offering eschatological hope that the faithful will receive rewards at the end while their persecutors will suffer. The letter concludes with an admonition to encourage one another by maintaining unity and to pray for Jacob.

Jacob's Letter to the Himyarites serves as a capstone to the exploration of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in his epistolary corpus. It emphasizes Jacob's participation in a broad effort of the nascent Syriac Orthodox Church to spread its message beyond the Roman Near East. His correspondence with South Arabia parallels the actions of his contemporaries. It also points to the perceived presence of Christological controversy even beyond the local context. And it again emphasizes that the phrasing of the Henotikon, with the pairing of miracles and sufferings, had so affected Jacob's thought that it appears when he exposits his Christology to an audience well beyond the region in which this text was debated.

CONCLUSION

So far this chapter has established several significant details about Jacob of Serugh's involvement in the Christological debates in the early sixth century. It has demonstrated his participation in a variety of related activities, similar to those of his contemporaries. It has also shown the importance of the pairing of miracles and sufferings for his Christological thought and the means by which he presented miaphysite doctrine to others. This concluding section aims to consider in which circumstances Jacob chose to use the phrase and when chronologically he drew on this language.

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216 Jacob of Serugh, Letters 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:99):
היאה היה היה אינה של של מלכם בארים בילים בילים בילים בילים לכם אינה היא ליכול לכם לכם אינה היאה היאה היאה היאה
ביבינאה איבא היבינא של ביסבעא בדי לטהמים.
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²¹⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:99).

²¹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:99–101).

²¹⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:101).

²²⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:101-2).

²²¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:102).

Two further letters contain the pairing of miracles and sufferings. ²²² Neither provides sufficient contextual clues to understand Jacob's audience. The beginning of *Letter* 12 no longer remains, but the extant portion of the letter focuses exclusively on Christology. The exposition of Christology proceeds for four pages in the printed edition, discussing Christ's acts that reveal his humanity and those that reveal his divinity. ²²³ He only mentions incorrect Christologies when he introduces the figure of Satan. ²²⁴ Soon thereafter he uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings to clarify the difference between true and false understandings of Christology. ²²⁵ *Letter* 21, addressed to a series of abbots whose identities remain obscure, ²²⁶ contains a treatment of Christology throughout. But here the anti-dyophysite bias emerges at the beginning. ²²⁷ The pairing of miracles and sufferings appears later in the letter, again with a polemical edge against dyophysites. ²²⁸

Jacob focuses on Christology elsewhere in his extant letters. Many that do contain anti-dyophysite polemic do not include the pairing of miracles and sufferings. Yet every time the pairing of miracles and sufferings appears in one of Jacob of Serugh's letters, it occurs in a polemical context. This fact will become even more important as we transition to looking at Jacob's homilies. They offer scant information for contextualization, with almost no known features about the audience, setting, location, or dating. The seven letters that this chapter has addressed provide the only direct indications of audience that we may be able to garner. This phrase proved relevant in diverse contexts for expressing the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity and for criticizing those who hold to dyophysite Christology.

²²² These are Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 12, 21 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:46–52, 135–43).

²²³ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 12 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:46-9).

²²⁶ On the possible identities of these abbots, see Olinder, *Comments*, 78–9.

²²⁷ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 21 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:136–7): "With the cunning of the serpent, they were saying, that two were known which were conjoined to each other in that one who was confessed as the Son of God: one who was higher than sufferings [תביה], and another that was subjected to death. Because their faith was ill, they did not think that the only-begotten of God was one" (תזמאס מסבי בבי הארה בעלים אולים אינו המבלים בי הארה בעלים אולים אונים אוני

The letters explored above all seem to come from the second decade of the sixth century or slightly thereafter. The correspondence with Mar Bassus certainly dates between 511 and 516, and likely between 511 and 513. The *Letter to the* comes *Bessas* dates to 519 or later, and the *Letter to the Himyarites* to 518 or later. Jacob's epistolary corpus is too limited to draw any firm conclusions about the chronology of his use of this phrase. We cannot definitively date his homilies based on the appearance of the phrase, especially as his contemporary Philoxenos used this phrase already by 491. Yet, it is noteworthy that our evidence suggests that Jacob engaged with this language in several important ways in the period during and after it became a major point of contention in Antioch.

Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in his letters corresponds to the two ways that his peers used them. Philoxenos and John of Tella used the phrase to criticize dyophysite thought, while Severos used the phrase to expound his own Christology. Jacob does both simultaneously. He anchors the phrase within longer expositions of Christology and consistently contrasts his Christology to that of his opponents. This usage fits well within the trajectory of this phrase that stretches from before the Council of Chalcedon, through Leo's *Tome*, to the *Henotikon*, and finally to miaphysite authors of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Jacob's letters can be seen as part of this narrative.

Jacob of Serugh engaged in Christological debates through his letters. As noted in the introduction, Jacob's letters have long served as evidence for his Christological positions. The letters examined here evidence his engagement in a very specific debate that proves both datable and helps identify ecclesiastical and civic elites with whom he engaged in discussions of Christology. The investigation of these letters thus represents a crucial step in the examination of Jacob's homilies. The letters warrant the connections I draw in Chapters 4 through 6 between his language of miracles and sufferings in his homilies and the debate over Zeno's *Henotikon* among miaphysites in the early sixth century. Without these letters, it would neither be possible to make strong claims regarding Jacob's involvement in this specific debate nor to date the homilies to the second or third decade of the sixth century.

A key difference between Jacob's letters and homilies resides in their audiences. Jacob's letters went into circulation already in late antiquity. Their manuscript transmission shows their circulation among monasteries in the first millennium. Yet they offer no evidence that Jacob's thoughts reached wide audiences. Indeed, the elite audiences described above may represent the spectrum of individuals that encountered his Christological thinking through letters. Jacob's homilies, as the remaining chapters will argue, reached diverse audiences. For one homily, it is only possible to demonstrate that Jacob circulated the homily among reading communities in late antiquity. Here we can assume a similar audience to his letters. Other homilies strongly suggest that Jacob communicated such Christological ideas before wide audiences. His letters thus stand at one end of a spectrum of texts with increasingly broader audiences.

Homilies and Reading Communities

Because they saw in him the miraculous feats of God and the sufferings of a human, they erred by dividing him so that he would be two: one God and the other human.¹

Jacob of Serugh, Letter to the Blessed Ones of Mar Bassus

Do not boast in your arrogance, O quarrelous one!²
This is the entire pretext of your quarrel
So that you might wickedly number the Son as two in number:
One, God, who performed miraculous feats and wonders,
And one, human, who endured sufferings and disgraces;
One who was foreign to sufferings, death, and the crucifixion,
And one, who was crucified between the robbers, who is Jesus.³

Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Council of Chalcedon

בל געום כם עבלים המאר א העביר בי איביה. לבים פליביה א געום כם איניה מישלים המאר א העביר בי איביה. עב איניה בי איביה. מדי איניה בי איביה. Brock's edition is based on the version of this homily in London, British Library, Add. 14651. But I have compared the text with the other major witness: Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117. For line 141, Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117 has a different line: "Anathema be the one who divides the Son of God" (המאר בי ארמי המפלב לה לבי ארמי) (Bedjan and Brock, Homilies, 6:331).

3 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Council of Chalcedon 141–7 (ibid., 6:336; Brock, "Reaction," 456, 142–8): אוב ארשוני באסטים ביני אום ארשוני אום באסטים אום ארשוני אום באסטים
¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 16 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:81):

INTRODUCTION

Jacob of Serugh composed his *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* within the same timeframe as he sent letters to monasteries, a military general, and a Christian community in South Arabia. He hurls insults at the council, outlines his opposition to its Christology, defends his views with biblical testimonies, briefly presents his own Christology as an alternative, and reassures those who face persecution. Jacob's directness in rejecting the council led to doubts about the authenticity of this work. Yet manuscript evidence coupled with a near consensus regarding his miaphysite understanding of Christology recommend its authenticity. The Christology that he communicates through this sermon bears striking similarities to that expressed in his letters. Further, he uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings to criticize the views of his opponents as observed in his letters and in the works of his contemporaries. This offers further evidence for the homily's authenticity and provokes a consideration of its audience. After highlighting such similarities, this chapter investigates approaches to contextualizing this sermon.

The methodology outlined in the first chapter examined the wide range of tools needed to situate late antique sermons historically. The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* itself does not provide any indication of the physical audience that may have listened to it. Further, only one other homily on a council, also by Jacob, survives from late antiquity. We thus have very few means of describing the audience that heard Jacob deliver this sermon. Yet the parallels between the content of this homily and of his letters frame this work as a text that circulated within Jacob's lifetime. In this way, it stands at one end of a spectrum from homilies that permit contextualization as literary texts that circulated in late antiquity to those that suggest delivery within liturgical settings before broad audiences.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE HOMILY ON THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* first came to the attention of scholars in the eighteenth century and immediately was deemed spurious. The subsequent centuries-long debate over the authenticity of this homily intersects the major debates over the Christology of Jacob of Serugh, whether his Christology was pro- or anti-Chalcedonian. This section narrates the debate over the authenticity of this sermon. The remainder of the chapter will take up outstanding questions regarding the authenticity of this sermon and draw on the manuscript evidence that drove the debate.

The landmark *Bibliotheca orientalis* of Joseph Simonius Assemani contains four volumes that distinguish between Chalcedonian, non-Chalcedonian, and Church of the East authors. As discussed in the introduction, he locates Jacob of Serugh within the volume of Chalcedonian authors. In so doing, Assemani deliberately contradicted the conclusions of Eusèbe Renaudot who had placed Jacob's liturgy in a volume of non-Chalcedonian and Church of the East authors. Their debate over Jacob's Christology formed the background for Assemani's doubts regarding the authenticity of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*.

Joseph Simonius Assemani's relative Elias Assemani (fl. c. 1700) went on an expedition to the Nitrian desert of Egypt to acquire manuscripts for the Vatican Library. One manuscript he brought back, with the current shelf mark Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, contains over two hundred sermons mostly by Ephrem the Syrian, Isaac of Antioch, and Jacob of Serugh.⁷ It dates sometime shortly before the year 1221 or 1222.8 This large collection includes a homily with the title: "A homily of holy Mar Jacob on the wicked Synod of Chalcedon, which is suitable to be read at the commemoration of holy Mar Severos, the pillar of the church who strenuously battled the dyophysites." Assemani addresses the authenticity of this homily directly after his criticisms of Renaudot's arguments. He outlines three criteria to argue that the work is spurious: (1) miaphysites apparently regularly forged documents; (2) the title only states that the homily is "of holy Mar Jacob" (בסגבו, בפסה) and fails to include a reference to Serugh; and (3) the homily contains stylistic anachronisms including the phrase "those who deny your name" (حعت, حعدي), which he translates as "infidels" (Infidelium). 10 Renaudot died the year after Assemani published this volume, and thus did not have a chance to respond. Assemani's arguments against the authenticity of this sermon subsequently gained currency through the catalogue of the Vatican Library's Syriac manuscripts published in the 1750s. The entry on Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117 reproduces the claims against the authenticity of this homily. 11 In regard to Assemani's first argument, the assumption that miaphysites regularly forged documents derives from a single reference in the Ecclesiastical History of the pro-Chalcedonian Evagrios Scholastikos (c. 536after 594). 12 As to the second, the large number of writings attributed to Jacob in

- ⁴ Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 1:283-340.
- ⁵ Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 2:356–66.
- ⁶ Sebastian P. Brock, "Assemani, Elia," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 43.
 - ⁷ Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 2:87–107.
- ⁸ Lucas Van Rompay, "A Precious Gift to Deir al-Surian (AD 1211): Ms. Vat. Sir. 13," in *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 3 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 746–8.
 - ⁹ Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, 1:294:

מאמריא ופנישא מין, ישפר בל שהענסט ושיבאא ובלפנסאה. לעת נטלפיא בנהבינא ופנישא מין, שהיוסט מס במהוא ובנולא נשבר אולבליש מסא בממס בולוית בעא.

- ¹² See Evagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.31 (Bidez and Parmentier, *Ecclesiastical History*, 127–9; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, TTH 33:168–72).

this manuscript obviates the need for the specification of his city. We will consider the third argument regarding the stylistic features of this homily later in the section "The Christology of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon.*"

Assemani's arguments for the inauthenticity of the homily remained decisive until the late nineteenth century. Jean Baptiste Abbeloos's biography of Jacob of Serugh from 1867 merely repeats Assemani's arguments to argue against the authenticity of the sermon. Yet only a few years later, the British Orientalist William Wright (1830–89) produced a catalogue of the British Museum's newly acquired Syriac manuscripts. A manuscript that dates to the year 850, which has the current shelf mark London, British Library, Add. 14651, contains a homily with the title: "Another [homily] on the faith of Mar Jacob concerning the Synod of Chalcedon." This homily appears directly after another sermon by Jacob on a council, the *Homily on the Council of Nicaea*.

Following the discovery of a second witness to the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*, Jean-Pierre Paulin Martin argued against Assemani's assessment. He especially criticizes his interpretation of the phrase "those who deny your name" (حقة, حعدج) as representing an unusual style. ¹⁵ Martin concludes:

On the contrary, we find in it the ideas, style, and manner of Jacob and, to prove the point, it would suffice for us to compare this discourse to another homily that the same author composed on the Council of Nicaea. It is absolutely the same artistry of phrases, absolutely the same order and same movement of ideas. We could find entirely identical extracts. ¹⁶

A dictionary published the following year still held to the homily's inauthenticity. ¹⁷ But most accepted Martin's arguments and his criticism of Assemani's conclusion. ¹⁸

¹³ Wright, Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, 3:1102: במסבה גבל במסבים אישיבלא המיבעס לא הכלי, במסבר גבל במביס משמים הבלסנים המשמים. The spelling of Chalcedon in the manuscript is erroneous.

¹⁴ Ibid. The *Homily on the Council of Nicaea* also appears in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, fol. 80r–83r, which serves as the base text for this homily in Paul Bedjan, ed., *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona quae supersunt omnia* (Paris: Harrassowitz, 1902), 842–65. It is separated, however, in the Vatican manuscript from the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. See Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:90.

¹⁵ Martin, "Un évêque-poète," 1876, 344-7.

¹⁶ Ibid., 346–7: "Au contraire, nous y trouvons les idées, le style, la manière de Jacques, et, pour le prouver, il nous suffirait de rapprocher ce discours d'une autre homélie que le même auteur a composée sur le concile de Nicée. C'est absolument la même facture de phrases, absolument le même ordre et le même mouvement d'idées. On trouverait des morceaux complétement identiques."

¹⁷ Charles James Ball, "Jacobus Sarugensis," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, vol. 3 (Boston: Little Brown, 1877), 327, states: "A silly poem directed against the council of Chalcedon (*cod. Nitr.* 5 fol. 139) is proved by internal evidence to be spurious." Ball may very well have written this article before Martin's article was published, as he cites only the Vatican manuscript.

¹⁸ Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:vi; Simon Konrad Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug, Bibliothek des Kirchenväter 6 (Kempten; Munich: Josef Köselsche Buchhandlung, 1913), 261; Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte, 156.

The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* received greater attention in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries through translations into French and English. Paul Krüger published a French translation of the homily with a short commentary in 1957. He argues that the homily's Christology matches that in Jacob's letters. ¹⁹ Sebastian Brock subsequently published an English translation of the homily around 1990 and an edition of the homily in 2006. His brief comments on the homily in each of these publications highlight the necessity of addressing its stylistic features. In the earlier article, he notes similarities:

It is basically the same objections to the Council which we find in the Letters that reappear in an unpublished verse homily attributed to Jacob. Since the homily in question is only to be found in two comparatively late manuscripts, there is some doubt about its authenticity. The homily is, nevertheless, very much in the style of Jacob, with a long—and beautiful—introduction, so characteristic of his homilies.²⁰

Yet in the edition, he raises a doubt in this regard: "while the opening invocation is characteristic of his style, the last two lines are not typical of his endings and so perhaps this points to another hand at work, at least in part." Krüger and Brock thus establish the relationship between Jacob's Christology in the letters and this homily as well as the stylistic similarities to the rest of his homiletical corpus. Yet doubts remain regarding the style of the final lines of the homily.

A recent manuscript discovery by Sebastian Brock and Lucas Van Rompay has increased the likelihood for the authenticity of this homily. This manuscript dates to the sixth or seventh century and is found in the Deir al-Surian monastery in Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt, with the reference number Syr. 28A. The manuscript features a collection of biblical and patristic citations organized around themes to support Syriac Orthodox communities. The title of the collection reads: "Volume of admonitions and demonstrations of the holy Fathers which are very much needed." Two quotations from the *Homily on the Council on Chalcedon* appear in the first section of the homily, which is entitled: "Firstly, that an Orthodox should not pray in a sanctuary of the heretics or in any other place that they hold, and (that he should) not (pray) together with them wherever (it may be) in any way..." The title for the section indicates that these texts were useful in defending against or identifying heretics. To this end, the first extract from the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* included in this

¹⁹ Krüger, "La deuxième homélie," 128.

manuscript begins: "Because of²⁴ the schisms and the conflicts that have multiplied today, / Look!, I am moved to speak with great suffering."²⁵ The second extract explicitly mentions the Council of Chalcedon as the cause of these divisions: "Who is it who has done all of these things on the earth? / Disclose and explain to us, for, look!, it is being said in darkness. // This one is that Synod of Chalcedon."²⁶ The incorporation of these quotations into this manuscript support an early date for the composition of this homily and thus buttress previous arguments for its authenticity. Indeed the title given to these extracts in the manuscript identifies "Jacob the teacher" as their author.²⁷ The Syriac Orthodox community that produced this manuscript viewed the homily as Jacob of Serugh's work.

The identification of extracts of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* in a sixth- or seventh-century manuscript greatly increases the possibility of its attribution to Jacob of Serugh. This manuscript will also help contextualize this homily later in this chapter. Assemani's initial hesitation to claim the homily as an authentic work emerged from his conviction that Jacob of Serugh adhered to Chalcedonian Christology. Martin's reconsideration of Jacob's Christology shifted the perspective on this subject and thus also on the authenticity of the sermon. Yet doubts first raised by Assemani concerning the homily's style—aside from the disproven assessment of an individual phrase—remain, as Sebastian Brock's comments on the homily show. We cannot rule out the possibility that the homily bears traces of a later hand. We will now consider the style of the homily through an investigation of the Christology it supports.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE HOMILY ON THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

The general outline and features of the *Homily of the Council of Chalcedon* will be familiar to readers of Jacob of Serugh's homilies. As noted by Sebastian Brock, Jacob begins with an extended introduction that asks for God's guidance in narrating the homily and presents the homily's basic themes and vocabulary

²⁴ "Because of" (عريك) could also be translated "concerning."

²⁵ Brock and Van Rompay, Catalogue, 181: רבר באר באלוב אים מבעם מבעם מבעם מבעם מבעם ואיז איז ראס באלוב איז ראס באלוב איז ראס באלוב און איז איז ראס באלוב איז ראס באר מבעם מבעם וואס מבעם מבעם מבעם וואס מבעם

²⁷ The Syriac text of the titles of these extracts is not provided in full in the catalogue entries. I follow here the translation (and partial transcription) in Brock and Van Rompay, Catalogue, 181: "Jacob the teacher, from the Memra against the wicked Synod of Chalcedon (מלים בים משום און);" "From the same Memra."

(lines 1–50).²⁸ A veiled discussion of the characteristics of the schisms within the church leads to the identification of the Council of Chalcedon as the cause of dissent (51–100). Jacob then summons biblical testimonies that provide a basis for discussing Christology (101–29). He contrasts his representation of the Christology of his opponents (130–55) with that of the true church (156–69). The homily concludes rather abruptly with an admonition to the church to be faithful and for God to have mercy upon them (170–9). A detailed analysis of the unfolding of the homily reveals clear connections to Jacob's style and the Christology in his letters.

Jacob mentions the major themes of the homily in the introduction without fully disclosing his perspective. The opening lines indicate that the church faces a crisis: "O mighty one of the ages, who delivered creation through his power, / Deliver your church from subjection to those who deny your name! // O great power before whom all powers shake, / Hold back from your flock the disputers [حتمع] who reject the truth."²⁹ The language of "disputers" (حتمع) appears at a key moment in the exposition of Christology later in this homily.³⁰ The following lines specify the content of the truth that these "disputers" allegedly deny:

O Son of God, who became through his love a son to a girl,

The mind bore you with a fervor that blazed as a flame.

The one who came into the open for the sake of Adam is hidden even from the angels,

And, look!, they are dividing [حصلت] him in parts and in measures.

You are one, who is from one [ux אול גובן], and there is no place for division [אור אום].

As for the one who wishes to divide [محفل], his mind has become dark [صحاح].³¹

These six lines announce the theme of Christology and indicate that the schism results from those who, as Jacob sees it, falsely "divide" (حصلت) the Son of God. The remainder of the introduction features a request for God to accept Jacob as a speaker despite his faults and to make the narrative worthy. ³² It concludes: "Do not withhold from me the request I am making, O Lord, / For I am

 $^{^{28}\,}$ The line numbers referenced here correspond to those found in the edition of the homily in Bedjan and Brock, Homilies, 6:331-7.

³⁰ See also the discussion of this term as one part of Jacob's polemical vocabulary in the *Homily on the Faith* in the following chapter.

³¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 5–10 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:331–2; Brock, "Reaction," 451–2):

כי אראה גמסא כעסכמ כיא ללעלא: לגא מסיטה כיולעא שיניה השלמכעלא אין אוליה לאניא השלמכעלא אין אוליה מאר בעלים האנים האנים אוליה מל העלים מין אראים מין אין אראים מין אראים מין אין אראים מין אין אראים מין אראים מין אראים מין אין אראים מין אראים מיין אראים מין אראיים מין אראים מין אראיים מין אראים מיין אראים מיין אראים

³² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 11–48 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:332–3; Brock, "Reaction," 452–3).

planning for my narrative to be for your praise."³³ This homily reflects a tendency in Jacob's homilies to weave the major themes into the homily into a standard—but almost always unique—rhetorical exposition of his inability to utter something that is worthy of God.³⁴

The sermon continues with a careful and poetic description of the problems that ensued after the Council of Chalcedon. Jacob introduces the section with a reference back to the divisions in the church: "Because of 35 the schisms and conflicts that have multiplied today, / Look!, I am moved to speak with great suffering. // Concerning this sister of the night and of the dark [حصعته], / Zeal has prodded me to speak her history with suffering." The mention of "the dark" (محمحمص) recalls Jacob's characterization of the mind of the one who divides the Son of God in the introduction. The next couplet introduces a series of complaints against this "sister" that outline the divisions that it has inspired in the church: "This is the one who was the cause of death for human beings, / And the earth was shaken and came to fall bitterly."³⁷ Jacob repeats the formula at the beginning of this couplet—"this is the one who..." (..., <...)—thirteen times within thirty lines.³⁸ The regular poetic meter of Jacob's poetry features couplets of twelve-syllable lines, each of which has three four-syllable feet. The Jacob to add a verb to the particle "the one who" (...1) to complete the foot.³⁹ Such formulas recur throughout Jacob's corpus and are characteristic of his use of twelve-syllable meter. 40 Here Jacob uses a formula to structure his exposition of the havoc that this "sister" has wreaked on the church.

- ³³ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 49–50 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:333; Brock, "Reaction," 453):
- א מבלא כני, מגאה הבאה אהוא הוביא אה היה: גלממנגל אי המאה היה היה הוא היה היה הוא היה היה הוא היה הוא מאר היה היה או For example, Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten," 308–9, analyzes the introduction of Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the End* 1 (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:698–713). Similar patterns will be noted in the discussions of Jacob of Serugh's homilies in Chapters 5 and 6.
 - 35 As noted earlier, "Because of" (عريك) could also be translated "concerning."
- ³⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 51–4 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:333; Brock, "Reaction," 453):
- האל שגישה ארם ולכאלישה השלה משלי מיצי שני הביעות ביאה וביא ביאה ובאי ביאה מולים ביאה ובאה ביאה מולים ביאה בילי הלושה באה לוהו ומקור לביברוף בישאה שובים ל
- ³⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 55–6 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:333; Brock, "Reaction," 453):
- א מכלה באל מכסה אלב מיים מיים אלב מיים
- ⁴⁰ Papoutsakis, "Formulaic Language," 1998, explores such formulas especially in the third foot of a line. For a few examples of formulas used by Jacob in the first foot of the first line of a couplet, see Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Consecration of a Church and on the Prophet*

For, look!, she made the whole world quiver like a reed,
And, look!, all creation was laid waste because of her.
They uprooted churches, ruined monasteries, and demolished altars.
The offerings came to nothing that were being offered among prayers for mercy.

How much should I speak? How much should I keep silent regarding the wickedness

Which multiplied on the earth through this synod of mad people?⁴⁴

The description of the harm caused by the "sister" ends with a question concerning her identity: "Who is this one who has done all of these things

Moses: אומים (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:42, 2-44, 1); Homily on the Star that Appeared to the Magi and on the Slaughter of the Infants: (ibid., 1:96, 5-14); Homily on Holy Baptism: אומים (ibid., 1:195, 3-196, 10), אומים (ibid., 1:196, 11-198, 2). Such formulae also appear in the writings of other late antique authors that use this meter. See, for example, Narsai of Nisibis, Homily on the Renewal of Creation 1-14: אומים (Alphonse Mingana, Narsai Doctoris Syri: Homiliae et carmina [Mosul: Typis Fratrum praedicatorum, 1905], 2:54-5); Isaac of Antioch, Homily on the Rich Man and Lazarus: (Paul Bedjan, ed., Homiliae S. Isaaci, Syri Antiocheni [Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1903], 117, 21-118, 10).

- ⁴¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 63, 67, 69 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:333; Brock, "Reaction," 453).
- ⁴² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 67–84 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:333–4; Brock, "Reaction," 453–4).

on the earth? / Disclose [and] explain to us, for, look!, she is spoken of in darkness [איז און]."⁴⁵

The next couplet features a rhetorically effective, albeit partial return to the formulaic beginning and the long-awaited revelation of the sister's identity: "This one is that Synod of Chalcedon, / Which the demons summoned and for which devils [served] as counselors."46 The revelation of the "sister" as the Council of Chalcedon is introduced through the same demonstrative pronoun "this" (אסג) used repeatedly above. But here Jacob does away with the relative particle "the one who" (..., and substitutes an unanticipated and more emphatic copula: "is" (האלביס). The section on the revelation of the council ends with a series of curses on those who gathered at the council "because they cast schisms into the church of the Son of God."47 The specific reference to the Council of Chalcedon here parallels the two letters from his correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus in which he also names the council. 48 Indeed, these seem to be the only three times that Jacob explicitly mentions the Council of Chalcedon in his corpus. 49 He takes pains here to conceal its identity to great rhetorical effect and perhaps surprise. The use of formulaic language in this section of the homily matches Jacob's style and also, as known from his letters, his own opinion regarding the council.

The homily then outlines and rebukes the Christology advocated at the Council of Chalcedon. Jacob turns the attention of the supporters of the council to the biblical readings:

It is to you, O wretches, look!, that I am going to speak from this time forward,

If there is room to speak in an enlightened fashion.

O new Jews that have sprung up all of a sudden,

Why has the church of the Son of God been divided?

What made the profitless battles necessary?

Come let us approach the divine reading

And learn from them [i.e., the readings] the truth without contention.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 91–2 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:334; Brock, "Reaction," 454):

^{ిం}గులు స్వామంలు గ్రామంలు కామారు ఎందా రాష్ట్రంలు కామారు ఎందులు కామారు అంటుండా గ్రామం 47 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Council of Chalcedon 99 (Bedjan and Brock, Homilies, 6:334; Brock, "Reaction," 454):

בל גאומים כמ שנשא בבולא וכו אלמא:

⁴⁸ Jacob of Serugh *Letters* 16 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:66, 68–9); 17 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:82, 84–5).

 $^{^{49}}$ It goes without saying that I make this claim in regard to the portion of Jacob's corpus that I have read.

 $^{^{50}}$ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 101–7 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:334; Brock, "Reaction," 454–5):

Here Jacob draws on a polemical tradition of referring to one's Christian opponents as Jews. This anti-Jewish language characterized Jacob's language as well as that of his predecessor Ephrem the Syrian. A series of allusions to and brief citations of Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel follow. He concludes the section by stating that All of these enlightened and glorious things / Were spoken by the holy prophets of the truth. Hools, the children of darkness, were so insolent to inquire / About Jesus the Word who was born of the daughter of David. Regarding the biblical citations themselves, Sebastian Brock has remarked: It is, however, a little hard to discern the force of the biblical testimonia adduced (lines 116–26) in favour of the author's standpoint, since these are standard testimonia with which any side in the controversy would presumably have been happy. In the homily itself, these testimonia serve as an introduction to the more focused discussion of Christology that follows.

The homily continues with a contrast between true and false views of the incarnation. Jacob begins with a six-line summary of his opponents' views:

The anathematized [people] are saying: "Mary truly gave birth."

They confess him as one God and one human.

"God the Word of the Father did not taste death,

But it was Jesus who tasted death, for he was a human.

God is immortal, cannot suffer [معمعه],

And does not allow himself to taste death, because he is immortal."55

The first couplet hints at the problem that Jacobs sees with his representation of the council's views by drawing attention to the division between the divinity and humanity of Christ. The adherents of the council speak of "one God *and* one human" rather than emphasizing their unity. The second couplet brings

- ⁵¹ On Ephrem's use of anti-Jewish language, see Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism*. This topic remains understudied in Jacob's corpus. For a preliminary study, see Albert, *Homélies contre les Juifs*, PO 38.1:10–23.
- ⁵² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 108–26 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:335; Brock, "Reaction," 455, 108–27).

ەتىدى مىس، ئەخنىيە شەكە دىر سەمكە.

⁵⁴ Brock, "Reaction," 457.

⁵⁵ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Council of Chalcedon 130–5 (Bedjan and Brock, Homilies, 6:335; Brock, "Reaction," 455, 131–6): המאסה מבים ישטה מישטה של המאר אינו בישטה הישטה בישטה לשל המאר אינו מישטה בישטה לשל המאר אינו מישטה לא המא

this division into focus by suggesting a separation between God the Word and Jesus. The third couplet provides a reason for their confession: their belief that God cannot die or suffer. Jacob responds in the following verses to this view: "O you anathematized [people], sons of perdition, heretics, / Why do you travel in darkness [

| dimly? // That the Word might be in Mary's womb for nine months, / [That is what] he took upon himself in his great love for the sake of Adam, // And also so that he might be among those subjected to death for three days." Jacob's opponents, on his view, have failed to recognize that the Word of God became human and died on account of love. While they may be correct to emphasize God's immortality and impassibility, this misses the rationale of the incarnation and death of the Word which is God's own willingness to endure these human experiences.

Jacob's criticism of his opponents continues in the next verses and brings the miracles and sufferings of Christ into view. He makes explicit what his characterization of their confession implied:

Do not boast in your arrogance, O quarrelous one! ⁵⁷ This is the entire pretext of your quarrel So that you might wickedly number the Son as two in number: One, God, who performed miraculous feats [صحنا مناه] and wonders, And one, human, who endured sufferings [صحال مناه] and disgraces; One who was foreign to sufferings [مداه], death, and the crucifixion, And one, who was crucified between the robbers, who is Jesus. ⁵⁸

His characterization of the views of his opponents here as attributing the miracles to one and the sufferings to another reflects the Christology of Leo's *Tome* and the criticisms mustered against it by Jacob's contemporaries. Jacob's *Letter* 16—to the monks of Mar Bassus—features a similar criticism of such Christology through the language of miracles and sufferings: "Because they saw in him the miraculous feats [حداد] of God and the sufferings [حداد] of a human, they erred by dividing [عداد] him so that he would be two: one God

⁵⁷ As noted above, Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, fol. 140r, has a different line here: "Anathema be the one who divides the Son of God" (מוֹם מוֹם מוֹם מוֹם בוֹם (Bedjan and Brock, Homilies, 6:331). Whichever line belonged to the original, this does not affect the interpretation of the passage that I put forward here.

The following section contrasts the confession of the true church with that of those who support the council. Jacob's summary of the beliefs of his opponents ends with words of condemnation: "As for the one who rashly inserts within that child who is from the [divine] being / Numbers or divisions in any manner, / Anathema be his mouth and his thoughts unless he repents."60 Jacob's characterization of his opponents' Christology emphasizes numbering or dividing the Son of God. The following lines feature a sudden switch to the confession of the רמלא ב מסו / And it is not persuaded by the disputers [תבמה] or the quarrelers."61 This couplet features two words that reflect the introduction. The beginning of homily identified the "disputers" (הוֹסבא) as the principal enemy of the church. 62 Likewise, the repetition of the word "one" (ww) recalls the beginning of the homily, which states: "You are one who is from one [עג אול גרב עג]"."63 This language may be a conscious reflection of the language in Zeno's *Henotikon*—"he is one and not two"⁶⁴—as reflected in Jacob's *Letter* 14: "Because Christ is not divided in two, for he is one [and Intruth..."65 The remainder of the confession of faith outlines the Son of God's actions during

בו רעום בים שבלאה ביל אונים. בים לבים אונים וליים ול

⁶¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 156–7 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:336; Brock, "Reaction," 456, 157–8):

אריבושל אלם הצפוזהל אל המשפשה אלם: האזה הגהם היסואה אם מס זש מס זש מס מש מס מס מש מס מס מש מס מס מש מס מס מש מס מש מס מש מס מש מס מש מס מ

⁶³ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 9 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:332; Brock, "Reaction," 452).

⁶⁴ Zeno, Henotikon (Bidez and Parmentier, Ecclesiastical History, 113; Whitby, Ecclesiastical History, TTH 33:149): ἔνα τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο.

⁶⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 14 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:61):

his life on earth: his birth, tormenting, crucifixion, descent to Sheol, and resurrection. ⁶⁶ The church confesses its faith in the one who endured all of these human activities in contrast to that of its opponents. The emphasis on the oneness of God—coupled with the use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings above—forms a strong link to the debate over the *Henotikon* in the early sixth century and the Christology of Jacob's letters.

The homily ends rather abruptly with ten lines of encouragement for the church which holds to this confession. It features a confirmation of the true faith and a reminder of the situation of strife in the church:

Your hope is good, O daughter of the Arameans; your hope is good.

Your faith is true, O betrothed of the Son.

Raise your voice and stretch forth your hands to God,

So that he will rise up swiftly and bring judgment against your persecutors!

Let fury, anger, and frustration repay them

Because they have investigated the blessed child of the divinity!

As for you who loved him with faith without division [حمامه حاء],

Let your head be lifted through that salvation that will swiftly rise!⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 158–69 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:336; Brock, "Reaction," 456–7, 159–70).

 $^{^{67}}$ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 170–7 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:336–7; Brock, "Reaction," 456, 171–8):

שפו שבוב, כוא הוכיה שפו שבוב,: הפ שונה השכנה לב כבנואה וכו'ה אינה בעל הוב, הפבה ל, הוב לה הוב לה הוב לה הוב לה האמה: דביל נוע ביבו ולה כך ונספוב, בענים אינה שנה הוב לה בה הוב להופה: בל וכבסבה לוה כובה והאמה אה לב, וועדל נה, כמובנה אה ולה פהלבה: נולים ביל בנו פהומה ובבל עוע

⁶⁸ Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:331.

⁶⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 178–9 (ibid., 6:337; Brock, "Reaction," 457, 176–9):

הבל עלים ובמל הלם, כלך בוצם: נמסם ומבים כיםם משופים כי ארשים

⁷⁰ As noted in Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten," 311.

⁷¹ Sebastian P. Brock, "Jacob of Serugh's Verse Homily on Tamar (*Gen.* 38)," *Le Muséon* 115, no. 3–4 (2002): 303. Here he analyzes Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on Tamar and Judah* 405–10 (ibid., 292, 302; Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:269).

and throughout the homily.⁷² The final words of the homily recall a situation of conflict and even mention persecution. The cause of the strife and persecution is clear: the Council of Chalcedon.

The Christology that develops within the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* marks this text as a product of the post-Chalcedonian controversies and suggests strongly that Jacob is its author. The ornamental introduction that includes major themes and key vocabulary, the use of specific rhetorical devices, and the recapitulation of these themes in the conclusion also belie Jacob's authorship. The Christology matches that found in Jacob of Serugh's letters. His description of the confession of his opponents features the language of miracles and sufferings. His short summary of the faith of the true church highlights the oneness of the divinity as opposed to introducing a division. Comparable language from Jacob's letters betrays his pen at work. The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* reflects the Christological themes that appear throughout his letters and leave little doubt about the sermon's authenticity.

THE AUDIENCE AND READERS OF THE HOMILY ON THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

The sections "The Authenticity of the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon" and "The Christology of the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon" have identified the major arguments against the authenticity of the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon, demonstrated consistencies in the style of this homily with Jacob's corpus, and identified similarities between the Christology expressed in Jacob's letters and that in this homily. For whom, then, did Jacob of Serugh compose this homily? The answer to this question will draw heavily on the discussion of the audience and readership of late antique homilies developed in Chapter 1. The proposed methodology for contextualizing late antique homilies recommends viewing the discernible audience on a spectrum. Some homilies provide glimpses of the ecclesiastical settings in which they were delivered. Others permit a view only into their circulation as texts among reading communities within late antiquity. An analysis of this homily will demonstrate how this spectrum can help contextualize homilies whose liturgical settings remain unknown.

Jacob of Serugh's literary output includes homilies that do not fit well-known categories of late antique preaching. His corpus features exegetical sermons preached on specific biblical passages, festal homilies for the liturgical year, admonitory addresses for monastic settings, and hagiographical homilies for

⁷² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 8–10, 69, 79–80, 154, 176 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 331–4; Brock, "Reaction," 452–4, 456–7, 8–10, 69, 79–80, 155, 177).

commemorations.⁷³ Yet some sermons do not fit any of these categories, including the two homilies noted earlier on the siege of the city of Amida in 502 to 503: the *Homily on the Destruction of Amida* and the *Homily on the Shrine of Mar Stephen the Martyr which the Persians made into a Fire Temple when they Entered Amida*.⁷⁴ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite notes that Jacob wrote letters in response to this siege, which serves as one point of connection to historical events.⁷⁵ Yet the liturgical occasions on which these homilies may have been preached remain obscure. There are no feast days dedicated to the siege of the city that would explain the *Homily on the Destruction of Amida*. We likewise do not know of any festivals that may have served as the occasion for the *Homily on the Shrine of Mar Stephen the Martyr*.

The classification of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* forms a yet more complicated situation. The liturgical commemoration of the ecumenical councils emerged at the end of Jacob's lifetime as attested in a text called the *Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops*. ⁷⁶ The imperial reign of Anastasios I ended on July 9th, 518, and Justin I ascended to the throne on the same or the following day. ⁷⁷ The *Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops* narrates the acclamations of the new emperor in the Great Church of Constantinople (Hagia Sophia) led by Patriarch John II the Cappadocian (r. 518–20) that took place on July 15th, 518. ⁷⁸ The people repeatedly condemn

 $^{^{73}}$ On the categorization of Jacob's homiletical corpus, see the overview in Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 221–35.

⁷⁴ Akhrass, "A List," 127, 145.

⁷⁵ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 54 (Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum*, CSCO 91, SS 43:280–1; Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 32:63–4), Debié, "Du grec en syriaque," 603n9 and Watt and Trombley, *Chronicle*, TTH 33:64n304, suggest that this is Jacob's *Letters* 20 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:129–34). Debié, "Du grec en syriaque," 603n9, also mentions the *Homily on the Destruction of Amida* in relation to this event.

⁷⁶ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (Schwartz, ACO 3:71–6). For an overview of the synods in this time, see J. Speigl, "Synoden im Gefolge der Wende der Religionspolitik unter Kaiser Justinos (518)," Ostkirchliche Studien 45 (1996): 8-20. The most extensive studies of the Acclamations themselves remain Sévérien Salaville, "La fête du concile de Nicée et les fêtes de conciles dans le rit byzantin," Échos d'Orient 24, no. 140 (1925): 455-70; A. A. Vasiliev, Justin the First: An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 137-44; Sévérien Salaville, "La fête du concile de Chalcédoine dans le rite byzantine," in Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, vol. 2 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1953), 681-6; Milton V. Anastos, "The Emperor Justin I's Role in the Restoration of Chalcedonian Doctrine, 518-19," Byzantina 13, no. 1 (1985): 128-34. But other studies have commented on the reliability and the significance of the text: Patrick T. R. Gray, The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553), Studies in the History of Christian Thought 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 44-5; Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.1, 319-21; Karl-Heinz Uthemann, "Kaiser Justinian als Kirchenpolitiker und Theologe," Augustinianum 39, no. 1 (1999): 7-8; Brian Croke, "Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign," Byzantinische Zeitschrift 100, no. 1 (2007): 26-7; Geoffrey Greatrex, "The Early Years of Justin I's Reign in the Sources," Electrum 12 (2007): 102-3; Menze, Justinian, 26-8.

⁷⁷ For the slight differences in dating given by the sources, see Greatrex, "The Early Years," 99.

⁷⁸ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (Schwartz, ACO 3:71): "When our lord, the most holy and archbishop and ecumenical Patriarch John made his entrance according

Severos of Antioch, calling him "the new Judas,"⁷⁹ and they praise the new Emperor Justin and Empress Euphemia likening them to Constantine and his mother Helena: "Many be the years of the emperor! Many be the years of the new Constantine! Many be the years of the orthodox emperor! Many be the years of the new Helena!"⁸⁰ The condemnation of Severos and the praise for the new emperor form a context in which the people insist on the commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon.

The emphasis on the Council of Chalcedon develops through the text. At the beginning, the people simply demand the recognition of the council: "Justin, Augustus, you are victorious! Proclaim the Synod of Chalcedon now!" But these unspecific requests transition into calls for a liturgy to be established for the council: "Oh! A liturgy $[\sigma \acute{v} \nu \alpha \xi \iota \nu]$ for the synod, oh!, proclaim it now!" As the text and the acclamations develop, John II connects the Councils of Nicaea with the subsequent Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. The people's response to John entails a formal demand for the commemoration of the council:

to custom into our most holy Great Church on Sunday, the fifteenth of the present month of July of the eleventh indiction, as your divine love has also not failed to recognize, while he with the undefiled clergy around the pulpit, voices came out from the people, saying..." (Εἰσόδου γενομένης κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἐν τῆι ἁγιωτάτηι ἡμῶν μεγάληι ἐκκλησίαι ἐν ἡμέραι κυριακῆι τῆι πεντεκαιδεκάτηι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος Ἰουλίου μηνὸς τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα θεοφίλεια, ἐν τῶι γενέσθαι αὐτὸν σὺν τῶι εὐαγεῖ κλήρωι περὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα φωναὶ γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ λέγουσαι).

It is important to note that at least one historical work also attests to the assembly in the church: Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *Excerpts on the Plots against the Emperor*, John Malalas 43 (Karl de Boor, ed., *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 3, *Excerpta de insidiis* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1905], 170; Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, trans., *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, Byzantina Australiensia 4 [Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986], 229): "During the reign of the Emperor Justin, an uproar arose in the most holy church" (ἐπὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ Βασιλέως θόρυβος ἐγένετο ἐν τῆ ἀγιωτάτη ἐκλλησία). On the relation of this source to the text of John Malalas, see ibid., 230–1; Greatrex, "The Early Years," 100–1; Pia Carolla, "John Malalas in the *Excerpta Constantiniana de Insidiis* (*EI*): A Philological and Literary Perspective," in *Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Autor – Werk – Überlieferung*, ed. Mischa Meier, Christine Radtki, and Fabian Schulz, Malalas Studien 1 (Göttingen: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 239–52.

⁷⁹ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (Schwartz, ACO 3:72): "Cast out Severos! Cast out the new Judas! Cast out the one who plots against the Trinity!" (Σεβῆρον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν νέον Ἰούδαν ἔξω βάλε, τὸν ἐπίβουλον τῆς τριάδος ἔξω βάλε).

⁸⁰ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid., 3:72): π ολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ νέου Κωνσταντίνου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη, τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου βασιλέως πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη, τῆς νέας Έλένης πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.

 81 Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid., 3:72): Ἰουστῖνε αὔγουστε TVINCAS. τὴν σύνοδον Χαλκηδόνος ἄρτι κήρυξον.

82 Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid., 3:72): ἐἐς σύναξιν τῆι συνόδωι, ἐἐς ἄρτι κήρυξον.

⁸³ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid., 3:73): "It is not a matter then of disorder or of confusion, for nothing of the correct faith was omitted nor did someone dare to anathematize the holy synod, but we rather recognize as orthodox all holy synods that confirmed the holy symbol of the three hundred eighteen fathers who gathered in Nicaea and

Proclaim a liturgy $[\sigma \acute{v} \nu a \xi \iota \nu]$ for the Synod of Chalcedon now! I will not leave unless you proclaim [it]. We will be here until late. Proclaim a liturgy $[\sigma \acute{v} \nu a \xi \iota \nu]$ for tomorrow! Proclaim a commemoration $[\mu \nu \acute{\eta} \mu \eta \nu]$ of the fathers for tomorrow! Proclaim a liturgy $[\sigma \acute{v} \nu a \xi \iota \nu]$ for the fathers in Chalcedon for tomorrow! If you proclaim it today, it will be carried out tomorrow. I will not leave unless you proclaim [it].⁸⁴

John II's response includes the promise to commemorate the council: "Since you have asked for a liturgy $[\sigma \acute{v} \nu a \xi \iota \nu]$ for the holy fathers who were in Chalcedon to be carried out, you know that we will do this also at the will of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor." The deacon Samuel announces the liturgical celebration for the council, and the remainder of the text describes the liturgy on July 16th, 518. The Synod of Constantinople took place four days later on July 20th, 518 to address the demands of the people along with those of monks in Constantinople. The Patriarch John II of Constantinople (r. 518–20) sent out the acts of this council to fellow bishops in Jerusalem and Tyre, mentioning the actions of the people in prefatory letters. The synods held in each of these cities as well as a

especially these three holy synods, that is, the one in Constantinople, the one in Ephesus, and the great one in Chalcedon" (οὖ χρεία τοίνυν ταραχῆς ἢ θορύβου· οὖτε γάρ τι παρεβάθη τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως οὖτε ἀγίαν σύνοδον τολμᾶι τις ἀναθεματίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς άγίας συνόδους τὰς βεβαιωσάσας τὸ ἄγιον σύμβολον τῶν τῶν πατέρων τῶν συνελθόντων κατὰ τὴν Νικαέων ὀρθοδόξους γινώσκομεν καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἀγίας τρεῖς συνόδους ταύτας, τουτέστι τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσωι καὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι). See Salaville, "La fête du concile de Nicée," 457.

 84 Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (Schwartz, ACO 3:73): τὴν σύναξιν τῆς συνόδου Χαλκηδόνος ἄρτι κῆρυξον. οὐκ ἀναχωρῶ, ἐὰν μὴ κηρύξηις. ἔως ὀψὲ ὧδε ἐσμέν. τὴν σύναξιν εἰς τὴν αὕριον κήρυξον. τὴν μνήμην τῶν πατέρων αὕριον κήρυξον. τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι πατέρων τὴν σύναξιν αὕριον κήρυξον. σήμερον ἐὰν κηρύξηις, αὕριον ἐπιτελεῖται. οὐκ ἀναχωρῶ, ἐὰν μὴ κηρύξηις.

⁸⁵ Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid.): Έπειδὴ σύναξιν ἠιτήσατε τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, γινώσκοντες γνώσεσθε ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν γνώμηι τοῦ εὖσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως.

Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops (ibid., 3:73-6).

87 The Report of the Synod of Constantinople to John II of Constantinople (ibid., 3:62), describes the reason for the synod with a reference to the events of July 15th and 16th: "Since God, the ruler of all... on the previous Sunday and Monday, while the liturgy was being carried out in the holy Great Church of God of this imperial city, moved the innumerable myriads of people with one voice..." (Ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης... κατὰ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν κυριακήν τε καὶ δευτέραν λειτουργίας ἐπιτελουμένης ἐν τῆι ἀγίαι τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάληι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως μιᾶι φωνῆι ἐκίνησε τὸν ἀναριθμήτων μυριάδων λαόν...). On this text, see Vasiliev, Justin, 146–8; Alois Grillmeier, "Christology in Palestine after Chalcedon until the Rise of Islam," in Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2, From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), part 3, The Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch from 451 to 600, ed. Theresia Hainthaler, trans. Marianne Ehrhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 46–7.

⁸⁸ John II of Constantinople, Letter to John of Jerusalem (Schwartz, ACO 3:76): "Since then a certain divine motion from heaven of the Christ-loving people of this same imperial city has occurred..." (ἐπεὶ τοίνυν θεία τις οὖρανόθεν γέγονε κίνησις τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως...); Letter to Epiphanios of Tyre (ibid., 3:77): "Therefore, all that has been done against the enemies of the truth by the like-minded, most reverend fellow ministers, the monks, and the Christ-loving people, make haste, O most beloved of God, as soon as you acquire knowledge [of these affairs], to make known" (ἄπαντα τοίνυν τὰ πεπραγμένα κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς

synod in the province of Syria Secunda indicated their assent to the decisions of the Synod of Constantinople. Secunda indicated their assent to the Council of Chalcedon spread to diverse regions where similar letters and synods likely took place. The feast of the Council of Chalcedon thus became established in the Byzantine tradition on July 16th as first evidenced in this work.

One cannot take the *Acclamations of the People and Addresses of the Bishops* as a fully accurate report of what happened on July 15th and 16th, 518, in Constantinople. This work formed part of a dossier to emphasize the renewed acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon by the emperor and the rejection of Severos of Antioch and other detractors. It survives to the present because of its inclusion in a collection of the acts of the Synod of Jerusalem in 536 which itself formed as a collection around the year 542.⁹¹ It may have appeared in this collection because of its rhetoric against Severos of Antioch, who was condemned at the synod of 536.⁹² The text may very well have undergone modifications to meet the interests of these collections. It nonetheless provides a solid basis for dating the emergence of the feast of the Council of Chalcedon to July 16th, 518.

The commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon on July 16th provides one possible setting for the delivery of Jacob of Serugh's *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. This would suggest that Jacob, after ascending to the episcopacy, rejected the imperial declaration of the commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon and chose instead to denounce the council on its feast day. The great effort to spread information regarding this synod—and with it the festival—already in the summer of 518 suggests that Jacob would have known of the festival in the last years of his life. It thus forms one strong possibility for the liturgical context in which Jacob preached this sermon.

The problem with an approach that identifies the feast of the Council of Chalcedon as the context for Jacob of Serugh's sermon is the dearth of information about these liturgical commemorations. Jacob's *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* and *Homily on the Council of Nicaea* are the only two homilies on councils known from late antiquity. The next extant homilies on councils that I have identified come from Photios of Constantinople (c. 810–after 893). Two of Photios's homilies were likely part of a series of four or five homilies on the Trinitarian controversy, including the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council

άληθείας δῆλα ποιῆσαι τοῖς ὁμοδόξοις εὐλαβεστάτοις συλλειτουργοῖς καὶ μοναχοῖς καὶ φιλοχρίστοις λαοῖς, καθὼς ἂν συνίδηις, σπούδασον, θεοφιλέστατε).

⁸⁹ Letter of the Synod of Jerusalem (518) (Schwartz, ACO 3:77–80); Letter of the Synod of Tyre (518) (ibid., 3:80–5); Letter of the Synod of Syria Secunda (519) (ibid., 3:90–2). On these, see Vasiliev, Justin, 148–60.

⁹⁰ Salaville, "La fête du concile de Nicée," 445–55; Salaville, "La fête du concile de Chalcédoine," 677–81.

⁹¹ Schwartz, ACO 3:viii–xi. 92 Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.2, 352.

⁹³ Photios of Constantinople, Homilies 15–16 (Vasileios Laourdas, Φωτίου 'Ομιλίαι, Ellinika: Paratima 12 [Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikōn Spoudōn, 1959], 139–63; Cyril Mango, The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 3 [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958], 244–78).

of Constantinople in 381.94 Thus, the commemoration of the Council of Chalcedon does not provide a context that will help us understand the audience of this sermon. We do not have an idea of who may have gathered to hear Jacob preach.

Framing the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon as a text that circulated within Jacob's lifetime among Christologically interested reading communities provides a more secure method for contextualization. The presence of quotations of this homily in the sixth- or seventh-century manuscript Wadi al-Natrun, Deir al-Surian, Syr. 28A serves as a physical reminder that Jacob did not merely preach this homily before a live audience. Rather Syriac Orthodox communities within around one hundred years of his death excerpted the homily as a testimony to true faith directed against worshipping with "heretics." Indeed, their use of these excerpts falls in line with the major themes of the homily. Iacob laments the strife in the church, identifies the Council of Chalcedon as the culprit, characterizes the views of his opponents, and outlines—however briefly—the orthodox faith. The correspondence between Jacob's composition of this sermon and the use of it around one hundred years after his death may provide a hint into its initial circulation. In any case, it serves as a point of departure for imagining the circulation of this homily among elite reading communities in late antiquity.

Two periods of Jacob's life discussed in Chapter 3 emerge as potential time-frames for the initial distribution of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. The correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus between the years 511 and 513 reveals a period in which Jacob had to define more clearly his opposition to the Council of Chalcedon and its adherents. The four letters he wrote to the monastery contain perhaps the clearest expressions of his Christological views in his corpus. Yet they also betray Jacob's reluctance to claim his adherence to specific documents and to condemn individuals by name. The monastery sent several letters to ensure that he supported their cause and was aligned with the views of Severos of Antioch. Jacob had to prove his orthodoxy to the abbot and monks of the monastery. The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* could have served as additional proof of his orthodoxy at this time.

One previously unexplored aspect of the correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus recommends the timeframe of these letters for the distribution of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. The five letters that make up this correspondence entail four written by Jacob to the monks of the monastery or to its abbot (*Letters* 13–14, 16–17) as well as one written by the monks to Jacob (*Letter* 15). Other letters in Jacob's correspondence do form sets based on their addressees.⁹⁵ But the correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus is the

⁹⁴ On the content of these homilies, see Mango, *Homilies*, 236.

⁹⁵ For example, two of Jacob of Serugh's letters are addressed to Daniel the solitary and address similar topics: Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 27, 39 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:225–8, 287–92). There is no manuscript evidence that they ever circulated as a pair.

only set in the manuscript transmission of Jacob's letters. Marginal notes added by a later hand to a seventh-century manuscript that contains this correspondence even mark the flow of exchange between Jacob and the monks. ⁹⁶ Recent scholarship has investigated the deliberateness with which individuals and communities formed letter collections in service of the representation of an individual or for a specific cause. ⁹⁷ The gathering of Jacob's correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus should be viewed as a deliberate act that would have supported a claim to his orthodoxy. If such a gathering to control the image of Jacob of Serugh was formed at this early period, the circulation of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* would have buttressed such claims.

A second likely context for the composition and distribution of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* is the end of Jacob's lifetime after Justin I's rise to power. The *Letter to the* comes *Bessas* and the *Letter to the Himyarites* both date to the first years of Justin's reign and the last year of Jacob's life. As explored in Chapter 3, the Christology expressed in these letters matches that found in the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. These letters do not contain renunciations of the Council of Chalcedon, but they otherwise feature very similar expressions of Christology. The use of the phrase "your persecutors" (בו المحافظة) in the sermon's final lines may suggest a connection to this later period. 98 The root

96 Jacob of Serugh, Letters 13 "On the [divine] economy" (אמבלים אולא) (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:52n1), Letters 15 "Examination of the confirmation of the faith" (אמבלים אולא הבל ביסול אולא (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:62n1), and Letters 16 "And this is the reply" (אמבלים אולא הבל ביסול אולא הבל

⁹⁷ This trend originated in the study of classical letter collections: Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison, eds, *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Roy K. Gibson and Ruth Morello, *Reading the* Letters *of Pliny the Younger: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Roy K. Gibson, "On the Nature of Ancient Letter Collections," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 56–78; Roy K. Gibson, "Letters into Autobiography: The Generic Mobility of the Ancient Letter Collection," in *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature Encounters, Interactions and Transformations*, ed. Theodore D. Papanghelis, S. J. Harrison, and Stavros A. Frangoulidis, Trends in Classics, Supplementary Volumes 20 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

But studies on late antique collections have recently appeared: Pauline Allen, "Rationales for Episcopal Letter-Collections in Late Antiquity," in *Collecting Early Christian Letters from the Apostle Paul to Late Antiquity*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Pauline Allen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 18–34; Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin, and Edward J. Watts, eds, *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2017).

⁹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* 173 (Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:336; Brock, "Reaction," 456, 174).

"persecute" (ᠫit appears only in five out of Jacob's forty-two letters. Four of these five focus on Christology, including the *Letter to the* comes *Bessas* and the *Letter to Paul of Edessa*. On my view, other attempts to date Jacob's homilies based on individual words have not proven convincing and thus should give one pause before putting too much weight on one word. Yet the correlation between Jacob's thought and his use of this term is provocative as a potential context for the composition and distribution of this homily.

If Jacob composed and initially distributed the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* at the end of his life it would have served different roles than earlier. In this setting, the sermon would have helped miaphysite communities identify the errors of the Christology now promoted by the empire. It would have buttressed their belief that the biblical text supported their miaphysite Christology and encouraged them to remain faithful in their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon. The *Letter to the* comes *Bessas* and the *Letter to Paul of Edessa* feature such a mixture of encouragement and firm adherence to a miaphysite understanding of Christology. The *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* would have supported the message of these letters even as it goes beyond them in the specificity of its claims against its opponents. Here Jacob would have taken an active role in encouraging communities despondent at the rise of opposition to their Christological views.

This section has explored the contextualization of the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. Due attention to the emergence of a festal celebration for the Council of Chalcedon in the year 518 serves as one possible preaching context for the original sermon. Yet the limitations on our knowledge about such celebrations caution against taking this festival as the best context in which to interpret Jacob of Serugh's *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*. The preservation of excerpts in a sixth- or seventh-century manuscript reveals the Syriac Orthodox community's understanding of this sermon as a text that helped identify heresy and support correct Christological beliefs. This manuscript points back to the circulation of this homily among reading communities in

⁹⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 18 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:88 [3], 89 [3], 90 [4], 91 [6], 92, 99 [3], 100 [5], 101 [3], 102), 23 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:182 [3], 184 [2], 189, 190), 24 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:216), 32 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:243 [3], 244, 245), and 41 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:295 [2]). *Letter* 23 is an extended response to a series of questions about biblical exegesis. Persecution comes up when discussing David fleeing from Saul. *Letter* 24 discusses an exegetical question that relates to Christology. The use of persecution in this letter does not pertain to the persecution of Christians. On the other hand, *Letter* 41 is addressed to Mar Simon and focuses on Christology. This letter could very well come from later in Jacob's life when the miaphysite community was facing persecution.

nothe Creation of Adam by connecting the word "trembling" (حضم) in this homily to an earthquake that took place in September 499 and is mentioned in Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle 34 (Chabot, Chronicon anonymum, CSCO 91, SS 43:261–2; Watt and Trombley, Chronicle, TTH 32:34).

late antiquity. Jacob's correspondence with the monastery of Mar Bassus around 511 to 513 provides one context in which he may have chosen to circulate this homily to defend his own claim to orthodoxy. But he may also have chosen to compose and distribute this homily at the end of his life to comfort miaphysite communities now facing a regime that opposed its views. Each of these periods of his life provides a strong context in which to understand the homily as a text circulating among readers interested in Christology.

CONCLUSION

The Homily on the Council of Chalcedon remains among the most controversial in Jacob of Serugh's corpus. Jacob's direct rebuttal of the council does not appear elsewhere in his homiletical corpus. Yet the similarity in his thought here and in his letters is unmistakable. The analysis of both the poetic characteristics of the homily and its Christology mark it as a product of Jacob's time and hand. His use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings ties it to the specific debates that occurred over Zeno's Henotikon in the second decade of the sixth century. Based on this discussion, the sermon should be viewed as an integral part of Jacob of Serugh's corpus and as representative of his Christological thought.

The contextualization of this homily serves as a helpful introduction to the application of the methodology proposed in Chapter 1. The emergence of a festival for the Council of Chalcedon at the end of Jacob of Serugh's lifetime provides one possible context in which he may have delivered this denunciatory speech. Yet this context offers little to an understanding of the individuals who may have encountered it. The Homily on the Council of Chalcedon is best contextualized as a text that circulated among communities interested in the Christological debates in the early sixth century. Both Jacob's efforts to defend his reputation as an adherent to miaphysite Christology and later his support for miaphysite communities facing imperial opposition could have served as the impetus for Jacob to circulate this homily. The information available regarding the contextualization of this homily fits one end of the proposed spectrum of situating homilies historically. Here the circulation of the sermon after its delivery provides a better means of understanding the individuals that encountered Jacob's thought. This homily helped secure Jacob's place as a miaphysite leader and his support for those who held to these views despite pressure to do otherwise.

Homilies as Tools for Teaching Theology

Because Christ is not divided in two, for he is one God in truth who became human in truth through the embodiment from Mary, as it is written, "The Word became flesh and dwelled among us" [John 1:14]. He both performed miraculous feats and endured sufferings. Both the exalted things and the humble things are of the one only-begotten who is indisputable, untranslatable, inscrutable, indivisible, unsearchable, and unspeakable.¹

Jacob of Serugh, Letter to Abbot Lazarus of Mar Bassus

His Father is hidden; his mother is a virgin: who is inquiring into him? As for the Son of the divine being, the son of Mary: who is going to dispute him? He is hidden in the heights, revealed in the depths, and our Lord is one. He performs miraculous feats, he endures sufferings, and he is indivisible.²

Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith

INTRODUCTION

At some point in the last fifteen years of his life, Jacob of Serugh delivered a lengthy catechetical sermon on the central teachings of the Christian faith. He consistently referenced the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as he cycled through the major teachings of the Christian faith and encouraged his audience to be faithful to the theology he had exposited. The audience that gathered to hear this sermon could have consisted of ecclesiastical leaders, catechumens, or a mixture of monastics, clergy, and laity. To this audience, he communicated

Jacob of Serugh, Letters 14 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:61):

כלל הלא כילפלל משעיא ללה, העד מם אלמא כשורא. המסא כי אושא כשורא. בכיל לשבטחלמם הכין כינת. איני הבליב. הכללא כסורא מא א בי ממם שבו עולא. ממם שבו עולא. מהל אונן הכולא מכילא. העד שנהא. הלא כילהוש כלא כיללו לב, כלא כילכים א כלא כילפלל. כלא כילבוב כלא כילכולל.

² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:619, 20–620, 2):

איבוסת, בשנא ומאדים בולם אל א סדיל ביים אינים אינים אינים אינים ביים אולי ביים או היים או אינים אינים אינים אי בהודים אינו הוו דיים הוו אינים ביים ושל המבר על אינים בא היים בא היים ביים ביים או אינים ביים ביים ביים ביים מ

a form of Christology that shares clear similarities with the Christology of his letters. But this homily also exhibits the transformation of his Christology to fit his poetic meter and homiletical context. Jacob's expression of Christology in this homily, as this chapter argues, would have appeased ecclesiastical leaders concerned with precision. It also would have proven accessible to lay audiences unfamiliar with the specific language of these debates. After identifying the genre and context of this homily, this chapter offers three case studies that exhibit the transformation of Christological language in this sermon to accommodate the poetic meter and preaching context. The last case study will examine Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings to tie this homily to the debate over the *Henotikon*.

THE UNITY AND ARGUMENT OF THE HOMILY ON THE FAITH

The *Homily on the Faith* comprises one of the longest homilies in Jacob's corpus.³ It stretches to over sixty-five pages in the modern edition, totaling around thirteen hundred lines of poetry. No thorough treatment of this work has appeared.⁴ The homily includes four major sections: an introduction, an exposition of doctrine, an exhortation to simplicity, and a conclusion. The following outline provides a snapshot of the homily as a whole:⁵

- I. Introduction (581, 1–584, 2)
- II. Exposition of Doctrine (584, 3–622, 4)
 - A. Incarnation (584, 3–593, 6)
 - B. Crucifixion (593, 7–599, 2)
 - C. Trinity (599, 3-602, 4)

³ The basic text for the *Homily on the Faith* used for this chapter is that found in ibid., 3:581–646. Bedjan uses three manuscripts for his text: London, British Library, Add. 17155; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Poc. 404; and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117. The earliest evidence for this homily appears in the London manuscript, which dates to the sixth or seventh century based on the writing (Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2:507; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:46; 2:6–7). I have also consulted the second earliest witness to this homily in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, which dates to the seventh or eighth century based on the writing (Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:84–5; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:51–2; 2:10–13). The homily in this manuscript is incomplete. It stretches from folios 132v–147r, reaching to Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:629, 11. When the water damage has not made it impossible, I have checked all citations from this homily against this manuscript. All major deviations are indicated in the footnotes. Other manuscript witnesses to this text were not consulted for this chapter, as they were unavailable to me and do not provide early evidence for the transmission of this homily.

⁴ The one dedicated article on this homily is Krüger, "Zur Problematik." Bahnām, *Kamāʾil*, and Jansma, "Credo of Jacob", connect this homily to Jacob's letters and to other homilies. I take a closer look at some of the themes that they mention in passing.

⁵ The page and line numbers correspond to the edition in Bedjan.

- D. Ecclesiology (602, 5-611, 16)
- E. Soteriology (611, 17–617, 11)
 - 1. Christ Chooses to be Human Not an Angel (611, 17–614, 2)
 - 2. Christ Tricks Death as the Medicine of Life (614, 3–616, 4)
 - 3. Christ's Descent to Sheol (616, 5–617, 11)
- F. Christology (617, 12-622, 4)
 - 1. Christ is Indivisble (617, 12–619, 15)
 - 2. The Unity of Christ, Human and Divine (619, 16–622, 4)
- III. Exhortation to Simplicity (622, 5–644, 8)
 - A. Contrast of the Wise and the Simple (622, 5–627, 12)
 - B. Faithful and Unfaithful Confessions (627, 13-633, 7)
 - C. Accusations against the Arrogant (633, 8–641, 7)
 - D. Recapitulation of Christ's Life (641, 8-644, 8)
- IV. Conclusion (644, 9-646, 2)

Jacob first previews the major themes of the homily in the introduction, and then explains six major theological topics in the exposition of doctrine. The exhortation encourages the audience to adhere to the doctrine discussed in the homily, and the conclusion recalls the major themes of the homily. This section defends the unity of this homily while identifying its principal themes to help situate the analyses that follow.

The introduction belies a polemical context and contains key vocabulary that reappears throughout the homily. Organized as an alphabetical acrostic, its first lines read:

Bend your exalted word down to me, O Son of God,

So that your great story might be spoken with an exalted voice.

I am your creation, O Lord. Establish my tongue so that I might sing to you Sounds of glory with the love of the soul without contention $[\kappa L h]$.

You formed me, and I became a speaking vessel for the glory of your name:

May the word that I received as a gift from you not fail in me!

Yours are all the readings, all the interpretations,

All the discourses, all the homilies, and the canticles.

From your own, give beauty for the narrative of your faith [مصحصها],

So that by your gift the homily might be enriching for those who listen.⁶

This opening prayer is characteristic of Jacob's homilies. He invokes God; he refers to the tasks of expositing the Bible and delivering homilies; he names the

audience.⁷ But two features reflect the specific content of this homily. The phrase "without contention" (ג'ב'ה מבֹב') appears throughout the homily in polemical contexts. Likewise, the word used for "faith" in "of your faith" (ממשבטאלא) reflects the title assigned to this homily in the manuscript tradition.⁸ Combined, they preview the homily as a whole: an exposition of doctrine within a polemical context.

- ⁷ Extended studies on the introductions to Jacob's homilies have not appeared. But see the treatment in Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten," 308–9.
- ⁸ All witnesses to this homily contain the word "the faith" (مرحصهری) in their titles. See Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/13; Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/14; Diyarbakır, Mar Yaʻqub (A); London, British Library, Add. 17155; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 137; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 166; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Poc. 404; Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115; Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117. An asterisk indicates that I have not been able to confirm the title given to this homily from viewing the manuscript or looking at a catalogue. In these cases, I depend on the titles in Vööbus, Handschriftliche Überlieferung.
 - ⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:582, 9–10):
 - ి $^{\circ}$ Au-onless గావండు ఈ అంగా గారి అంకు కుండి మండి గారుగా కుండి మండి 10 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (ibid., 3:646, 2).
- 12 See, for example, Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns on Faith 7.6 (Edmund Beck, ed., Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen De fide, trans. Edmund Beck, CSCO 154–5, SS 73–4 [Leuven: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1955], CSCO 154, SS 73:33): "Come let us be astonished at the people / Who saw the king in lowliness, but did not investigate [מבסבם] or seek [more]. / No one of them disputed [בּבוֹם]. / There shone in silence / The pure faith [מבסבם]. / The Magians, when he was in lowliness, / Were not so insolent [מבסבם]. / Who would be so insolent [מבסבם] to inquire into him [מבסבם]. / Now that he went up and dwells / At the right hand in heaven?" (מבסבם בל מבסבם בל

Christology in Jacob's time to the theological controversies of the fourth century. ¹³ Jacob adds importance to his exposition of doctrine when he invokes this terminology.

Second, this quotation specifies that angels, "the flaming mouths," are incapable of telling the narrative of the faith. Later in the introduction, Jacob contrasts angels with the one who arrogantly says too much about the Son: "The ignited flaming mouth [حمد المعاملة] / To investigate you [حمد ما], O Lord, as though you can be investigated [حمد المعاملة] by us." This statement previews the exhortation where Jacob calls on the faithful to speak of the faith in a simple fashion, as the angels and disciples.

The exposition of doctrine follows immediately after the introduction. Jacob treats, in turn, the incarnation, the crucifixion, the Trinity, the church, salvation, and Christology. Each doctrine poses challenges to understanding Christ as fully God and fully human. The incarnation, for example, leads him to ask: "The wisdom of the world only looks on nature: / 'How is it that God dwelled in a girl?' "15 Jacob's responses to these guiding questions move the homily's narrative forward.

Jacob then exhorts his audience to be faithful to the doctrines he has just discussed. It begins with a contrast between the wise and the simple:

When the narrative of the Son is spoken by the wise,

It hides itself so that they do not place it in their disputes [_________].

In the discourse of the scribes—however much they rouse up their questions—

He cannot be discussed through their ingenious explanations.

But, look!, he is revealed to the simple and rises as a light,

And he allows himself to be discussed with love. 16

62–80; Edmund Beck, *Ephraems Reden über den Glauben: Ihr theologischer Lehrgehalt und ihr geschichtlicher Rahmen*, Studia Anselmiana 33 (Rome: "Orbis Catholicus," Herder, 1953), 111–25; Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism*, 106–56.

¹³ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on Holy Mar Ephrem 6–7 (Amar, Homily on Ephrem, PO 47.1:26–7), commemorates Ephrem for his victories in doctrinal disputes. He mentions the Marcionites, Easterners, Arius, Sabellius, and Bardaisan (Homily on Holy Mar Ephrem 121–2 [ibid., PO 47.1:54–5]). The "Easterners" may refer to Manichaeans, as ibid., PO 47.1:55n88, notes is found as a marginal note in a manuscript. Some manuscripts have "Audians" (حمدمت) rather than "Arius" (محمدت) (ibid., PO 47.1:54n122.2). Audius has associations with Manichaeism (Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, 2:2828), and is mentioned in one of Jacob's letters (Letters 19 [Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:113]).

¹⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:583, 10–11):

^{*} איי השל השל א המליע המחודים הל איי היא הנשבא בין איי איי א המליע הל המשלא אור השל המליע המחשיים אל המשלא אוריים וויים אל המליע המחשיים וויים אל המליע המחשיים וויים ו

^{*} האולה הוד המול מסי אם המשה במול מיים במול של איים מיים המשל של Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (ibid., 3:622, 5-10):

By invoking the word "disputes" (حتى), the second line echoes the introduction and points to a context of strife. The passage continues:

He hates wisely worded retorts,
For with a simple teaching he subdued the whole world.
He chose the simple and the poor to preach about him,
And he sent them to speak of him in various places.
So that everyone would perceive that because the one who is speaking is God,
The world received him from preachers who were not wise.¹⁷

The final couplet recalls the debate over Christ's divinity. While the homily's focus turns from explaining doctrine, shared language and themes connect it to what has preceded.

The exhortation then outlines responses to the doctrines discussed above. The wise continue to serve as foils for the simple, under various names and attributes. While the wise insolently inquire into the nature of the divinity, the simple—exemplified in the disciples—stand for the faithful who unassumingly proclaim the faith that they have received. About the simple, Jacob states: "For if [the simple one] were cunning, he would be afraid to tell of these things: / All the disgraces, the mockery, and the sufferings [حقيق] of the crucifixion." Throughout the exhortation, Jacob draws on the polemical vocabulary of the introduction and refers back to doctrinal discussions. He lays out two options: be faithful as the simple or be cunning as the wise.

The conclusion ties the preceding sections together. Jacob first uses the polemical vocabulary to restate the argument of the exposition of doctrine. Here he accuses the wise of inquiring, investigating, and bringing disputes and schisms into the church.¹⁹ The final four couplets utilize this vocabulary again and recall the central questions of the exposition of doctrine:

The faith cannot be tracked down through investigations [حقطة],

For without inquiry [حقطة], it proceeds on the path of the Son of God.

The lance, nails, and the crucifixion are its weapons,

And it pierces the one who inquires [حيم] into the Son of God.

[The faith] tells of his sufferings [مقتمى] in the congregations with a raised voice.

The faith cries out that he died, and it is not ashamed of him.

¹⁷ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (ibid., 3:622, 11–16): מבולא מבא עביבראריה והבילא מבא ביבראריה והיא איני ביבראריה ווהר in line 15. But he indicates that the London manuscript and the Oxford manuscript have ביבראריה, and I follow Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, fol. 145v, in reading this as באריא ביבראריה.

¹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:625, 14–15):

Through the crucifixion, he brought salvation for the whole world. Glory to the hidden one who came openly, but cannot be investigated [כאל בפב.].²⁰

Significant for the pairing of miracles and sufferings, "his sufferings" (,,,,,,) appears at the very end of the homily. Within this homily, the Son's sufferings form one of the central problems to understanding the Son as divine and human. Jacob's opponents, as he portrays them here and in the letters, do not wish to attribute these sufferings to the Son.

From beginning to end, the homily emphasizes correct doctrine. The exposition of doctrine forms the core of the homily, offering explanations of six key theological concepts. The introduction, exhortation, and conclusion emphasize the importance of holding to these beliefs. As we will see, the homily's emphasis on doctrine helps identify possible locations for its oral delivery. The homily also assumes a context of competing views on doctrine. Jacob could be employing this rhetoric for a variety of purposes. ²¹ But, as discussed later, the homily reflects the language of conflicts that occurred in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. It addresses major questions about Christology in Jacob's time and reveals how he transforms his language to engage in these conflicts while being faithful to the style and homiletical context.

AUDIENCES AND READERS OF THE HOMILY ON THE FAITH

The catechetical content of the *Homily on the Faith* suggests several contexts in which Jacob may have delivered it. In its present form, the homily contains no asides to audience members, no contextual clues about location, and no references to historical events. Yet manuscript evidence and comparisons to similar homilies can help identify circumstances in which he could have delivered this homily. The content of this homily would have fit well the expectations of audiences of both ecclesiastical leaders and laity.

Nine manuscripts transmit the *Homily on the Faith*, revealing possibilities for its classification and meaning.²² Most come from the second millennium. The encyclopedic inclinations of the Syriac Renaissance (1000–1300) resulted in large collections of writings and this homily found a place there.²³ But two earlier manuscripts survive. The first, London, British Library, Add. 17155, dates to the sixth or seventh century based on its script;²⁴ the second, Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, dates to the seventh or eighth based on the same.²⁵ The earlier manuscript reveals how early readers understood and transmitted this homily.

The earliest manuscript, dating to the sixth or seventh century, contains eleven of Jacob's homilies. ²⁶ The beginning of this manuscript remains intact so that its arrangement of homilies is evident. The first five homilies discuss the life of Christ. Their titles identify them as a set, as they all share the word "Our Lord" (ﷺ). ²⁷ The next five homilies focus on the end of the world, with their titles again indicating their unity. ²⁸ The *Homily on the Faith* appears as the last homily in the extant manuscript. The producers of this manuscript did not frame the *Homily on the Faith* as a homily on the life of Christ, despite its theological treatment of this subject. Similarly, late medieval manuscripts place this homily as the first in a sequence of *Homilies on the Faith*. ²⁹ Such classifications may date back to late antiquity, when manuscript producers already organized

²² See Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/13; Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/14; *Diyarbakır, Mar Ya^cqub (A); London, British Library, Add. 17155; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 137; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 166; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Poc. 404; Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115; Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117.

²³ On this time period, see Peter Wilhelm Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, 2nd ed., Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten 3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960); Herman G. B. Teule et al., eds, *The Syriac Renaissance*, Eastern Christian Studies 9 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

²⁴ Wright, Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2:507; Vööbus, Handschriftliche Überlieferung, 1:46; 2:6-7.

 $^{^{25}\,}$ Assemani and Assemani, Catalogus, 3:84–5; Vööbus, Handschriftliche Überlieferung, 1:51–2; 2:10–13.

 $^{^{26}\,}$ Vööbus, $Handschriftliche\, \ddot{U}berlieferung,$ 1:46, also identifies the theme of the life of Christ and the interest shown in cycles.

Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2:508. On the practice of marking out sets in manuscripts, see Forness, "Narrating History," 47–54.

²⁸ The title of each contains an ordinal, indicating its placement in the sequence. See Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2:508.

The next manuscript chronologically to contain this homily is Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, but its ordering is difficult to determine. Two eleventh-century manuscripts are the next oldest, and they both place the *Homily on the Faith* as the first in the collection of *Homilies on the Faith*: Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/13 and 12/14 (Yuḥanon Dolabany, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Za'faran Monastery*, ed. Gregorios Yuḥanon Ibrahim [Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1994], 70, 86–7). This organization scheme appears again in Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 137 and 166 (Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 2:40–3, 190–1).

homilies into cycles.³⁰ The producers of these manuscripts commemorate the *Homily on the Faith* for its presentation of doctrine.

Late antique preachers delivered doctrinal homilies in several settings. Each of the three surveyed here seems a possible setting for the *Homily on the Faith*. First, some homilists delivered doctrinally oriented sermons before limited audiences of ecclesiastical leaders. The series of five *Theological Orations* of Gregory of Nazianzos (329/30–c.390) serves as one example.³¹ He carefully prepared these homilies in a contentious time and likely delivered them before a limited audience.³² Gregory's friend Basil of Caesarea, similarly, wrote the *Homily on Not Three Gods* for a gathering of ecclesiastical leaders. The homily itself indicates the limited scope of the audience.³³ Jacob's *Homily on the Faith* would have fit such a context. He offers a detailed discussion of Christology aimed at his opponents. A clerical audience would have understood his nuanced treatment of Christological topics and his use of standard polemics against dyophysites. The manuscript evidence suggests that late antique and medieval readers of this homily valued it for these reasons.

³⁰ On cycles in early manuscripts of Jacob's homilies, see Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1:41–2. The circulation of Ephrem's hymns in cycles points to a wider trend. See Sebastian P. Brock, "The Transmission of Ephrem's Madrashe in the Syriac Liturgical Tradition," *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997): 490–3.

³¹ Gregory of Nazianzos, *Orations* 27–31 (Paul Gallay, ed., *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours* 27–31, trans. Paul Gallay, SC 250 [Paris: Cerf, 1978]).

³² On their dating, see ibid., SC 250:10–15. On the composition of the audience, see Christopher A. Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 39, who cites John Anthony McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 277–8. For an illuminating discussion of Gregory's preparation of these five orations, see ibid., 236–77. These texts then circulated in an edited form that survives today, see Tadeusz Sinko, *De traditione orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni* (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1917–23), 1:11–12, 20–1; Jean Bernardi, *La prédication des pères cappadociens: Le prédicateur et son auditoire*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier 30 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968), 269–70; Jean Bernardi, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Le théologien et son temps*, 330–390, Initiations aux Pères de l'Église (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 269–70; Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, 39; Brian Daley, ed., *Gregory of Nazianzus*, Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2006), 62.

³³ Basil of Caesarea, Homily on Not Three Gods (PG 31:1489B; Mark DelCogliano, "Basil of Caesarea's Homily On Not Three Gods (CPG 2914): Problems and Solutions," Sacris Erudiri 50 [2011]: 270–1): "On account of this, they [i.e., the fathers] devised these festivals in order to renew the estrangement that comes from time through interaction at appointed times and that the event might provide those who live abroad, when constrained to a single place, a beginning of friendship and love. This is a spiritual festival which renews the old and provides a beginning for the new" (Τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκα ἐκεῖνοι τὰς πανηγύρεις ταύτας ἐμηχανήσαντο, ἴνα τὴν ἐκ τῶν χρόνων ἐγγινομένην ἀλλοτρίωσιν διὰ τῆς τῶν καιρῶν ἐπιμιξίας ἀνανεοῦσθαι· καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπερορίαν οἰκοῦντας, ἕνα τοῦτον καταλαβόντας τόπον, ἐαυτοῖς ἀρχὴν φιλίας καὶ ἀγάπης τὴν συντυχίαν παρέχειν. Τοῦτο πνευματικὴ πανήγυρις τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀνανεουμένη· τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀρχὴν παρεχομένη.). See DelCogliano, St. Basil the Great: On Christian Doctrine and Practice, 268–9, on the context, and DelCogliano, "Basil of Caesarea's Homily", for an analysis.

Second, homilists in late antiquity regularly delivered sermons on doctrine to catechumens. The lists of topics considered—while certainly not uniform—matches well the set of six different theological topics in the first major section of the homily. Evidence for doctrinal homilies, delivered before catechumens, survive across the Mediterranean world in Greek and Latin.³⁴ Jacob may even have been familiar with the *Catechetical Homilies* of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c*.350–428), which were translated into Syriac.³⁵ Jacob was, as we have seen, at the school of the Persians in Edessa when such works were being translated into Syriac.³⁶ The *Homily on the Faith* seems too long for the ordinarily short length of catechetical homilies, delivered as a series over the course of a week or several weeks. But this forms yet another potential setting for this homily.

Third, homilists delivered doctrinal sermons in mixed settings of ecclesiastical leaders and laity. Severos of Antioch's first *Cathedral Homily* provides a comparison from the same time period. In this homily, Severos makes great efforts to define his own Christology, dispelling any notion that he supports dyophysite arguments.³⁷ Coordinating information about Severos's accession to

³⁴ Egeria, *Itinerarium* 46.3 (Pierre Maraval, ed., *Egérie: Journal de voyage: Itinéraire*, rev. ed., SC 296 [Paris: Cerf, 2002], SC 296:308–10; George E. Gingras, trans., *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrim*, ACW 38 [New York: Neumann Press, 1970], ACW 38:123), notes that the catechesis in Jerusalem included instruction in the creed.

Greek catechetical works that exhibit similar themes to those explored in Jacob's Homily on the Faith include Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Homilies 6–18 (Reischl and Rupp, Cyrilli hierosolymorum, 1:154–2:343; McCauley and Stephenson, The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, FOTC 61:148–249; FOTC 64:4–140); Theodore of Mopsuestia, Catechetical Homilies 1–10 (Birmingham, University of Birmingham Special Collections, Mingana Syr. 561, fol. 1v–71r; for an accessible facsimile, see Raymond-M. Tonneau and Robert Devreesse, eds, Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste, trans. Raymond-M. Tonneau and Robert Devreesse, Studi e Testi 145 [Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949], 2–281; Peter Bruns, trans., Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien, Fontes Christiani 17, no. 1–2 [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1994–5], 1:75–238); John Chrysostom, Baptismal Catecheses, Third Series 1.19–25 (Antoine Wenger, ed., Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites, trans. Antoine Wenger, 2nd rev. ed., SC 50 bis [Paris: Cerf, 1970], SC 50 bis:118–21; Paul William Harkins, trans., St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions, ACW 31 [Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1963], ACW 31:30–2). All three of these texts survive in either Syriac or Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

Among Latin authors, see Ambrose of Milan, *Explanation of the Creed* 4–12 (Otto Faller, ed., *Sancti Ambrosii opera*, pars 7, CSEL 73 [Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955], CSEL 73:5–12; Richard Hugh Connolly, ed., *The* Explanatio symboli ad initiandos: *A Work of Saint Ambrose*, trans. Richard Hugh Connolly, Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 10 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952], 20–7); Quodvultdeus of Carthage, *Homilies on the Creed* 1.3–13, 2.3–12, 3.2–13 (René Braun, ed., *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi episcopo tributa*, CCSL 60 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1976], CCSL 60:310–34, 337–48, 351–63; Thomas M. Finn, trans., *Quodvultdeus of Carthage: The Creedal Homilies*, ACW 60 [New York: Newman Press, 2004], ACW 60:28–50, 54–66, 69–82).

³⁵ But only late evidence for this translation survives. It appears in Birmingham, University of Birmingham Special Collections, Mingana Syr. 561, fol. 1v–152r, which may date to around 1340 based on the writing (Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts* [Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1933–9], 1:1044).

³⁶ Jacob of Serugh, Letters 14 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:59–60).

³⁷ See, for example, the strong language in Severos of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies* 1.22 (Brière and Graffin, *Homiliae cathedrales: I à XVII*, PO 38.2:20, 21): "As for anyone who dares to separate

the patriarchate dates this homily to November 16th, 512.³⁸ Its various introductions indicate that he also delivered it two days later, for the feast of the martyr Romanos.³⁹ The Coptic translation of the introduction suggests a wide audience for this homily:

This is the first discourse that holy Severos proclaimed after he was ordained as archbishop of the church of the city of Antioch, and which he proclaimed again, after two days, in the location of the holy martyr Romanos, since many were asking him, who were not able to listen to him because of the disturbance and the clamor of the crowd that gathered on the day that he was ordained.⁴⁰

Exaggeration may be at work here,⁴¹ but this introduction indicates that large crowds would have gathered to hear this detailed exposition of Christology, as technical as it may have been and as dedicated to the subject of Christology as it was.

Severos's homily forms no exception to the activities of late antique preachers. Jacob's contemporary Narsai has left a number of metrical homilies in Syriac that center on Christology. A set of five fit the major festival days in the liturgical calendar well, where broad audiences may have heard him deliver these homilies. ⁴² Finally, Barḥadbshabba, who provides our earliest comments

the Word of God from the flesh after the union into two natures, they no longer believe in a Trinity but confess a Quadrinity" (εως Α.Ε. ΠΕΤΝΑΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΠΕΡΙΧ΄ ΠΛΟΓΟΟ ΜΠΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΑΡΙΧ΄ ΜΝΠΙΟΑ ΤΜΝΤΌΥΑ ΣΙΤΉ ΟΝΤΕ ΜΦΥCIC. ΟΥΚΕΤΕΙ ΕΥΠΙΟΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΥΤΡΙΑΟ. ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΤΕΤΡΑΟ ΤΕΤΟΥΣΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΜΟΟ).

 38 On the dating of the homily, see Maurice Brière, ed., Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: Homélies CXX à CXXV, trans. Maurice Brière, PO 29.1 (138) (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1960), PO 29.1:11–14.

³⁹ The Coptic translation of the homily seems to derive from this second delivery, as Severos of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies* 1.29 (Brière and Graffin, *Homiliae cathedrales: I à XVII*, PO 38.2:22, 23), mentions the festival by name.

While the Greek version of this homily does not survive, the title appears in Eustathios the Monk, Letter on the Two Natures 40 (José H. Declerck and Pauline Allen, eds, Diversorum postchalcedonensium auctorum collectanea, vol. 1, Pamphili theologi opus et Eustathii monachi opus, CCSG 19 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1989], CCSG 19:439, 775): "In the discourse for his ordination" (i Ev $\tau\hat{\varphi}$ $\lambda oy \varphi \tau\hat{\varphi}$ $\epsilon ^{i}$ S $\tau \dot{\eta} v \chi \epsilon \iota \rho o \tau o v (a v \dot{u} \dot{\tau} o \hat{v})$. In contrast to the Coptic and Syriac titles, Eustathios only mentions his ordination. Eustathios's work likely comes from the middle or second half of the sixth century (ibid., 398–403). For an analysis, see Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2.2, 262–70.

⁴⁰ Severos of Antioch, Cathedral Homilies 1.1 (Brière and Graffin, Homiliae cathedrales: I à XVII, PO 38.2:10): παι πε πφορπ ναογος νταγταγοα νει πελείος σεγτρος. ντερογχίρολομει πμοα ναρχηθεπισκοπος ετεκκαηςία νανή-όχια τπολίς. Θασογος νταγοα λε νκεςοπ μπίλα 200γ σναγ. 2π πτοπος μπμαρτγρος ετογααβ 2ρωμανίος. 2μπτρεγαξίογ λε μμοα 21τῦ 2α2. ναι Θτεμπογεφωμών εςωτώ εροα ετβε πεθοργβος μπ νεκραγκη μπμημώς ετναφωμά. Ναι νταγςωογ2 2μπε200γ ῦταγχιρολομει μμοα. The Syriac version does not include details about the crowds (ibid., PO 38.2:11).

⁴¹ This homily appears in a portion of a Coptic manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Copt. 131¹, fol. 66r–73r), which has not yet been dated (E. Porcher, "Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131.1–8 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933): 133). It is unclear when the translation was made and with what motivations.

⁴² Frederick G. McLeod, ed., Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, trans. Frederick G. McLeod, PO 40.1 (182) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979).

on Narsai's life, suggests that this homilist did deliver Christologically charged homilies before wide audiences. Narsai, he suggests, started delivering homilies in response to Jacob of Serugh's ability to turn common people away from Narsai's teachings. ⁴³ We cannot rule out an ordinary setting for the *Homily on the Faith*. Jacob would have stood well within the expectations of lay and clerical audiences in delivering such a homily before broad audiences.

Jacob of Serugh participated in several traditions as a late antique preacher. Syriac homilists before and contemporaneous to him delivered homilies that exposited theological doctrine. Ephrem the Syrian's six *Homilies on the Faith* address the Trinitarian controversy in opposition to his "Arian" opponents.⁴⁴ These texts, as a gathered set, circulated in the sixth century alongside Jacob of Serugh's works.⁴⁵ Ephrem's *Hymns on Faith*, with overlapping content, also began to circulate as a collection in this time, with the first manuscript evidence dating just one year after Jacob's death.⁴⁶

The homilies attributed to Isaac of Antioch and Narsai both exhibit attention to doctrinal matters. As many as ten *Homilies on the Faith* come from Isaac.⁴⁷ Many of these address post-Chalcedonian Christological topics, and thus should be attributed to one of the later Isaacs.⁴⁸ Further, as noted above, Narsai delivered homilies that address Christology in great detail. Several homilies delivered on festal days—the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension—all feature extensive commentary on Christological matters.⁴⁹ While dating has proven elusive on these homilies,⁵⁰ they suggest that in the

⁴⁴ Beck, Ephraems Reden, 111-18.

⁴⁵ Ephrem's *Homilies on the Faith* appear in London, British Library, Add. 12166, fol. 1v–19r. Five of Jacob of Serugh's sermons appear on fol. 124r–154r in the same manuscript.

⁴⁶ They appear in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 111, fol. 51v–94r, which dates to 522 (see Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:79). On the transmission of Ephrem's *Madrashe* in cycles during this time, see Brock, "The Transmission of Ephrem's Madrashe," 491–2; Aaron Michael Butts, "Manuscript Transmission as Reception History: The Case of Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373)," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 25, no. 2 (2017): 281–306. Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:84, believes that the same scribe who wrote this manuscript also wrote the earliest manuscript of Jacob's writings: Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 114.

⁴⁷ Six appear in modern printed editions of Isaac's works. For the numbering, see Mathews, "Works Attributed to Isaac." These are *Homilies* 42 (Gustav Bickell, ed., *S. Isaaci Antiocheni, doctoris Syrorum opera omnia* [Giessen, 1873], 1:176–9); 52 (Bedjan, *Homiliae S. Isaaci*, 655–64); 65 (ibid., 789–800); 80 (ibid., 712–25); 88 (ibid., 800–4); 135 (unedited). Sebastian Brock and Lucas Van Rompay have identified an additional four *Homilies on the Faith* attributed to Isaac in Wadi al-Natrun, Deir al-Surian, Syr. 27A, fol. 44r–58r (Brock and Van Rompay, *Catalogue*, 161). I have only been able to consult a single folio side of this manuscript related to these homilies (fol. 54v), which is reproduced in ibid., 563.

⁴⁸ Bou Mansour, "Une clé pour la distinction des écrits des Isaac d'Antioche," 400n186, attributes six of the *Homilies on the Faith* to the second Isaac, who was active during the reign of Zeno (474–5, 476–91) (see Mathews, "Ishaq of Antioch").

⁴⁹ McLeod, Narsai's Metrical Homilies, PO 40.1:22–9.

⁵⁰ Ibid., PO 40.1:19–22, attempts to date these homilies, but can only place them within wide spans of time. Further, the oldest manuscript (Mosul, Chaldean Patriarchate, 71) dates between 1188 and 1288 (William F. Macomber, "The Manuscripts of the Metrical Homilies of Narsai,"

⁴³ Barḥadbshabba 'Arbaya, *Ecclesiastical History* 31 (Nau, *L'Histoire*, PO 9.5:124; Becker, *Sources*, TTH 50:69). See the discussion of this passage in Chapter 1.

mid- to late fifth century Narsai was delivering homilies on Christological matters to broad audiences. An anonymous set of five *Homilies on the Faith* also appears in a sixth-century manuscript, further indicating the prevalence of this subject in homilies.⁵¹ These homilies confirm that doctrinal sermons remained a part of the Syriac tradition from the fourth century to the sixth century and that sometimes a broad audience may have attended.

Jacob delivered his *Homily on the Faith* in a setting that demanded instruction. Ecclesiastical leaders may have gathered to hear him preach at a special gathering. Or he may have used this homily for doctrinal instruction for catechumens. Or perhaps a mixed audience of ecclesiastical leaders and laity heard him deliver it during an ordinary liturgy. The poetic meter and oral context demanded that he transform the manner in which he expressed his Christology. The following three sections examine specific ways that Jacob adapts to these constraints to promote his own understanding of Christology and criticize that of his opponents.

THE INSOLENT INTERLOCUTOR: NAMING JACOB'S OPPONENTS

Jacob's letters identify his opponents by name. The *Letter to Abbot Lazarus of Mar Bassus* condemns Nestorios, Eutyches, Diodoros of Tarsos (d. before 394), Theodore, and Theodoret. ⁵² Although their names do not appear in his homilies, the *Homily on the Faith* utilizes a polemical trope that regularly appears in miaphysite criticisms of dyophysite Christology. Its genealogy reveals a clear association with Nestorios with whose name miaphysite authors criticized their opponents, whether Chalcedonian or Church of the East. ⁵³

"Insolence" (<نده and related words appear over twenty times in the *Homily on the Faith*. Jacob addresses one of his several imaginary interlocutors

Orientalia Christiana Periodica 39 [1973]: 280–1). By this time they had become thoroughly embedded in lectionary cycles.

- ⁵¹ See London, British Library, Add. 17181, fol. 31r–42v. The set is given the label of "Metrical Homilies on the Faith" (מארפוא געל מיבער און) (Wright, Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2:665).
 - ⁵² Jacob of Serugh, Letters 14 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:60).
- ⁵³ Miaphysite authors associated both Chalcedonian and Church of the East authors with Nestorios, because of his emphasis on the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity. They considered both of them "Nestorians" for this reason. In relation to Jacob's correspondence with Mar Bassus, see Joseph Lebon, "La christologie du monophysisme syrien," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, vol. 1 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1951), 493–4. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon*, 15–17, brings further clarification to Lebon's arguments.
- ⁵⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:582, 14, 20; 583, 10; 585, 13; 586, 10; 588, 3, 11; 591, 12; 597, 11; 600, 2; 603, 21; 606, 9; 616, 8; 633, 15; 634, 3; 635, 9, 12; 637, 13; 638, 19; 639, 14; 640, 18).

in this homily as "insolent one" (ܡܘܩܩܩ). 55 His invocation of an adversarial interlocutor has roots in the classical philosophical tradition (especially the Cynics) and in subsequent early Christian preaching. The form of the diatribe, constructed as a heuristic tool in the nineteenth century, has the invocation of interlocutors as one of its central features. 56 This dialogical element of the imaginary interlocutor serves, as Stan Stowers writes, "to expose specific errors in thought and behavior so that the student can be led to another doctrine of life." Jacob uses an interlocutor in a similar fashion. It allows him to be cutting in remarks against his opponents and to point toward his own understanding of the faith.

The term "insolence" (حنسمه) appears first in the introduction to the homily.⁵⁸ Jacob quickly invokes this terminology again in his exposition of the incarnation:

Mary gave birth in her virginity and crowds formed

Of investigators, disputers, and inquirers [مدة عدم مددة مدة مدة المحقدة مددة عدم المحقدة المحتقدة المح

All the wise ones [and] all orators gathered to her,

All quarrellers [עדים], [and] everyone who investigates insolently [מדים].

⁵⁵ For this specific language, see Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:600, 2; 606, 9; 635, 12; 637, 13).

⁵⁶ For the history of the diatribe as a modern construct and a reevaluation, see Stanley Kent Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, Dissertation Series 57 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 7–78. Thomas Schmeller, *Paulus und die "Diatribe": Eine vergleichende Stilinterpretation*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, n.s., 19 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), offered a rebuttal of Stowers. But Stowers convincingly defended his views (Stanley Kent Stowers, "Review of Thomas Schmeller, *Paulus und die 'Diatribe': Eine vergleichende Stilinterpretation*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, n.s., 19 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108, no. 3 [1989]: 538–42). For clear and concise summaries of the contrasting views on the utility of this term, see H. D. Jocelyn, "Diatribes and Sermons," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 7, no. 1 (1982): 3–7; H. B. Gottschalk, "Diatribe Again," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 8, no. 6 (1983): 89–91; H. B. Gottschalk, "More on DIATRIBAI," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 8, no. 6 (1983): 91–2.

In highlighting elements of the diatribe in homilies, I follow Karl-Heinz Uthemann, "Forms of Communication in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala: A Contribution to the Reception of the Diatribe as a Method of Exposition," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen, trans. John Cawte, A New History of the Sermon 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 139–77; Anisfeld, "Rabbinic Preachers," 155–8, 207–10. See also Karl-Heinz Uthemann, "Diatribe," in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 366; Karl-Heinz Uthemann, "Christian Diatribe," in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 367–8.

⁵⁷ Stowers, *The Diatribe*, 77.

 $^{^{58}}$ Jacob of Serugh, $Homily\ on\ the\ Faith\ (Bedjan,\ Homiliae,\ 3:583,\ 10-11).$ This passage is translated earlier in this chapter.

⁵⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:585, 10–13): בא מספס מאמל משל מלינת כבל מספט מאמל מלינת בער מלול,: בא על מינת בער מלול,: בא על מינת מינת מלינת מל

The polemical vocabulary associates the thematic word "insolence" with the broader argument of the homily. Jacob then uses this term to describe his interlocutor: "O you who say such things insolently [متنصاء], / Where is your wonder, or whom do you call 'marvel' [Isa. 9:6 (9:5)]?" The language of insolence appears throughout the homily when Jacob criticizes his opponents.

Jacob attributes various quotations to his insolent interlocutor. Most elude identification. But one reflects a common accusation against dyophysites:

Who is so insolent [هحتاني] that before the bride [i.e., the church] he says openly: "The Son of God to whom you are married is not God?"⁶¹

That one who had gone insane was so insolent [صحند] at one point that he spoke as follows:

"It is not God that Mary bore in her virginity."

The bride, the daughter of the day, who was married to him, grew envious. She railed against him, scorned him, despised him, knocked him down, and he fell. 62

The second quotation attributed to the insolent one has clear associations with Nestorios. We will discuss its genealogy shortly. But it is important to note the ecclesiastical framing given to this statement. The quotation of the insolent one points to the strife caused in the church by "false teachings." It also helps Jacob expound his understanding of the faith of the church, "another doctrine of life."

This quotation has its origins in a phrase that appears three times in the fragmentary remains of Nestorios's works, namely, in his *Apology*, *Sermon* 9, and *Sermon* 27.63 *Sermon* 9 bears the closest similarities to the quotation in

⁶¹ Bedjan's edition of Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:604, 1), reads "to whom she [i.e., the church] is married" (מכשוֹא־ה). But there are several variant readings. I follow the variant found in the two earliest manuscripts. Bedjan notes that London, British Library, Add. 17155, has "to whom you are married" (מכשוֹא־ה אונג, לבסוֹ) (ibid., 3:604nl). Although difficult to read, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, fol. 138r, seems to preserve the same reading as the London manuscript. A similar variant appears in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 117, as Bedjan notes (ibid., 3:604nl).

⁶² Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (Bedjan, Homiliae, 3:603, 21–604, 3): ישלוג הנאמט מוס מישלוג הנאמט מוס מישלוג הנאמט מיש מוס אישוב מוס מישלוג המול בישלוג המול בישלוג המול בישלוג המול בישלוג המול מוס מישלוג מוס מישלוג מ

⁶³ Nestorios of Constantinople, *Apology* (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 205): "Mary did not bear, O dear friend, the divinity, but she bore a human, [who was] an inseparable instrument of the divinity" (non peperit, optime, Maria deitatem, sed peperit hominem, divinitatis inseparable instrumentum); *Sermon* 27 (ibid., 337; Ford Lewis Battles, trans., *The Sermons of Nestorius* [Pittsburgh, 1973], 114): "At once the pagan, receiving the reproach that God was born of Mary, moves forward against Christianity" (statim enim paganus cum reprehensione accipiens, quia de Maria deus natus est, infert adversus Christianum).

Jacob's homily: "O dear friend, Mary did not give birth to the divinity." Nestorios delivered this sermon at Christmas in 428, perhaps in response to the debate over whether Mary was the "God-bearer" or *Theotokos* ($\theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa os$). It became known as the *First Homily against the Theotokos*, after contributing to the conflict between Cyril and Nestorios. 65

Nestorios's homily put into circulation the phrase "Mary did not give birth to the divinity." His opponents subsequently used this phrase against him, such as Cyril in his *Against Nestorios*, ⁶⁶ written in Spring 430. ⁶⁷ Eusebios of Dorylaeum (mid-5th century) also draws on this phrase when making comparisons between Nestorios and Paul of Samosata (3rd century) in his *Protest against Nestorios*. ⁶⁸ Jacob uses the phrase in a similar fashion.

Jacob's criticism of the insolent one in his *Homily on the Faith* reflects other anti-dyophysite writings. He criticizes his dyophysite opponents—whether they are Chalcedonian or Church of the East—by attributing the language of Nestorios to them. Chalcedonian thinkers routinely condemned Nestorios's thought and few traces of the commemoration of Nestorios in the Church of the East survive from this time.⁶⁹ But Jacob and his fellow miaphysites associated

⁶⁴ Nestorios of Constantinople, Sermon 9 (Loofs, Nestoriana, 252; Battles, Sermons, 29; Norris, Christological Controversy, 124): οὐκ ἔτεκεν, ὧ βέλτιστε, Μαρία τὴν θεότητα.

⁶⁵ On the importance of this homily in the Christological debates, see Luigi I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso, Storia, dogma, critica*, Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 1 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1974), 70–9.

66 Cyril of Alexandria, Against Nestorios 2.3 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.6:19; E. B. Pusey, ed., Five Tomes against Nestorius, LF 47 [Oxford, 1881], 11–12): "For if it would be entirely abhorrent to the Word, generated from God, to endure a fleshly birth, and so you grant that the one who did not bear God is named the Theotokos, then is it not true to say that you have clearly held the Lord's wishes in contempt?" (εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ὅλως τῶν ἀπηχθημένων τῶι ἐκ θεοῦ φύντι λόγωι τὸ γέννησιν ὑπομεῖναι σαρκικήν, εἶτα θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι συγχωρεῖς τὴν οὐ τεκοῦσαν θεόν, ἆρ' οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ὡς καταπεφρόνηκας ἐναργῶς τῶν δεσποτικῶν θελημάτων;).

⁶⁷ On the dating see Norman Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 130, who cites Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 21; Georges-Matthieu de Durand, ed., *Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Deux dialogues christologiques*, trans. Georges-Matthieu de Durand, SC 97 (Paris: Cerf, 1964), SC 97:24n1.

⁶⁸ Eusebios of Dorylaeum, *Protest against Nestorios* (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.1:101): "Paul said: 'Mary did not bear the Word.' In concert, Nestorios said, 'O dear friend, Mary did not give birth to the divinity" (Παῦλος εἶπε· Μαρία τὸν λόγον οὖκ ἔτεκε. Νεστόριος συμφώνως εἶπε· οὖκ ἔτεκεν, ὧ βέλτιστε, Μαρία τὴν θεότητα.).

69 Two Church of the East writings from the fifth and sixth centuries honor Nestorios: Narsai of Nisibis, *Homily on the Three Teachers* (Martin, "Homélie"; for an interpretation, see Kathleen E. McVey, "The *Memra* of Narsai on the Three Nestorian Doctors as an Example of Forensic Rhetoric," in *III*° *Symposium Syriacum*, *1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980)*, ed. René Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983], 87–96); Barḥadbshabba 'Arbaya, *Ecclesiastical History* 31 (Nau, *L'Histoire*, PO 9.5:100–27; Becker, *Sources*, TTH 50:47–72). But Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church," 7–8, notes that Narsai's homily demonstrates very little knowledge of Nestorios's life. Theodore of Mopsuestia received far more acclaim in the Church of the East during this time. His name occurs frequently in the synods of the Church of the East, while Nestorios's is absent from all Church of the East synods held between 486 and 612. On the development of Nestorios's legacy, see Nikolai N. Seleznyov, "Nestorius of Constantinople:

his name with their "errant" dyophysitism. This quotation links Jacob's *Homily on the Faith* to his letters. Jacob's *Letter to Abbot Lazarus of Mar Bassus* specifies the names of the individuals whose Christology he rejects. Jacob does not identify his opponents in this homily. But attention to the genealogy of this quotation demonstrates that his opponents can be identified. The letter and homily made different demands on Jacob. He needed to specify names in his letter, but he omitted such language from his homily. His use of a polemical trope allows him to achieve the same specificity in the homily without naming his opponents. He maintains the same position but adjusts his approach to meet the context and constraints of the homiletical genre.

WORSHIPPERS OF A HUMAN: RECASTING CRITICISMS IN A METRICAL HOMILY

The poetic nature and preaching context of Jacob's homilies changed the way that he expressed his theology and criticized his opponents. Metrical constraints associated with meter—for Jacob, couplets with twelve syllables per line, divided into three four-syllable feet—did not allow for word-for-word quotations from prose works. Likewise, the oracular qualities of preaching encouraged different ways of presenting the same information. This subsection highlights an expression found in both the *Homily on the Faith* and the letters. It reveals how Jacob transforms a phrase to accommodate the constraints of a homily. This transformation suggests, in turn, that the restraints and tendencies of the poetic genre need to be considered when evaluating connections between these corpora.

Jacob invokes a potent and well-known criticism in his *Letter to Paul of Edessa* and his *Letter to the* comes *Bessas*. Here he calls his dyophysite opponents "worshippers of a human" (هند, لحن صححه). ⁷⁰ Jacob recasts this accusation in the *Homily on the Faith* against his imaginary interlocutor. It is necessary to

Condemnation, Suppression, Veneration, with Special Reference to the Role of his Name in East-Syriac Christianity," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 62, no. 3–4 (2010): 165–90.

⁷⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 32 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:243); *Letters* 35 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:259). This phrase also appears in *Letters* 36 (ibid., CSCO 110, SS 57:261). But the identity of the addressee "Cyrus the Chief Doctor" is not known, and so it cannot easily be situated historically. See Martindale, *PLRE*, vol. 2, 336 "Cyrus 6."

Jansma, "Credo of Jacob," 31n3, and Jansma, "Encore le credo," 500–1, also note the coordination of the phrase "worshippers of a human" between these letters and the *Homily on the Faith*. But I question his claim that "by this formula, which he uses more than once, he means the Nestorians" (Jansma, "Credo of Jacob," 31). Jansma defends this claim by pointing to Jacob's praise of the emperor later in *Letters* 32 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:245–6). I interpret these words of praise to be directly tied to the emperor's pronouncement that Paul can return to his see. Jansma himself seems to have backed away from this strong statement, in part, in a later article (Jansma, "Encore le credo," 501).

trace the development of this rebuke in theological debates of the fourth through sixth centuries in order to understand its full force. As with the pairing of miracles and sufferings, Jacob participates in an old tradition but reflects the specific concerns of his time.

The phrase "worship of a human" dates to the fourth century. Athanasios of Alexandria's (*c*.295–373) *Second Oration against the Arians*, likely written during his exile to Rome between 339 and 343,⁷¹ provides the earliest extant evidence. He writes:

Thus, since we people did not wish to recognize God through his Word and to serve the Word of God as our natural ruler, God consented to show his own lordship and draw all to himself in a human. It would be unseemly to do this through a mere human $[\delta\iota' \dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\dot{\omega}\pi\sigma\nu \ \psi\iota\lambda\sigma\hat{v}]$, ⁷² lest, holding a human as the Lord, we become worshippers of a human $[\dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\dot{a}\tau\rho\alpha\iota]$. ⁷³

By analogy, Ephrem the Syrian praises the Emperor Constantius, even though he did not support Constantius's understanding of the Trinity. In particular, see Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns against Julian* 1.12 (Edmund Beck, ed., *Hymnen des Paradiso und Contra Julianum*, CSCO 174–5, SS 78–9 [Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1957], CSCO 174, SS 78:73). Jacob, as Ephrem, responds to a particular action of the emperor rather than making a pronouncement on his Christology. On Ephrem and emperors, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa, and the Church of the Empire," in *Diakonia: Studies in Honor of Robert T. Meyer*, ed. Thomas Halton and Joseph P. Williman (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986), 22–52; Sidney H. Griffith, "Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns against Julian: Meditations on History and Imperial Power," *Vigiliae Christianae* 41, no. 3 (1987): 238–66.

⁷¹ Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius*, Early Church Fathers (New York: Routledge, 2004), 16, 200–ln75.

The Eusebios of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History 5.28.6 (Schwartz and Mommsen, Die Kirchengeschichte, EW II/1:502; Deferrari, Ecclesiastical History, FOTC 19:344), notes that a certain cobbler named Theodotus was "the first who said that Christ was a mere human" ($\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau o\nu$ εἶπόντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν), during the bishopric of Victor of Rome (c.189–99). For a discussion of the phrase "mere human" (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος), see Alois Grillmeier, "Ο κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος: Eine Studie zu einer christologischen Bezeichnung der Väterzeit," Traditio 33 (1977): 27–32; John Anthony McGuckin, "Psilanthropism," in The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, ed. John Anthony McGuckin, vol. 2 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2011), 461–2.

This phrase was a topic of dispute in the Syriac tradition. See especially the Church of the East Christological collection in Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Library, Or. 1319. Each of the following texts defends against accusations of the phrase "mere human" (בונבא שנום:): Shadost of Tahiran, Why We Easterners Separated Ourselves from the Westerners (Luise Abramowski and Alan E. Goodman, A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts: Cambridge University Library Ms. Oriental 1319, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 19 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], 1:14, 10; 32, 15; 39, 14; 2:12, 1; 21, 21, 26, 9); Pseudo-Isaac of Nineveh, Confirmation of the Orthodox Faith (ibid., 1:61, 22–3; 79, 5; 90, 10; 2:38, 27–8; 47, 22; 53, 5); Against Those Who Confess Christ as One Nature and Hypostasis (ibid., 1:114, 2; 2:66, 10); Apology for Narsai (ibid., 1:126, 13; 2:72, 25); Creed Delivered to Kosroes (ibid., 1:163, 8; 165, 7; 2:97, 4; 98, 14); Pseudo-Nestorios, Chapters and Questions 11 (ibid., 1:194, 23–4; 2:116, 2–3); and Pseudo-Nestorios, Twelve Theses 10 (ibid., 1:217, 16; 2:129, 11–12).

73 Athanasios of Alexandria, Orations against the Arians 2.16.8–9 (Karin Metzler and Kyriakos Savvidis, eds, Orationes I et II contra Arianos, Athanasius Werke I/1, Die dogmatischen Schriften, 2. Lieferung [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998], 193; NPNF² 4:356–7): οὕτως, ἐπειδή καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖκ ἡθελήσαμεν διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐπιγνῶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι τῷ φύσει δεσπότη ἡμῶν τῷ λόγω τοῦ θεοῦ, ηὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπω δείξαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κυριότητα καὶ πάντας ἐλκῦσαι πρὸς

This quotation should be understood in the context of post-Nicene debates. Were Athanasios's opponents correct, as he implies, all Christians would worship a mere human and not God. This criticism thus already entails discussions of the proper relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity.

Subsequent fourth-century debates reflect Athanasios's use of this phrase and show its development as an insult. Apollinaris of Laodikeia (c.310-c.390), in a work on the incarnation, emphasizes the illogical nature of acknowledging Christ's full humanity: "If the same one is entirely human and God, the pious mind—not worshipping a human being $[\mathring{a}v\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\nu\dots\sigma\mathring{v}$ $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\upsilonv\mathring{\omega}v]$ but worshipping God—will be found both worshipping and not worshipping the same one—which is impossible." Apollinaris stops short of affirming the full humanity of Christ, for he would then be worshipping a human.

Anti-Apollinarian treatises show an ongoing discussion about the proper use of this accusation. Gregory of Nazianzos knew of Apollinaris's criticism and responded to it. In a poem written against Apollinaris, he states: "I am a worshipper of a human $[A\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\acute{a}\tau\rho\eta s]$, in your opinion, / Since I revere the whole / Word, mysteriously connected to me, / The same one, who as both God and a mortal human, brings salvation." Gregory makes a similar comment in his First Letter to Cledonius. A pseudonymous anti-Apollinarian work also notes that their opponents call them "worshippers of a human" $(\mathring{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\acute{a}\tau\rho\alpha s)$.

έαυτόν. δι' ἀνθρώπου ψιλοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀπρεπὲς ἦν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνθρωπον κύριον ἔχοντες ἀνθρωπολάτραι γενώμεθα.

⁷⁴ Apollinaris of Laodikeia, On the Incarnation, fr. 9 (Hans Lietzmann, ed., Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule: Texte und Untersuchungen, trans. Hans Lietzmann, TU 1 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904], 206; William Carl Placher, Readings in the History of Christian Theology [Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988], 1:64): εἶ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου καὶ θεὸς ὁ αὐτός, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὁ εὖσεβὴς νοῦς οὖ προσκυνῶν, τὸν δὲ θεὸν προσκυνῶν, εὕρεθήσεται τὸν αὐτὸν προσκυνῶν καὶ μὴ προσκυνῶν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

⁷⁵ Gregory of Nazianzos, Theological Poems 1.1.10, 25–9 (PG 37:467A; Peter Gilbert, trans., On God and Man: The Theological Poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Popular Patristics 21 [Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001], 82): Άνθρωπολάτρης εἰμί σοι / σέβων ὅλον / Τὸν συντεθέντα μυστικῶς ἐμοὶ Λόγον / Αὐτὸν Θεόν τε καὶ βροτὸν σωτήριον.

⁷⁶ Gregory of Nazianzos, Letters 101.8.48 (Paul Gallay, ed., *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres théologiques*, trans. Paul Gallay, SC 208 [Paris: Cerf, 1974], SC 208:56; Gilbert, On God and Man, 160): "For this reason, you, my dear friend, as one who worships the flesh (if indeed I am one who worships a human), dishonor my mind, so that you might bind God to the flesh, since he is not otherwise able to be bound" (Σὺ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἀτιμάζεις, ὡ βέλτιστε, τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν, ὡς σαρκολάτρης, εἴπερ ἀνθρωπολάτρης ἐγώ, ἵνα συνδήσης Θεὸν πρὸς σάρκα, ὡς οὖκ ἄλλως δεθῆναι δυνάμενον).

77 Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, On the Incarnation against Apollinaris 1.21 (PG 26:1129C): "you slanderously say that we say there are two Sons, and you name us 'worshippers of a human'" (καὶ ὑμεῖς συκοφαντοῦντες λέγετε ἡμᾶς δύο λέγειν Υἰοὺς, καὶ ἀνθρωπολάτρας ἡμᾶς ὀνομάζετε). George Dion Dragas, "St. Athanasius' Two Treatises Contra Apollinarem" (Ph.D. diss., Durham University, 1983), argues for the possible authenticity of this work. But this argument has not proven convincing. See Henry Chadwick, "Les deux traités contre Apollinaire attribués à Athanase," in Alexandrina: Hellénisme, judaïsme et christianisme à Alexandrie: Mélanges offerts au P. Claude Mondésert., trans. Marianne Plichon (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 247–60; Martin Tetz, Athanasiana: Zu Leben und Lehre des Athanasius, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenchaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 78 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 17.

This accusation appears prominently in the Christological controversies of the fifth century. Two of Nestorios's sermons address this language directly. The first, in *Sermon* 8, echoes the language of Athanasios. He writes:

Listen to Paul proclaim both. He says, from the Jews "according to the flesh is Christ, who being God over all, is blessed forever" [Rom. 9:5]. What then? Is Christ a mere human [حنعہ عسم], O blessed Paul? No, indeed! While Christ is a human in the flesh, he is God over all in the divinity. He confesses the humanity first and then speaks about God in reference to the divine conjunction $[\sigma v \alpha \varphi \epsilon i a]$ in the open, in order that no one will suspect that Christianity worships a human $[av\theta \rho \omega \pi o \lambda \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon \hat{v}]$."

The coordination of "mere human" ($\dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$) recalls Athanasios. Nestorios emphasizes the separation of the humanity and divinity. Likewise, in *Sermon* 9, he writes: "What was formed in the womb was not God himself. What was created by the Spirit was not God himself. What was not God himself. For thus we would clearly be worshippers of a human [$\dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\dot{a}\tau\rho a\iota$] and of a corpse." Nestorios's adoption of this language ensured its longevity, as these texts led to major disagreements.

Cyril responds to both quotations in his *Against Nestorios*, written in the spring of 430.⁸⁰ He turns the phrase "worshipper of a human" on its head, using it to criticize Nestorios's Christology. After quoting *Sermon* 9, Cyril writes:

Look! The one who names the conjunction $[\sigma \upsilon \nu \acute{a} \varphi \epsilon \iota a \nu]$ everywhere to us and fears the accusations of worshipping a human $[\vec{a} \upsilon \theta \rho \omega \pi o \lambda a \tau \rho \acute{a} s]$ has been caught becoming a worshipper of a human $[\vec{a} \upsilon \theta \rho \omega \pi o \lambda \acute{a} \tau \rho \eta s]$, is entangled in the snares of

Two different translations of this work survive in Syriac. They each preserve different readings of this epithet, which also differ from Jacob of Serugh's use. While the earliest Syriac version manuscript of this text dates to the seventh century (London, British Library, Add. 18813, fol. 62v–79r), it still permits us to see how this epithet was translated into Syriac. The first version has اقالمر محمد (Robert W. Thomson, ed., *Athanasiana Syriaca*, trans. Robert W. Thomson, CSCO 257–8, 272–3, 324–5, 386–7, SS 114–15, 118–19, 142–3, 167–8 [Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965–77], CSCO 324, SS 142:59; CSCO 325, SS 143:40), while the second version has خدير المنافقة (ibid., CSCO 324, SS 142:87; CSCO 325, SS 143:59).

The full quotation is not extant in Greek or Syriac. I have inserted the Syriac where necessary to complete the phrase. Nestorios of Constantinople, Sermon 8 (Loofs, Nestoriana, 248–9, 373; Battles, Sermons, 26): ἄκουσον ἀμφότερα τοῦ Παύλου κηρύττοντος [ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, φησίν, ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα] ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰώνος [καιμα οπ καιι..απ καια..απ και..απ καια..απ καια..απ καια..απ καια..απ καια..απ καια..απ καια.

⁸⁰ On the dating of this treatise, see Russell, Cyril of Alexandria, 130.

⁷⁹ Nestorios of Constantinople, Sermon 9 (Loofs, Nestoriana, 262; Battles, Sermons, 39): οὖ καθ' έαυτὸ θεὸς τὸ πλασθὲν ἐπὶ μήτρας, οὖ καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεὸς τὸ κτισθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὖ καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεὸς τὸ ταφὲν ἐπὶ μνήματος—οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἦμεν ἀνθρωπολάτραι καὶ νεκρολάτραι σαφεῖς.

his own bad counsel, and is caught having fallen into a reprobate mind. "For," he says, "what was born from the womb is not God himself."⁸¹

Nestorios labeled his opponents as "worshippers of a human" because they emphasized the unity of the divinity and humanity Christ. Cyril claims the opposite: Nestorios worships a human because he claims that Christ is not fully divine.

In the same work, Cyril responds to the quotation from *Sermon* 8:

Therefore, if in naming the human, you know that he is also God with this one, according to the same nature, it is well, and I will stop. But you are confessedly worshipping a human $[\hat{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\hat{u}s]$, if [you are] dividing the natures, not only to know which is the human but indeed which is the divine, and even more separating them from the common course toward unity.⁸²

Cyril includes similar accusations in his *Second Letter to Nestorios* and in the Twelve Anathemas appended to his *Third Letters to Nestorios*, ⁸³ and defends himself from this accusation throughout his corpus. ⁸⁴ He initiated a process through which Nestorios would become known as a "worshipper of a human." As one recent analysis of this term explains: "From the Nestorian viewpoint, the term relates to the $\sigma vv\acute{a}\varphi \epsilon\iota a$ (sunapheia) or conjunction of

- 81 Cyril of Alexandria, Against Nestorios 2.13 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.6:51; Pusey, Five Tomes against Nestorius, 77): Ἰδοὺ δὴ πάλιν ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν συνάφειαν ὀνομάζων πανταχοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπολατρίας ἐγκλήματα δεδιὼς ἥλω γεγονὼς ἀνθρωπολάτρης καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυσβουλίας βρόχοις ἐνίσχηται καὶ καταφωρᾶται πεσὼν εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν. τὸ γάρτοι τεχθὲν ἐκ μήτρας οὐ καθ' ἑαυτό, φησί, θεός.
- 82 Cyril of Alexandria, Against Nestorios 2.14.2 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.6:52; Pusey, Five Tomes against Nestorius, 80): Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζων οἶσθα μετὰ τούτου καὶ θεὸν ὅντα κατὰ φύσιν αὐτόν, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ πεπαύσομαι εἰ δὲ μερίζων τὰς φύσεις οὐχὶ τῶι εἰδέναι μόνον τίς μὲν ἡ ἀνθρωπεία, τίς δὲ δὴ πάλιν ἡ θεία, διιστὰς δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς πρὸς ἑνότητα συνδρομῆς, ἀνθρωπολατρεῖς ὁμολογουμένως. Cyril also quotes this passage in his Letter to Akakios of Melitene 13 (Wickham, Select Letters, 46–9).
- ⁸³ Cyril of Alexandria, Second Letter to Nestorios (Letter 4) 6 (Wickham, Select Letters, 8–9); Third Letter to Nestorios (Letter 17) 12.8 (ibid., 30–1).
- ⁸⁴ See Cyril of Alexandria, *Homily before He was Arrested by the Comes* (Schwartz, *ACO* 1.1.2:101); *Oration to Pulcheria and Eudokia on the Faith* (ibid., 1.1.5:43, 44, 60). Many of Cyril's works that contain this term also appear in Syriac translation. Given the early date of these translations, these texts formed one means by which Jacob and his peers encountered this language. On the translation of Cyril into Syriac, see King, *The Syriac Versions*.

the human and divine natures of Christ, which would suffice in avoiding such man-worship. From the anti-Nestorian viewpoint, man-worship is implicit in such a conjunction."85 Cyril and Nestorios's disagreement over this "conjunction" led to the perpetuation of the accusation of "worshipping a human" even after their debate.

Quotations from Nestorios's writings appear prominently in the records of the Council of Ephesus. 86 The Vatican Collection of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus juxtaposes a florilegium of readings from "orthodox" fathers with excerpts from Nestorios's writings.⁸⁷ This collection, sent ten days after the council to the emperor, 88 indicates that these selections were read on the very first day of the council, June 22nd, 431. Included among the excerpts of Nestorios's writings are the selections from Sermons 8 and 9 discussed above. 89 Cyril's supporters seem to have added these two florilegia to the acts, 90 indicating their importance for the condemnation of Nestorios. Another collection of the conciliar acts includes a similar collection of quotations from Nestorios's writings, containing the same excerpts from these homilies.⁹¹ These acts put the terminology of the derogatory epithet "worshipper of a human" into wider circulation.

Sixth-century works demonstrate that the phrase "worshipping a human" had become strongly associated with Nestorios. Various genres spread knowledge of this phrase. The emperors Anastasios and Justinian received letters that accuse Nestorios of worshipping a human, with one turning it into an

- 85 Sebastian P. Brock and Brian Fitzgerald, Two Early Lives of Severos, Patriarch of Antioch, TTH 59 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), TTH 59:125n125. On the meaning and use of this term more broadly, see Luise Abramowski, Drei christologischen Untersuchungen, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenchaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 45 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), 63-109.
- ⁸⁶ On the debated nature of the acts of this council and their correspondence to what actually took place, see Thomas Graumann, "Reading' the First Council of Ephesus (431)," in Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400-700, ed. Richard M. Price and Mary Whitby, TTH, Contexts 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 27-44.
- ⁸⁷ Acts of the Council of Ephesus, Session 1 59-60 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.2:39-52; A. J. Festugière, trans., Ephèse et Chalcédoine: Actes des conciles, Textes, dossiers, documents 6 [Paris: Beauchesne, 1982], 229-44). On the florilegium of the "orthodox" authors, see Marcel Richard, "Les florilèges diphysites du Ve et du VIe siècle," in Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, vol. 1 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1951), 722–3. For the collection of quotations of Nestorios, see Joseph Lebon, "Autour de la définition de la foi au concile d'Éphèse (431)," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 8, no. 2 (1931): 405-9; de Halleux, "Les douze chapitres," 433–6.

 88 Graumann, "Reading' the First Council," 32n13.
- ⁸⁹ Acts of the Council of Ephesus, Session 1 60 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.2:47, 49; Festugière, Ephèse et Chalcédoine, 239, 241).
- ⁹⁰ André de Halleux, "La première session du concile d' Éphèse (22 Juin 431)," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 69, no. 1 (1993): 78-9; Thomas Graumann, Die Kirche der Väter: Vätertheologie und Väterbeweis in den Kirchen des Ostens bis zum Konzil von Ephesus (431), Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 387-90, 405n230; Graumann, "Reading' the First Council," 34n18.
 - ⁹¹ Acts of the Council of Ephesus, Session 6 78 (Schwartz, ACO 1.1.7:107, 109).

epithet. ⁹² Justinian's own writings likewise reflect this connection. ⁹³ Regional and imperial synods gave the phrase wider circulation. ⁹⁴ Syriac authors likewise picked up on this phrase, as the author of the *Life of Severos of Antioch* shows. He praises Severos for defeating Nestorios's "worship of a human" [معلم المعاملة] through his preaching. ⁹⁵ By the sixth century, the phrase "worshipping a human" had become strongly connected to Nestorios. Instances of this phrase should be seen within the context of its growing association with Nestorios and those linked to his Christology.

This narrative of the genealogy of this phrase allows us to see what Jacob had in mind in his *Letter to Paul of Edessa*. He explicitly invokes this name when criticizing his dyophysite opponents: "But to you, O prince of God, God has truly shown favor, so that you might rise to the step of the confessors and be persecuted by those who worship a human [هند, لمن المنابع]." As discussed in Chapter 3, Jacob praises Paul for his willingness to go into exile for the sake of the miaphysites. He criticizes the imperial army that has come against Paul and his flock for failing to sign the *Formula of Faith* of Pope Hormisdas. We can now see that Jacob drew on a common vocabulary and concepts when writing to Paul. He associates the imperial army with Nestorios and his followers. He makes no distinction between their "heresy" and that condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431. They, like Nestorios, have earned the epithet "worshippers of a human."

 93 Justinian I, Against the Nestorians (Amelotti and Zingale, Scritti teologici, 34): "Nestorios, the worshipper of a human" ($N\epsilon\sigma\tau\delta\rho\iota o\nu$ $\tau\delta\nu$ $\dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi o\lambda\dot{a}\tau\rho\eta\nu$); Letter against the Three Chapters 16 (Eduard Schwartz and Mario Amelotti, eds, Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians [Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1973], 51–2): "But if God the Word was beneficent, how can they say that they do not confess that he was made flesh and became human? But if he received beneficence, the hope of those who advocate the worship of a human [$\dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\delta\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon(\dot{a}\nu]$ is foolish" ($\dot{a}\lambda\lambda'\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\dot{\mu}\dot{\nu}$ $\tau\sigma\hat{v}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\nu}$ $\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\tau\dot{\eta}$ $\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\sigmas$ $\theta\epsilon\hat{v}$ $\delta\gamma\sigma\nu$, $\tau\sigma\hat{v}$ $\delta\gamma\sigma\nu$ $\delta\gamma\nu$ $\delta\gamma\nu$

⁹⁴ Both letters preserve the same phrasing: "Nestorios, the worshipper of a human". See *Letter* of the Synod of Jerusalem (518) (Schwartz, ACO 3:78): Νεστόριον τὸν ἀνθρωπολάτρην; Letter of the Synod of Tyre (518) (ibid., 3:83) Νεστορίου . . . ἀνθρωπολάτρου.

95 Life of Severos, attributed to John of Beth-Aphthonia 57 (M.-A. Kugener, Vie de Sévère, par Jean, supérieur du monastère de Beith Aphthonia, PO 2.3 (8) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907], 158; Brock and Fitzgerald, Two Early Lives, TTH 59:125): "He exposed Nestorios's worship of a human [תבובה אמעום] and Eutyches's surreal illusion" (תבובה של המתום) המום בים הכל מינים אמעום).

⁹⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Letters* 32 (Olinder, *Epistulae*, CSCO 110, SS 57:243):

לאי ויש אם וכא ואוליא. כבווא מכ לאי אולא אינאי. וולססק כוו לא וכסוניאי. מולולוב כן סבו, לבו אובאי.

The *Homily on the Faith* draws on this same language. When summarizing the various creeds to which his audience might subscribe, Jacob creates an imaginary Christian interlocutor. The section begins with a relevant question: "Whom are you worshipping, O Christian? Whom are you worshipping? / Is it a man that was crucified or God from God?" These two lines introduce the central question debated throughout the Christological controversies: What is the proper relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity? Nestorios emphasized their duality, so that Christ would be worshipped as divine; his humanity participated in this worship only through a "conjunction" $(\sigma vv\acute{a}\varphi\epsilon\iota a)$. Cyril emphasized the unity of the two, so that Christ was born from Mary as God.

As the narrative continues, Jacob draws on the language of "worshipping a human" in order to criticize his opponents. He clarifies that anyone who worships Christ does so because he knows that Christ is fully God: "For, look!, the whole church is looking at whom you are worshipping, / And you worship him because you know that he is God." But, even though someone worships Christ, he is not guilty of any accusation of worshipping a human. In fact, as Jacob says, it is quite the contrary:

Far be it from you, my brother, that you would worship a human [1020] with God!

Or another when he was not born from God.

Others have deceived you, scribes with wise words,

So that you attribute the cross to a human and not to God.

As for you, our companion, attribute the whole cross to God,

For you are only worshipping him because he is God. 99

The final four lines focus on the problem of attributing lowly things—here the cross—to Christ. This recalls the use of this accusation in earlier debates. It is a criticism that seems to begin with Athanasios and remained current through the sixth century.

The metrical and poetic nature of Jacob's homilies change the way he drew on the language of "worshippers of a human." As his contemporaries, Jacob is able to use the phrase as an epithet in his Letter to Paul of Edessa ("worshippers of a human": מבבר, לבו אבר לבו אובר.). In the Homily on the Faith, however, he changes "worship" to a verb ("you would worship a human"; לבאבר אמברה לבו לאובר אמברה לבו לאובר אמברה לבו אום בו לאובר אמברה לבו לאובר לבו לאובר אמברה לבו לאובר לבו ל

⁹⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:627, 13–14):

לבן שלו אום בשותא לבן שלו אות: אות שם צוחה אם אושא וכל אות אל

⁹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:628, 10–11):

נשל זיוע אינ עשועי אדי עשועי דר שון איוע ידלים: משרי בווף אבי עבי עבי ונאידי אליוע דעי ידלים:

⁹⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:628, 12–17):

this accusation. But this is significant for understanding how Jacob modifies phrases in his homilies. First, the epithet, as it stands in Jacob's letter, contains five syllables (معتدر لحن المعالى). In this homily, he modifies "human" from three syllables (معتدر لحن) to two syllables (معتدر) in order to accommodate his meter. Second, the switch from a nominal to a verbal phrase reflects the imaginary dialogue he holds with his Christian interlocutor. The rhetorical setting of an imagined conversation recommends this change. The meter and the rhetorical context of the homilies are relevant factors when identifying verbal echoes between Jacob's homilies and the post-Chalcedonian Christological debates.

The epithet "worshippers of a human" became a polemical trope during the fourth through sixth centuries. Jacob uses this phrase against those involved with imperially sponsored attacks against the bishop of Edessa, after the empire had started enforcing adherence to Chalcedonian Christology. He similarly uses the phrase to describe the false views of his opponents in the *Homily on the Faith*. This connection between letters and a homily complements the identification of Jacob's opponents discussed in the previous section. But the linguistic similarities make this a stronger parallel. Not only does Jacob have dyophysites as his opponents in both corpora, but he draws on a similar polemical vocabulary to criticize them. Most importantly, it demonstrates how he artfully adjusts his language to accommodate the poetic meter and the oral context of his preaching.

THE PAIRING OF MIRACLES AND SUFFERINGS: INVOKING THE HENOTIKON

The *Homily on the Faith* shows clear connections to the Christology of Jacob's letters: his opponents are identifiable, and he recasts a known polemical remark in meter. This section examines the use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this homily. As in his letters, Jacob uses this phrase both to discredit the views of his dyophysite opponents and to exposit his own understanding of Christology. In this way, it strongly suggests that this homily dates to the last fifteen years of Jacob's life when Jacob participated in the discussion over the usefulness of the *Henotikon* among miaphysite leaders. His use of this phrase provides a strong connection to the Christology of his letters and situates the

¹⁰⁰ Jansma, "Credo of Jacob," 26, mentions the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this homily: "The acts of divine power which Christ performs and the human frailties which are visible in Him must not be divided over two subjects: they should be attributed to the one Word which was made flesh." He does not coordinate this phrase with the *Henotikon* or connect it to the debate over this text among Jacob's peers. Bahnām, *Kamā'il*, 51–2, points to passages from the *Homily on the Faith* that include the pairing of miracles and sufferings and connects it to Jacob's *Letters* 14 (see quotations 22, 24, and 25 in the back of the volume in ibid., 8–10).

homily within a known Christological debate. In particular, Jacob's use of this phrase in the *Homily on the Faith* parallels the same in his correspondence with Mar Bassus and in his *Letter to the Himyarites*.

Just before the final section of the exposition of doctrine in the *Homily on the Faith*, Jacob discusses Christ's descent to Sheol. ¹⁰¹ Rather than becoming fodder for death, Christ became the "medicine of life." ¹⁰² This paradox leads naturally into the next section of the homily, where Jacob discusses the dead giving praise to Christ for this act: "Through the death of our Lord, resurrection arose on those who were buried. / He woke them up, and they clapped their hands to praise [him]." ¹⁰³ Reflecting on this event, Jacob begins his concluding summary of Christology. He comments on the wonder that this act inspired in all creation: "Through his death, our Lord performed a new deed among the dead. / Both the angels and the dead of Sheol marveled at him. // ... At the great sight that he performed among the departed, ¹⁰⁴ / Look!, all creation was wondering at and stirring about him." ¹⁰⁵ The honor bestowed on Christ by those on earth and those above contrasts Jacob's opponents who do not, as he claims, honor Christ.

The next twenty lines criticize the diverse opinions of Jacob's dyophysite opponents. He begins: "Because his death was full of wonder, it cannot be interpreted [כמבים]. / But, look!, they have become so mad that they interpret him in their disputes [במבים בוֹיִם בּיִים בּיִּים - [וֹיִים בּיִּם - [וֹיִים - [וֹיִים - [יִים -

¹⁰¹ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (Bedjan, Homiliae, 3:614, 3-617, 11).

¹⁰² This phrase appears in two places in this section of the homily: Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (ibid., 3:616, 1; 617, 6): כמבא הנובא. See Robert Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, rev. ed. (London: T & T Clark, 2006), throughout, and Sebastian P. Brock, The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem, Cistercian Studies 124 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 99–114, on the use of this phrase in early Syriac literature.

¹⁰³ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:617, 10–11):

הע נסעמים באר ומידי בל המבין ב' באר מידי ב' באר מידי ב' באר מידי ב' באר מידי ב' ב' ב' ב' ב' אר ווייט
¹⁰⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:617, 12–13, 18–19):

حدی سده به حدد صده هنده به حده هم هنای: هٔ میمهٔ دهنه و های به هلی کی مهندی $ilde{L}$ و مساملی ایک المحدد مده به تحت و ها به تحت و ها به تحت و می المحدد می المحدد می المحدد و می المحدد

¹⁰⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:617, 20–618, 1):

עד בכז'ב רוח בדלה בכנספיב אל יבנה או היו ביו לה בדלה ואי האלהם אחי השימיה דושדים בינה באינה אח: העינה בבילע עשע בעלה להרוחם אל המוחלים לי

sufferings of Christ appears in the middle of this list: "There are many who said that the only-begotten is two. / They wish to attribute the miraculous feats [ستان] to one and the sufferings استان] to another." He does not set this Christological phrase apart from the other criticisms he levies against his opponents. It forms one part of a larger argument that his dyophysite opponents err in emphasizing the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity. But it becomes more significant when considered in light of what follows.

Jacob concludes the catalogue of errors with two questions: "What should the pure people¹¹⁰ do among these things? / What should the crowd that hears so many things do?"¹¹¹ Since the thoughts of his opponents have led to confusion, Jacob clarifies his own thoughts on the relationship between the divinity and the humanity of Christ.¹¹² Over the next ten couplets, he addresses the faith of the church (which "knows no divisions or numbers in him"),¹¹³ the names the biblical text assigns Jesus ("Son of God and son of David"),¹¹⁴ and his likeness to humanity and to God the Father. The theme of suffering emerges in relation to the latter, for Christ "is like his Father apart from bodily sufferings."¹¹⁵

The final section of this summary of Christology concludes with an exploration of the incarnation. It is here, at the end of this summary, that the pairing of miracles and sufferings surfaces again:

The Word that wanted to become flesh came to the virgin.

But he remained in his Father, for he came into being and did not change.

He was both the Son of God and a son of a human,

Because the two wombs bore him in a holy manner.

His Father is hidden; his mother is a virgin: who is inquiring into [حراء] him?

Bedjan notes that London, British Library, Add. 17155, has a singular "power/miraculous feat" (سلحہ). As the later manuscripts on which he bases his tradition, Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, fol. 143v, has a plural.

¹⁰⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 3:618, 12–13):

האלים אפליסת, לבענהא: סבל עד עד של אם ביס הנמעדטה ביס הנמעדטה. (בלבים Some versions have "world" (בלבים) (Bedjan, Homiliae, 3:618n5). Bedjan prefers "people" and this also appears in Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, fol. 144r.

Jacob of Ŝerugh, Homily on the Faith (Bedjan, Homiliae, 3:618, 18–19): שבעה מלך בא יביא יביא ביא יביא השבי הארגיב. Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 115, fol. 144r, has ישהעי than in 3:618, 19.

112 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Faith (ibid., 3:618, 20–619, 2): "Christ is one. Look! He is discussed among many. / They divide his exalted narrative which cannot be interpreted [בלאבים]. // The bridegroom is one. The bride who is married to him is one" (שביבים אים המשבט היה בלא הלאבים האים וועלים בעלים בע

Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:619, 3): ملكم مدة مص محكم محته محاه مدة المعالم مدة المعالم
¹¹⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:619, 7):

...כי ארשא אב כי גיסידי

¹¹⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:619, 12):

As for the Son of the divine being, the son of Mary: who is going to dispute [xin] him?

He is hidden in the heights, revealed in the depths, and our Lord is one. He performs miraculous feats [מڝخة ستكم], he endures sufferings

This excerpt examines the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity. Jacob lists the reasons one might think he was two: He was in the Father and Mary; both wombs bore him; he was the Son of both; and he was in the heights and the depths. Yet, as the second-to-last line reads, "our Lord was one." The following line cites the pairing of miracles and sufferings, as proof that the one Christ remained both divine and human, without division.

The appearance of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this homily parallels the same in Jacob's letters. The lines that follow contrast Christ's exalted and lowly actions reported in the Gospels. This switch—from a general exposition to specific instances—makes clear that the pairing of miracles and sufferings serves as a summary statement, as it does in the letters. The lengthy exhortation immediately follows the list of specific instances. Thus, the pairing of miracles and sufferings inaugurates the list of Christ's activities and suggests Christ can be seen as one, yet human and divine. Here it recalls the use of this phrase in the letters addressed to Bessas and to the Himyarites.

Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this homily builds on the two previous connections to the Christology of his letters. But it provides an even closer coordination with the content and context of his letters. First, Jacob uses this phrase both to oppose the Christology of his opponents and to exposit his own understanding of Christology. This pairing thus served as a means of distinguishing his thought from that of his opponents. Second, miaphysite leaders engaged in a debate over the value of the *Henotikon* for expressing Christology in the early sixth century. Jacob took part in this debate through his letters as well as through his homilies. No known debates occurred over the two other phrases explored in this homily. It again exhibits how Jacob adapts his expression of Christology for the homiletical genre and setting. He does not

¹¹⁶ The participle Jacob uses here for "endures" (همد) is not the usual word that he uses in this pairing throughout his letters. Metrical concerns may have necessitated this change. The restrictions of the meter require a two-syllable word or phrase to go with the two-syllable word for "sufferings" (دنت). The regular word for "endure" (دنت) has three syllables as a participle when combined with the conjunction "and" (محصد). The word he chooses here has two syllables when combined with the conjunction (همد).

¹¹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:620, 1): : מעג מס מבי . . .

¹¹⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Faith* (ibid., 3:620, 3–622, 4).

merely quote the pairing of miracles and sufferings in the *Henotikon*. Rather he embeds this phrase within a larger criticism of his opponents and a more extended exposition of his own Christology. Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings suggests that this phrase has become a part of his polemical vocabulary and understanding of Christology. Without referencing the *Henotikon*, he reveals the value he places on this text and its miaphysite interpretation.

CONCLUSION

The *Homily on the Faith* has firm connections to the Christology expressed in Jacob of Serugh's letters. This well-ordered and unified homily exhibits similar polemicizing remarks against Jacob's opponents and draws on the *Henotikon* in parallel ways to his letters. This may suggest that Jacob delivered this homily in the final fifteen years of his life when the debate over the *Henotikon* had begun, perhaps when pressures from the imperial administration had become more acute. The manuscript tradition reveals that late antique and medieval reading communities valued the homily for its doctrinal content. This genre of homily presents several options for the original audience that gathered to hear it delivered.

This homily shows specific ways that Jacob transforms his expression of Christology to accommodate the style and content of metrical homilies. Instead of naming his opponents, he uses identifiable quotations. Instead of quoting texts directly, he carefully reworks phrases to accommodate meter and context. Instead of referring to debated texts like the *Henotikon*, he draws on its language to criticize his opponents and express his own thoughts. The *Homily on the Faith* exhibits clear connections to the post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies. His engagement with these debates would have been evident to fellow ecclesiastical leaders who either heard this homily in its original delivery or read it when it circulated in manuscripts. But all audience members would have been able to understand his exposition of Christology regardless of their familiarity with the specific language of these debates. Jacob's *Homily on the Faith* appeased both audiences at once. He met the demands for precision of an audience who knew the specific language of the debates. But he transformed the way he discussed Christology to be accessible to all levels of society.

Homilies and the Spread of Christological Doctrine

Because Moses became god, he displayed miraculous feats, And because the Son became human, he endured sufferings.¹

Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"

They saw him who was full of power and strength and might.

His appearance was despicable, but his miraculous feats exalted above tongues.

He was making the blind see, the lepers clean, [and] the deaf hear,

Healing the sick, and raising the dead divinely.

When they saw him in weakness as a human,

They turned and saw him in might as God.

At one time, he was hungry as a human who is full of sufferings,

And, at another time, he was providing food as God who has mercy.²

Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received*

INTRODUCTION

Jacob of Serugh actively promoted his understanding of Christology. He proved his orthodoxy to a monastery located near Antioch, and he used Christology to reframe the suffering experienced by a military leader in Mesopotamia and a persecuted community in South Arabia. He composed the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon* that stated very directly his opposition to the council. Late antique manuscript evidence demonstrates that Syriac Orthodox communities valued

² Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (ibid., 1:465, 11-20):

را المحتر المحتر المحترد ا

this homily for its Christology and cited it to ward off their opponents' views. The *Homily on the Faith* demonstrates how the poetic meter and oral context of Jacob's homilies led him to transform the way he expressed Christology. He accommodated these constraints without altering the content of his Christology. Both his letters and homilies circulated in manuscripts in late antiquity among elite reading communities. In this way, his writings participated in Christological debates after they were sent or delivered. Yet the reach of his Christological ideas extended further. Homilies served as a medium through which he communicated Christological concepts to all levels of society. By examining two exegetical homilies in this chapter, we will witness how he simultaneously accommodates his Christology to broad audiences while appeasing the concerns of fellow cultural elites.

The two homilies examined below are remarkably ordinary. Each offers an exegetical treatment of a biblical pericope. Jacob proceeds systematically through each passage. He pays special attention to interpretive problems and addresses theological topics related to the passages at hand. The passages on which these homilies focus were designated for specific feast days,³ but their content does not reflect these celebrations. They serve as a contrast for the *Homily on the Council of Chalcedon*, which has no obvious liturgical context, and the *Homily on the Faith*, which assumes a catechetical context. In view of all this, I will take them as representative of the majority of extant homiletical materials that survive from late antiquity: sermons delivered in

³ The two homilies treat Deuteronomy 18:15–18 and Matthew 16:13–20. The former reading does not appear in ancient lectionaries, but Matthew 16:13-20 appears in two. The fifth- or sixthcentury Latin lectionary, called the Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest, includes this pericope twice (P. Alban Dold, ed., Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche: Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5./6. Jhs. aus dem wolfenbütteler Palimpsest-Codex Weissenburgensis 76, Texte und Arbeiten, I. Abteilung: Beiträge zur Ergründung des älteren lateinischen christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes 26-8 [Beuron in Hohenzollern: Kunstverlag Beuron, 1936], 40, 52). Discussing its first appearance, the editor suggests: (ibid., lviii-lix): "... this pericope is, however, only conceivable at the Feast of Cathedra Petri" (... ist diese Perikope aber nur am Fest der Cathedra Petri denkbar). For the second, he links it to the celebration of the ordination of a bishop (ibid., lxix). A fragment of the Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, Fifth to Eighth Centuries 1392 (Michel Tarchnischvili, ed., Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem, Ve-VIIIe siècle, trans. Michel Tarchnischvili, CSCO 188-9, 204-5, SI 9-10, 13-14 [Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1959-60], CSCO 204, SI 13:27-8; CSCO 205, SI 14:25), specifies the use of this passage for the celebration of Saint George on November 10th and for the celebration of Justinian's building the great church of the Mother of God on November 20th. Jacob's homily gives no indication of a relationship to the feast of Cathedra Petri, the ordination of a bishop, or the feast for Saint George, and he had died when Justinian came to power.

The later Syriac tradition features several uses of these verses. Deuteronomy 18:15–19 appears as one of the assigned readings for the Christmas Vigil (G. Khouri-Sarkis, "Péricopes bibliques des églises de langue syriaque," *L'Orient Syrien* 3 [1958]: 381). Matthew 16:13–20 is assigned for the Sunday of the dedication of the church, perhaps reflecting the tradition associated with Justinian (ibid., 369–70). It was also assigned to Easter Wednesday and the Feast of Peter and Paul (P. Vermeulen, "Péricopes bibliques des églises de langue syriaque," *L'Orient Syrien* 12 [1967]: 386, 544).

ordinary liturgical settings on biblical passages.⁴ The particular challenges of working with Jacob's homilies, as highlighted in Chapter 1, mean that it is nearly impossible to know in what specific context he delivered a particular homily. Yet exegetical sermons, such as the two examined in this chapter, permit the strongest argument possible for the spread of Jacob's teachings to broad audiences.

Jacob delivered countless homilies on biblical passages throughout his career. Exegetical homilies account for around three-quarters of his extant corpus. They fit well the expectations of early Christian audiences. The origins of Christian preaching reside in the need to interpret the biblical text in light of beliefs about Christ's death and resurrection. In this, the genre draws on both Jewish and Greco-Roman literary genres. Early descriptions of liturgical practice portray a pattern of worship in which exposition of the biblical text followed the reading of short passages. Lectionaries dating as early as the fifth century from both West and East designate readings from both the Old and

⁴ For a similar judgment about the everyday quality of homilies on biblical topics in Jacob's corpus, see Rilliet, "Rhétorique," 294.

⁵ Sections (a) and (b) in Brock, "A Select Bibliographical Guide," 221–8, categorize the homilies based on the biblical text that they address. For lists of Jacob's homilies see Bedjan and Brock, *Homilies*, 6:373–99; Akhrass, "A List."

⁶ On the origins of Christian preaching, see especially Alistair Stewart-Sykes, From Prophecy to Preaching: A Search for the Origins of the Christian Homily, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). But see also Olivar, La predicación, 31–44; Uthemann, "Forms of Communication"; Anisfeld, "Rabbinic Preachers"; Alexander Deeg, Walter Homolka, and Heinz-Günther Schöttler, Preaching in Judaism and Christianity: Encounters and Developments from Biblical Times to Modernity (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 7–72; Mayer, "Homiletics," 568–70.

7 Justin Martyr, First Apology 67.3–4 (Edgar J. Goodspeed, Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914], 75; Leslie William Barnard, trans., St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies, ACW 56 [New York: Paulist Press, 1997], ACW 56:71]: "On the day called Sunday, a gathering of all who dwell in cities or the country occurs in the same place, and the memories of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as it is fitting. Then when the reader has stopped, the one who is at the head makes an admonition or challenge through a discourse for the imitation of these good things" (καὶ τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται). On the term προεστώς, see T. G. Jalland, "Justin Martyr and the President of the Eucharist," Studia Patristica 5 (1962): 83–5.

Apostolic Constitutions 2.57.9 (Franz Xaver von Funk, ed., Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum [Paderborn, 1905], 1:163; P. Metzger, ed., Constitutions apostoliques, trans. P. Metzger, SC 320, 329, 336 [Paris: Cerf, 1985–7], SC 320:315): "Next, let the presbyters, one by one, admonish the people, but not all [of them], and the bishop last of all, who is like the pilot" (καὶ ἐξῆς παρακαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαόν, ὁ καθεῖς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μἢ ἄπαντες, καὶ τελενταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ος ἔοικε κυβερνήτη). Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, 162–3n9, cites evidence for this practice taking place. Although the Apostolic Constitutions draws extensively on the Teaching of the Apostles in this part, this comment has been added (see Teaching of the Apostles 12 [Arthur Vööbus, ed., The Didascalia apostolorum in Syriac, trans. Arthur Vöbus, CSCO 401–2, 407–8, SS 175–6, 179–80 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1979), CSCO 407, SS 179:143–8; CSCO 408, SS 180:129–34]).

New Testaments for the year-long lectionary cycle. The horizon of preaching expanded from the fourth through the sixth centuries. The rise of the cult of the saints, the formation of monastic traditions, and the convergence of church and empire all provided new settings for preaching. Yet the majority of homilies from this time remain exegetical. This is what laity expected when they attended a church and heard a homily. Here I will investigate two homilies of this ordinary genre that spread knowledge of a specific understanding of Christology.

Homilies and other late antique writings written in several languages—Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic—help contextualize Jacob's homilies. I have chosen the clearest points of comparison in order to make the most compelling argument for imagining the historical context in which Jacob delivered these homilies. Yet significant sources from Jacob's education and several of his peers do not assume a prominent role in this argument. My exploration of the corpus of Ephrem the Syrian, perhaps the most influential figure on Jacob's thought, has not yielded clear points of comparison. ¹¹ Likewise, I have not been able to connect the works of Jacob's fellow Syriac homilist Narsai and the corpus attributed to Isaac of Antioch to these particular homilies. Other homilies would undoubtedly produce different results. ¹² Yet, since their works do not

⁸ For early Western witnesses to the lectionary, see the *Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest* (Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch*); the *Lectionary of Luxeuil* (Pierre Salmon, *Le Lectionnaire de Luxeuil* (Paris, *ms. lat. 9427*), 2 vols., Collectanea Biblica Latina 7, 9 [Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérome, 1944–53]); and the *Bobbio Missal* (E. A. Lowe, ed., *The Bobbio Missal*: A *Gallican Mass-Book* (*Ms. Paris. Lat. 13246.*), 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 53, 58, 61 [London: Harrison and Sons, 1917–20]). For early witnesses to the lectionary cycle in Jerusalem, see the *Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem* (417–39) (Charles Renoux, ed., *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, trans. Charles Renoux, Patrologia Orientalis, 35.1 (163), 36.2 (168) [Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–71]); and the *Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem*, *Fifth to Eighth Centuries* (Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire*, CSCO 188–9, 204–5, SI 9–10, 13–14).

⁹ For preaching on the saints, see Augustine of Hippo, Sermons 273–340A (PL 38:1247–483; Hill, Sermons, WSA III/8–9). For monastic sermons, see Macarian Homilies (Werner Strothmann, ed., Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios, 2 vols., Göttinger Orientforschungen 21 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981]). For homilies connected to political events, see John Chrysostom, Homilies on the Statues (PG 49:15–222). These examples represent the development of genres of homilies. Yet more genres and occasions for preaching would emerge. For example, Mary B. Cunningham, "Homilies," in The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John F. Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 875–8, identifies nine types of homilies for different occasions for preaching in the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁰ A numerical defense of this claim is difficult. I follow the conclusion of Olivar, *La predicación*, 963–4, who after surveying the evidence of Augustine, Chrysostom, and other major preachers from early Christianity, states: "From this it follows that the preaching of the fathers is essentially the exposition of Holy Scripture" (De lo cual se deduce que la predicación de los padres es esencialmente explicación de la Sagrada Escritura). Olivar does not treat Syriac homilists to the same extent as Latin and Greek homilists. But his conclusion remains valid, especially for Narsai and Jacob.

^{11′} This is somewhat surprising, given the clear connections between Jacob's and Ephrem's thought explored in Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable," and Papoutsakis, *Vicarious Kingship*.

¹² See the connections among these authors, for example, discussed in Lucas Van Rompay, "Humanity's Sin in Paradise: Ephrem, Jacob of Sarug, and Narsai in Conversation," in *Jacob of Serugh and his Times: Studies in Sixth-century Syriac Christianity*, ed. George Anton Kiraz,

figure prominently, this chapter and Chapters 4 and 5 seek to connect Jacob of Serugh to Latin and Greek authors. Something has been gained in the absence of these figures who stand at the center of the Syriac tradition. These four homilies are thus more fully integrated into debates that cross linguistic and geographical boundaries.

TYPOLOGICAL EXEGESIS: THE MIRACLES AND SUFFERINGS OF MOSES

The Lord, your God, will raise a prophet like me from among you, from your brothers. Listen to him, as you requested before the Lord, your God, on Horeb, on the day of the assembly. You said: "I will neither hear the voice of the Lord, my God, again nor will I see this great fire again so that I do not die." The Lord said to me: "Everything that they have said is good. I will raise for them a prophet from among their brothers like you. I will set my word in his mouth, and he will speak to them everything that I command him." 13

Deuteronomy 18:15–18, Peshitta Translation

The first homily under consideration treats Deuteronomy 18:15–18. A title assigned to this homily quotes the first verse: Homily on that which the Blessed Moses said: "The Lord will Raise a Prophet for You from your Brothers Like Me. Listen to Him". This homily—here referred to as the Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"—permits Jacob to address a wide range of Christological topics through the typological relationship between Moses and Christ. He discusses the Son's journey from and to the Father in heaven, his nativity, the slaughter of the innocents, his crucifixion, and his burial. He emphasizes Christ's identity—the relationship between his divinity and his humanity—and it is here that he uses the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings. After an overview of the homily, this section examines the history of Christological interpretations of Deuteronomy 18:15–18 and the widespread use of Moses—Christ typology in early Christian preaching. This provides an interpretive

Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 199–217; Papoutsakis, "United in the Strife."

¹³ Deuteronomy 18:15–18, Peshitta Translation (W. M. van Vliet, J. H. Hospers, and Hans J. W. Drijvers, eds, "Deuteronomy," in *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, vol. 1.2 and 2.1b [Leiden: Brill, 1991], 54):

ست هر که به هر تمسی محمده و بعد له هنگ ماه به اله به مدهه فی فحمی مهم الفاه هر ماه هنگ ماه ها مده هم الم به مد ماه به حسانت صده المدهد ممهداه الله محمده الله الله محمد عله الحالي و مدام الله الله الله الله الله محمده الله محمد الله محمده الله محمد ا

frame for Jacob's use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in this homily to communicate miaphysite Christology to broad audiences.

The term "typological exegesis" ordinarily connotes the foreshadowing of a future event through a past event. Yet this definition of typology emerged only in modern scholarship. Frances Young's work has challenged scholars to specify precisely what they mean when using the term typology. She helpfully distinguishes four types of typology in early Christian exegesis: (1) exemplary, (2) prophetic, (3) spatial, and (4) recapitulative. Jacob's *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* utilizes prophetic typology in which biographical events from Moses's life become predictive of Christ's life. Jacob was heir to the typological exegesis of both Theodore of Mopsuestia as well as Ephrem the Syrian. In this way, Jacob's exegesis represents a convergence of traditions. His typology traces its roots back to both Greek and Syriac traditions. The examination of the *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* reveals connections to exegetical traditions from across the Mediterranean world.

The Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"

An overview of the homily situates Jacob within a tradition of typological exegesis, ¹⁹ provides a framework for understanding his use of the pairing of

¹⁹ Several studies on Jacob's typology have appeared, although none has commented at length on this particular homily. See Joseph Zingerle, "Eine ungedruckte Homilie Jakobs von Sarug,"

¹⁵ Frances M. Young, "Typology," in Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul M. Joyce, and David E. Orton, Biblical Interpretation Series 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 33; Frances M. Young, Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152–7; Frances M. Young, "Interpretation of Scripture," in Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 847–8. For a similar conclusion but with a broader historical timeframe, see Karlfried Froehlich, Sensing the Scriptures: Aminadab's Chariot and the Predicament of Biblical Interpretation (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 61. For another general study of typology in early Christianity, see Charles Kannengiesser, Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity, The Bible in Ancient Christianity 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 228–42. For typology within Jewish exegesis that anticipated developments among Christians, see the summary and bibliography in Folker Siegert, "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," in Hebrew Bible / Old Testament I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300): Part 1: Antiquity, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 196–7.

Young, Biblical Exegesis, 201. 17 Ibid., 200.

¹⁸ See the important study of Jacob's exegesis in Jansma, "L'hexaméron de Jacques de Sarûg." On Jacob's typology in general, see Lucas Van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation," in Hebrew Bible / Old Testament I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300): Part 1: Antiquity, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 638. The particularities of Syriac exegesis, and especially Ephrem, are examined at length in Murray, Symbols; Brock, The Luminous Eye; Kees den Biesen, Simple and Bold: Ephrem's Art of Symbolic Thought, Gorgias Dissertations 26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006); Jeffrey Thomas Wickes, "Out of Books, a World: The Scriptural Poetics of Ephrem the Syrian's Hymns on Faith" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2013); Blake Hartung, "'Stories of the Cross': Ephrem and his Exegesis in Fourth-century Mesopotamia" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 2017).

miracles and sufferings, and exposes the central argument of the homily. The introduction begins with the problem of identifying Christ as a prophet: "Prophecy, O Lord, has portrayed your image among the revelations. / Son of God, grant that I might see how beautiful you are. // From the Torah, your mysteries [متنح] shine forth as lights. / Open my eyes so that I might see your truth among the readings."20 The word "mysteries" (אווא) has a wide semantic range and refers to typology in Jacob's works.²¹ He soon specifies the passage under examination: "The prophet Moses named you 'prophet' for the children of his people. / And why did he name you 'prophet' alone? // In the bush he saw you with your Father and he knew you as the Son. / He did not call you 'Lord' but 'prophet' before the Hebrew people."²² Moses knows the true identity of the Son—as revealed to him in the theophany of the burning bush—but he chooses to hide it. God's reasoning becomes clear: Moses hid the true name from them because they worshipped many gods, and the name of the Son would have only confused them further.²³ The introduction names Christ as the prophet and hints at the inadequacy of this name.

The following section interprets the passage. The introduction concludes by asserting that Moses's naming of the Son as prophet could have led his audience to a true understanding: "He called him 'prophet,' and he taught them to listen to him. / If they had listened to him, they would have known that he is the

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 11 (1887): 92–108; Behnam M. Boulos Sony, "La méthode exégétique de Jacques de Saroug," Parole de l'Orient 9 (1979–80): 92–5; Johns Abraham Konat, "Typological Exegesis in the Metrical Homilies of Jacob of Serugh," Parole de l'Orient 31 (2006): 111–21. Johns Abraham Konat, "Christological Insights in Jacob of Serugh's Typology as Reflected in his Memre," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 77, no. 1 (2001): 57–8, dedicates several paragraphs to this homily. I have unfortunately not been able to consult Johns Abraham Konat, "The Old Testament Types of Christ as Reflected in the Select Metrical Homilies (Memre) of Jacob of Serugh" (Th.D. diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 1998).

- ²¹ Sony, "La méthode exégétique," 92, and throughout the article, makes this argument explicitly for Jacob. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2:3871, already lists *typus* as a translation of this word. Edmund Beck, "Symbolum-Mysterium bei Aphraat und Ephräm," *Oriens Christianus* 42 (1958): 19–40, provides a fuller account in early Syriac authors. More recently, see Joseph Alencherry, "Notion of 'Rāzā' in Syriac Biblical Tradition," *Ephrem's Theological Journal* 10, no. 2 (2006): 156–64, on the biblical background.

Son of God."²⁴ The fault lies with his audience, not with the name "prophet." To explain how this name could lead to a true understanding, Jacob turns to the imagery of Moses's veil:25 "Moses was covered in that veil that was full of mysteries, / And he was calling out openly for his prophecy that was covered over. // All the words that were in this book of the great teacher / Were all placed under a covering as treasures."²⁶ Jacob makes the case in the following lines that "prophet" should be seen as another word that was covered over with a veil, yet was full of mysteries. Moses's naming of Christ as prophet is akin to Daniel calling him "the stone hewn without hands" (Dan. 2:5) and David referring to him as "grass and rain." (Ps. 72:5, 16). 27 The final lines of this section tie together the theme of the covering of the veil with the portrayal of the images: "The words of prophecy are concealed in the readings. / In parables, [prophecy] portrays an image for the Son of God."28 The introduction and this opening exegetical section locate Jacob firmly within early Christian exegesis on this passage hinted at already in Acts—by identifying the promised prophet as Christ.

Jacob then identifies parallels in the lives of Moses and Christ. The comparison was already previewed earlier in the homily: "He named him 'prophet.' Concerning him, he said again / That he is like him in order that it would be concealed from those who listen."29 The name of prophet obscures reality for Moses's audience. But after this introductory explanation, Jacob highlights various aspects of their lives. Moses's birth to an absent father parallels Jesus's birth without a father.³⁰ The slaughter of Egyptian children parallels Herod's slaughter of the innocents. 31 Moses's journey from and back to Egypt points to Christ's journey from and to the Father in heaven.³² At this point, Jacob juxtaposes miracles and sufferings, as discussed at length later in this chapter. He then returns to the comparisons. Moses ascended Mount Nebo at his death and

²⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:105, 14–15):

עביא אמלים האלב אום בשלכבה לה: האל שבבהם, נובב מהם לה וכן אלא מהי ²⁵ See, in particular, Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Veil on Moses's Face (ibid., 3:283-305; Sebastian P. Brock, trans., Jacob of Sarug's Homily on the Veil on Moses' Face, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 20, The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug 1 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009]). Ibid., 1-9, provides a brief commentary on Jacob's use of the veil and its relationship to Ephrem.

²⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 4:105, 16–19): «سور «معتم دمر عمعه دليل مهدام: موسم درليم للحيمال وديويلم مرد مولمر والم الميل ومادر

[&]quot;מספי איר בער בער שובה איר אחדי אורבי אירי מוברא אירי שוברא ²⁷ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:106, 12):...حمح ירביז אם אווע ארא; (ibid., 107, 3):... דין אם השפה

²⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:107, 16-17):

[«]ممام نعام محمل عرب من معنى: محقام المناس على منام على محمل المناس محمد المناس المناس المناس المناس المناس الم ²⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:106, 1-2):

³⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:108, 7–18).

Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:108, 19–22). Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:109, 1–4).

received honor for his unknown burial site; Iesus's death brought him disgrace.³³ Moses's stretching of his hands during the battle of the Amalekites anticipates Jesus's stretching his hands out on the cross.³⁴ Jacob quickly moves through the burning bush, parting of the Sea of Reeds, the blood on the lintels at Passover, and the sacrifices of Moses as evidence that the leader of the Hebrews represented the image of Christ.35

Jacob concludes with two exegetical reflections on the dissimilarity of Moses and Christ and on the Son's willingness to assume lesser names. The first begins: "Moses was like the Son of God in his whole manner of life, / Just as a shadow is like the great body. // The painter who also paints the image and makes it like him, / Is only able to paint a likeness from his pigments."36 While those who portray the image are able to get very close, they are always lacking. Thus, the section concludes: "Moses is the image, but lacks the soul, as we have said."³⁷ The exegetical reflection that follows demonstrates that such names can only be ascribed to Christ because he willed it. 38 Only the Father called him as he is: "His Father called him by his name, 'the only-begotten,' without a covering. / He spoke of him with a voice, as he is: 'My beloved Son.'"39 The conclusion contrasts prophecy, which refers to the Son in a veiled manner, and God, who openly "called him by his name, 'My beloved Son.'" Jacob devotes much attention to parallels between Moses and Christ, as the exegetical tradition before him. The particular passage in question may not have been known by a broad audience. Yet the stories of Moses's life were familiar and could serve as a point of departure for discussing more complex topics. And, thus, both the beginning and end of this homily discuss its central theme: the identity of Christ.

Christological Interpretations of Deuteronomy 18:15-18

Deuteronomy 18:15–18 calls for a comparison between Moses and anyone identified as a promised prophet. It recounts two promises that the Lord will raise a

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<sup>33</sup> Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:110, 21–111, 12).
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³⁴ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:111, 19-112, 8).

³⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:112, 9–20).

³⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:112, 21–113, 2):

נכלה כבו אלים ב בלי ארכים והבישה לנושל אלישור אינוער. אלים אלים בלים ובאי הבלים אלים בי היא היו אינו בלים אלים

[[]ibid., 4:114, 1-2]): "The Son of God brought himself down to a lowly state, / And for this reason .(بے لحقص, حیدعہ الاہم،

³⁹ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:114, 17–18):

אכסת, כשמת סוֹנת, לעעוד הלא העפעה בי האבסת, אמות כפלא כוֹ, עביבאי

⁴⁰ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:116, 10):

ספונית, כשוכת כוי, עביבאי...

prophet: once through Moses's own speech (Deut. 18:15) and once in his quotation of the Lord (Deut. 18:18). Leach notes that the future prophet will be like Moses: "like me" (מאבסאל) in the first; "like you" (מאבסאל) in the second. These short phrases have received much attention. Leach Christological interpretations of this passage came early and became a source of debate in the post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies, even among Jacob's close contemporaries.

The New Testament already anticipates such interpretations of this passage. The Apostle Peter's speech delivered at Solomon's porch quotes Deuteronomy 18:15 as an anticipatory reference to Christ (Acts 3:12–26). After a healing miracle draws many people to Peter and John, Peter attributes the healing to faith in the name of Jesus and accuses those gathered of killing the servant of God, Jesus (Acts 3:12–16). Despite them, he claims: "Thus God fulfilled what he had foretold through all the prophets, saying that his Christ would suffer [[LLLLL]]" (Acts 3:18). Are resubsequently calls them to repent in order that their sins might be forgiven and God might send Jesus Christ (Acts 3:19–20). The passage continues (Acts 3:21–3):

Heaven must receive him, until the fulfillment of the times, of everything that God ever spoke through the mouth of his holy prophets. For Moses said, "The Lord will raise a prophet for you from your brothers like me. Listen to him in all that he will say to you [Deut. 18:15]. As for every soul that does not listen to that prophet, that soul will perish from among its people [Deut. 18:19]."

The speech concludes with further attention to the prophets whom God sent to turn people from their wickedness (Acts 3:24–6). Peter names the promised prophet as Christ, which would lead to many comparisons between Moses and Christ.

Stephen's quotation of this passage in Acts 7:37 anticipates comparisons between the figures, including the miracles they performed. While Peter only refers to Christ's suffering, Stephen places the miracles in close proximity to the promise of the prophet. Acts 7:36 describes Moses's activity: "This is the one who led them out, while enacting signs [אמרכוֹאה], miracles [אמרכוֹאה], and great deeds [אמרכוֹאה] in Egypt, at the Sea of Reeds, and for forty years in the

⁴¹ See the quotation of this passage at the beginning of "Typological Exegesis: The Miracles and Sufferings of Moses" and the Syriac text in footnote 13.

⁴² For example, three passages on "like me" attributed to John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Severos of Antioch, appear in the *Greek Catena of Acts (Catena Andreae)* (John Anthony Cramer, ed., *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum* [Oxford, 1844], 3:67–9).

⁴³ Acts 3:18, Peshitta Translation (*The New Testament in Syriac*, 5):

دله مام لعجب ومحلي به عددته لحمالته ووقت. وطهر بهلم وحلل ماهم حدمه وستة مر موتعه وحر علم. حمد بين محن و وقت ومد لمر حض حزف حر مستدم به مدهد له عجم حدا حم وولل عجم ، ماهمه م علا بعتم مردم ولم المعجد لموتم من الامرو وعم من وجر عجم.

desert."⁴⁵ In the following verse (Acts 7:37), Stephen quotes Deuteronomy 18:15. Taken together, the two references in Acts to the promised prophet could have provided a rationale for Jacob's exploration of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in the homily. They served as a foundation for Christian exegetes to interpret the promised prophet as Christ and compare him to Moses.

Moses-Christ typology abounds in early Christian biblical interpretation, ⁴⁶ and the promise of a prophet from Deuteronomy forms no exception. Most Christian exegetes follow Acts in interpreting the coming prophet as Christ, sometimes defending against an exegetical tradition that views the promised prophet as Joshua. ⁴⁷ They discuss what it meant that this prophet, and thus Jesus, would be like Moses and conclude that Christ would be like Moses in his actions, as a lawgiver, or his flesh, but not in his divinity. ⁴⁸ This typological interpretive tradition forms the background for Jacob's homily.

Notably for this chapter, Eusebios of Caesarea takes this passage as a point of departure for an extended exposition of the relationship between Moses and Christ in his *Demonstration of the Gospel*. He begins the section on their relationship in this way: "Moses, the first of the prophets, proclaims the good news that another prophet like him would arise." After quoting Deuteronomy 18:15 and 18:18, Eusebios states that none of the other biblical prophets could be seen

- 45 Acts 7:36, Peshitta Translation (ibid., 11):
 בו בב בב אומספר מאגעלוא מאגעלוא מאגעלוא בא בי בעלא געם בי מרגעלא אומס אומלוא אומספר. הבעלא אומספר מעלא אומספר הבעלא אומספר מייני אייני אי
- ⁴⁶ For an overview of Jewish and Christian interpretation of the figure of Moses up to the post-apostolic age, see Joachim Jeremias, "Mωνση̂s," in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey William Bromiley, vol. 4 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 848–73. For an overview of early Christian typology of Moses, see Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), 153–226.
- ⁴⁷ On the history of interpretation of this passage, see E. Mangenot, "Deutéronome (prophétie messianique du)," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, vol. 4.1 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), 665–72. Mangenot focuses on Latin and Greek authors. But the debate over this passage was present at least in some Syriac circles. For example, Isho'dad of Merv (*c*.850) explicitly opposed interpreting Joshua as the promised prophet. See Jacques-Marie Vosté, "Le Prophète promis par Moïse d'après Mar Išo'dad de Merw (*c*.850): (Deut. 18:15–19)," *Biblica* 30, no. 1 (1949): 3–5.
- ⁴⁸ Christian authors across the Roman Empire commented on this passage. For representative examples, see John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Acts* 9.4.2 (PG 60:80; Marcelo Merino Rodríguez, trans., *Homilías a los hechos de los apóstoles*, BP 80–1 [Madrid: Ciudad Nueva, 2010], BP 80:210–11); Augustine of Hippo, *Homilies on the Gospel of John* 15.23 (D. Radbodus Willems, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, CCSL 36 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1954], CCSL 36:159–60; Hill, *Gospel of John*, WSA III/12:289); Severos of Antioch, *Against Julian's Apology* (Robert Hespel, ed., *La polémique antijulianiste II.B*, trans. Robert Hespel, CSCO 301–2, SS 126–7 [Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1969], CSCO 301, SS 126:247–8; CSCO 302, SS 127:216).
- ⁴⁹ Eusebios of Caesarea, Demonstration of the Gospel 3.2.1 (Ivar A. Heikal, ed., Die Demonstratio evangelica, EW VI, GCS 23 [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1913], EW VI:96; William John Ferrar, trans., The Proof of the Gospel, Being the Demonstratio Evangelica, Translations of Christian Literature, Series 1, Greek Texts [London: S.P.C.K, 1920], 1:104): $\Pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o_S \pi \rho o \phi \eta \tau \hat{\omega} v M \omega \sigma \hat{\eta}_S \xi \tau \epsilon \rho o v \pi \rho o \phi \eta \tau \eta v \delta \mu o i o v d \tau \hat{\omega} d v a \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a i \epsilon \delta a \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda (\xi \epsilon \tau a i.$

as this prophet because they were not like Moses as a lawgiver.⁵⁰ Rather, he asks: "Who, then, does the oracle foretell will be a prophet like Moses except for our savior and Lord Jesus Christ alone?"⁵¹ Eusebios then identifies sixteen points of comparison between Moses and Christ.⁵² Significantly, he comments on miracles: "Moses again by miraculous $[\theta av\mu a\sigma ios]$ and marvelous deeds confirmed the piety proclaimed by him. In the same way, Christ, by using the miraculous deeds $[\theta av\mu a\tau ov\rho\gamma ias]$ recorded for the faith of those seeing [them], also established the new teachings of his evangelical instruction."⁵³ There is no evidence for a Syriac translation of the *Demonstration*. ⁵⁴ But Eusebios's use of this passage, as the most developed version of this exegetical tradition, serves as a useful point of comparison.

Jacob's contemporaries paid attention to this passage as well. Perhaps closest to his context, Philoxenos of Mabbug engaged in a debate over the Christological interpretation of this passage between 482 and 484.⁵⁵ In his ninth *Discourse against Habib*, Philoxenos describes his opponent's views:

Next, he says, "Two natures are sought within: the divinity and the humanity." And, confirming the phrase "two natures," he says: "It is written that it was said to Abraham, 'All nations will be blessed through your seed' [Gen. 22:18]. And Moses also says, 'The Lord will raise a prophet for you from your brothers like me' [Deut. 18:15]." ⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Eusebios of Caesarea, *Demonstration of the Gospel 3.2.4* (Heikal, *Demonstratio*, EW VI:96; Ferrar, *Proof of the Gospel*, 1:105).

⁵¹ Eusebios of Caesarea, Demonstration of the Gospel 3.2.5 (Heikal, Demonstratio, EW VI:96–97; Ferrar, Proof of the Gospel, 1:105): τίνα τοίνυν ὁ χρησμὸς θεσπίζει Μωσεῖ παραπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι προφήτην ἢ μόνον τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν;

⁵² Eusebios of Caesarea, *Demonstration of the Gospel 3*,2.6–30 (Heikal, *Demonstratio*, EW VI:97–100; Ferrar, *Proof of the Gospel*, 1:105–9). J. Edgar Bruns, "The 'Agreement of Moses and Jesus' in the 'Demonstratio evangelica' of Eusebius," *Vigiliae christianae* 31, no. 2 (1977): 117–18, outlines these.

53 Eusebios of Caesarea, Demonstration of the Gospel 3.2.8 (Heikal, Demonstratio, EW VI:97; Ferrar, Proof of the Gospel, 1:105): Πάλιν Μωσῆς θαυμασίοις ἔργοις καὶ παραδοξοποιίαις τὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταγγελθεῖσαν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστώσατο. ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ταῖς ἀναγράπτοις θαυματουργίαις πρὸς πίστιν τῶν ὁρώντων κεχρημένος τὰ καινὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ μαθήματα συνεστήσατο. The passage appears in two other places in the Demonstration of the Gospel 1.7.7 (Heikal, Demonstratio, EW VI:36; Ferrar, Proof of the Gospel, 1:44); 9.11.1–14 (Heikal, Demonstratio, EW VI:426–8; Ferrar, Proof of the Gospel, 2:174–6).

⁵⁴ Sebastian P. Brock, "Eusebius of Caesarea," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock et al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 153–5.

⁵⁵ On the dating of the controversy, see de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 31–9, 189–98, 225–38, which are summarized in de Halleux, "Le *Mamlelā* de 'Ḥabbīb'," 67. On the debate in general, see the previous article and, more recently, Abramowski, "Protest of Ḥabib."

Philoxenos counters Habib, stating that Moses only used the word "prophet" to accommodate the needs of his weak audience, rather than leading them astray with more precise language. ⁵⁷ Two other works from this debate also comment on this passage, suggesting its importance. ⁵⁸ Their conflict took place before the timeframe within which we can date Jacob's involvement in the debate over the *Henotikon*. But it does show that the early Christian exegetical tradition on this passage served as a locus of Christological debate in Jacob's circles. It offers the best framework for understanding the intellectual debates in which Jacob participated by commenting on the Christology of this passage. He made these debates accessible to a broad audience by using well-known stories of Moses's life to illustrate his interpretation of this debated passage.

Preaching Moses-Christ Typology

Late antique homilies spread knowledge of Christology through Moses–Christ typology. The transfiguration of Christ, reported in the synoptic Gospels (Matt. 17:1–9, Mark 9:2–8, Luke 9:28–36), served as a source of inspiration for developing this typology. Christ's appearance on a mountain with Moses and Elijah led to speculation on his relationship to these two figures. By examining the treatment of these passages in early Christian sermons, we will glimpse the process by which homilists communicated Christology to ordinary people. Again the history of interpretation will point toward debates in Jacob of Serugh's time and, even more precisely, to the debate over the interpretation of the miracles and sufferings of Christ.

The first seven centuries saw the gradual development of the Feast of the Transfiguration.⁵⁹ Two liturgical calendars from Jerusalem indicate when the feast emerged in the holy city. The feast does not appear in an Armenian lectionary from the early fifth century.⁶⁰ But a Georgian translation of a Greek

⁵⁷ Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 9.30–3 (Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes decem*, PO 40.2:18–20, 19–21). This passage also comes up later in this discourse: Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 9.63 (ibid., PO 40.2:34, 35).

⁵⁸ Habib, *Tractate* 41 (ibid., PO 41.1:24, 25); Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 1.35 (ibid., PO 15.4:464).

⁵⁹ On the development of the liturgical celebration, see Brian Daley, ed., *Light on the Mountain: Greek Patristic and Byzantine Homilies on the Transfiguration of the Lord*, Popular Patristics 48 (Yonkers, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2013), 19–23. This volume has pointed me to many of the sources cited in this subsection. On the transfiguration in early Christian thought, see John Anthony McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 9 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986); Calogero Cerami, *La trasfigurazione del Signore nei Padri della Chiesa* (Rome: Città nuova, 2010).

⁶⁰ Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem (417–39) 63–4 (Renoux, Le codex arménien, PO 36.2:352–6, 353–7). The calendar jumps from August 1st to August 15th. On the dating, see ibid., PO 35.1:169–81. It similarly does not appear in the Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest. On the development of the lectionary in general, see Thomas J. Talley, The Origins of the Liturgical Year, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); Peter C. Bloth, "Schriftlesung I," in Theologische

lectionary of Jerusalem from the fifth to eighth centuries places the Feast of the Transfiguration on its traditional date of August 6th. Further, Anastasios of Sinai (d. after 700) delivered a homily in which he explicitly indicates that there is a festal celebration for the transfiguration. Anton Baumstark suggested that this feast came into Syriac churches in the late fifth or early sixth century. It must have entered into the tradition by the eighth century, as marginal notes in two Syriac biblical manuscripts indicate. It appears in nearly all Syriac Orthodox festal calendars after this time. This indicates the spread of the feast to areas where the lectionary cycle of Jerusalem was observed and beyond.

Homilies on the transfiguration show consistent attention to Christology. Origen of Alexandria may have initiated a tradition of Christological interpretations of this passage, when he used it to discuss the relationship between Christ's flesh and divinity. 66 Numerous Latin, Greek, and Syriac homilists delivered sermons on the transfiguration as this feast developed over three

Realenzyklopädie, vol. 30 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 520–58. For the Syriac lectionary, see Anton Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, 3.3–5 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1910).

- ⁶¹ Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, Fifth to Eighth Centuries 1126–33 (Tarchnischvili, Le grand lectionnaire, CSCO 204, SI 13:27–8; CSCO 205, SI 14:25).
- 62 Anastasios of Sinai, *Homily on the Transfiguration* (André Guillou, "Le monastère de la Théotokos au Sinaï: Origines; épiclèse; mosaïque de la Transfiguration; Homélie inédite d'Anastase le Sinaïte sur la Transfiguration (Étude et texte critique)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 67 [1955]: 237; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 163), refers to the "Feast of the Mountain" (ἐόρτια τοῦ ὄρους).
 - ⁶³ Baumstark, Festbrevier, 260.
- 15 Ibid., 261, 261n1, points to Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 12, fol. 31r, and Rome, Vatican, Library, Sir. 13, fol. 47v, which have marginal notes that read "Of Mount Tabor" (مراحة المراحة) (Assemani and Assemani, Catalogus, 2:29, 38). Colophons provide dates for both manuscripts. Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 12, dates to 548 (ibid., 2:34), but Baumstark dates the marginal notes to the eighth century. The note is no longer legible to evaluate this claim. But two additional colophons in the manuscript date to the eighth century and confirm the use of this manuscript at that time (ibid., 2:34–5). Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 13, dates to the year 736 (ibid., 2:46). Baumstark claims that the notes come from the same hand.
- 65 Calendar Attributed to Jacob of Edessa (Sebastian P. Brock, "A Calendar Attributed to Jacob of Edessa," Parole de l'Orient 1, no. 2 [1970]: 420, 425); Martyrology of Rabban Sliba (Paul Peeters, "Le martyrologe de Rabban Sliba," Analecta Bollandiana 27 [1908]: 158, 190); Menologion of London, British Library, Add. 14503 (François Nau, Un Martyrologe et douze Ménologes syriaques, PO 10.1 (46) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1915], PO 10.1:56); Menologion of London, British Library, Add. 14504 (ibid., PO 10.1:44); Menologion of London, British Library, Add. 14713 (ibid., PO 10.1:106); Menologion of London, British Library, Add. 17232 (ibid., PO 10.1:124); Menologion of London, British Library, Add. 17261 (ibid., PO 10.1:111); Menologion of Poris, Bibliothèque nationale, Syr. 146, and Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 69 (ibid., PO 10.1:83); Menologion of Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 68 (ibid., PO 10.1:131).

⁶⁶ Origen of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* 12.37 (E. Klostermann, E. Benz, and L. Früchtel, eds, *Origenes Matthäuserklärung*, OW 10, 11, 12.1–2; GCS 38, 40–1 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935–55], OW 10:152–4; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 56–7). McGuckin, *The Transfiguration*, 110–13, gathers evidence for the prominence of the theme of the divinity of Christ in early Christian treatments of the transfiguration.

centuries.⁶⁷ It served as a passage through which homilists could express their competing Christological views. For example, in the sixth century, Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople, polemicizes against his opponents by naming them Arians and stating that the reason for the transfiguration was "since the apostles thought that the Lord Christ was a mere human $[\psi\iota\lambda \dot{o}\nu\ \ddot{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\nu]$ and not God in the flesh." Typology also appears as a major theme in homilies on this passage to describe the relationships between Moses and Christ and between Moses and the disciples. For Jacob's Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" fits well within this tradition.

⁶⁷ For Latin homilies, see Augustine of Hippo, *Sermons* 79 (PL 38:495; Hill, *Sermons*, WSA III/3:346–7); Augustine of Hippo, *Sermon* 79A (Cyrille Lambot, "Sermons complétés: Fragments de sermons perdus: Allocution inédite de saint Augustin," *Revue Bénédictine* 51 [1939]: 28–30; Joseph Lemarié, "Note sur le Sermon 79 A," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 24, no. 1–2 [1978]: 98–100; Hill, *Sermons*, WSA III/3:348–50); Chromatius of Aquileia, *Homilies on Matthew* 54A (R. Étaix and Joseph Lemarié, eds, *Spicilegium ad Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera*, CCSL 9A, Supplementum [Turnhout: Brepols, 1977], CCSL 9A, Supplementum:628–36); Leo I, *Tractatus* 51 (Chavasse, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A:296–303; Freeland and Conway, *Sermons*, FOTC 93:218–24).

For Greek homilies, see Anastasios I of Antioch, Homily on the Transfiguration of the Lord (PG 89:1361–76; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 131–42); Cyril of Alexandria, Homily on Luke 51 (PG 77:1009–16; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 99–104); John Chrysostom, Homilies on Matthew 56 (PG 58:549–58; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 69–86); Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople, Homilies 14 (Datema and Allen, Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae, CCSG 17:433–8; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 115–27); Pantaleon, Sermon on the Most Glorious Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ (PG 98:1253–60; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 107–12); Proklos of Constantinople, Homily 8 (PG 61:713–16; 65:764–72; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 89–96); Timothy of Alexandria, Homily on the Cross and the Transfiguration (PG 86:256–65; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 145–53).

For Syriac homilies, see Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:347–75; Thomas Kollamparampil, trans., *Jacob of Sarug's Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 13, The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug 8 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008]); Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ* (Joseph Simonius Assemani, *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant, Graece, Syriace ac Latine* [Rome, 1732–46], Greek and Latin 2:41–9).

⁶⁸ Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople, Homilies 14 (Datema and Allen, Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae, CCSG 17:447; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 126): Ἐπειδήπερ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐδόκουν τὸν δεσποτήν Χριστὸν ὡς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐν σαρκί. On the Arian polemic, see Leontios, presbyter of Constantinople, Homilies 14 (Datema and Allen, Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae, CCSG 17:440–1; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 121–2).

⁶⁹ For Moses-Christ typology, see Anastasios of Sinai, *Homily on the Transfiguration* (Guillou, "Le monastère," 240; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 166); Chromatius of Aquileia, *Homilies on Matthew* 54A.1 (Étaix and Lemarié, *Spicilegium*, CCSL 9A, Supplementum: 628); Cyril of Alexandria, *Homily on Luke* 51 (PG 77:1012C; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 101); Proklos of Constantinople, *Homily* 8 (PG 61:713; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 91–2); Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ* (Assemani, *Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, Greek and Latin 2:46B–C); Timothy of Alexandria, *Homily on the Cross and the Transfiguration* (PG 86:256B–7C; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 146–7).

For Moses-Disciples typology, see Anastasios I of Antioch, Homily on the Transfiguration of the Lord 6-7 (PG 89:1372A-3B; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 138-40); Anastasios of Sinai, Homily on the Transfiguration (Guillou, "Le monastère," 246; Daley, Light on the Mountain, 170-1); Chromatius of Aquileia, Homilies on Matthew 54A.2-3 (Étaix and Lemarié, Spicilegium, CCSL

Jacob himself delivered a *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord*. While the homily does not provide clues about the circumstances of its delivery, it helps situate Jacob within a broader tradition of preaching on the transfiguration. The emphasis on Christology is evident. Moses–Christ typology appears throughout the homily to discuss the divinity of Christ. The radiance of Moses when he came down from Mount Sinai (Ex. 34:29–30) serves as a contrast for the light of Christ revealed in the transfiguration: "He did not become radiant as Moses outside of himself / For our Lord within himself is light with his Father. // ... Moses indeed saw God, and he became radiant. / But our Lord was God who is wholly light." Jacob even calls Moses the "worker of the types and parables" near the end of the homily.

Jacob also devotes sections of the Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord to the signs (אמלאיש) that Christ performed—using the language for miracles from the Gospel of John and Acts—and his sufferings (אנביש). Albeit imperfectly, this homily does reflect the language of the debate over the Henotikon. One couplet contrasts the "disgraces" (אנבושה) and the "miraculous feats" (אנבושה); another speaks of Christ "enduring sufferings by his will" (אונים ביישה) and Christ himself states: "I performed miraculous feats" (אנבושה). We will observe closer connections in the Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet". This homily places Jacob well within an established tradition of preaching Christology through Christological exegesis of the narrative of the transfiguration.

Two other homilies on the transfiguration deserve special attention. Pope Leo I's *Homily* 51, written on the narrative of the transfiguration in the Gospel

⁹A, Supplementum:628–30); John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Matthew* 56.2 (PG 58:550–2; Daley, *Light on the Mountain*, 72–4).

⁷⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:356, 21–357, 1, 4–5; Kollamparampil, *Transfiguration*, 28):

ל אי הי בים בא כנת בלבו אוגת, מביא ובנת בלב בים שמוא מם כין בב לבגמי בינוא מנית, בביא המוא מנית, לבל בינוא מונית, מביא מבין אומי מבין בינו אומי מבין בלת נבתו בינוא מבין בינו אומי מבין בינון אומי מבין בלת נבתו בינון בינון בינון בינון אומי מבין בינון אומי אומי בינון בינון בינון אומי בינון בינון אומי בינון בינון אומי בינון ב

⁷¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:373, 9; Kollamparampil, *Transfiguration*, 66):

^{...} وحلى ديميري مدوليه لاي

Tansfiguration of Our Lord, Jacob devotes one section to the signs of Christ (Bedjan, Homiliae, 2:350, 11–352, 4; Kollamparampil, Transfiguration, 12–16), and another to the sufferings of Christ (Bedjan, Homiliae, 2:352, 5–20; Kollamparampil, Transfiguration, 16–18). The homily as a whole includes numerous references to signs (Bedjan, Homiliae, 2:350, 11, 17, 19, 21; 351, 1, 6, 13; 352, 1, 3, 8; Kollamparampil, Transfiguration, 12–18), and to sufferings (Bedjan, Homiliae, 2:349, 17; 350, 2, 7; 352, 5, 16, 19; 353, 3; 354, 8, 17; 355, 2; 366, 1, 2 [2]; 369, 15, 19; 370, 2, 11; Kollamparampil, Transfiguration, 10–12, 16–18, 22–4, 48–50, 58–60).

⁷³ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:351, 21–2; Kollamparampil, *Transfiguration*, 16).

⁷⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:354, 8; Kollamparampil, *Transfiguration*, 22).

⁷⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 2:366, 15; Kollamparampil, *Transfiguration*, 50).

of Matthew 17:1–9, emphasizes Christology.⁷⁶ He introduces the mystery of the divinity and humanity of Christ, who "filled his disciples with doctrinal admonitions and miraculous deeds [*operum miraculis*] to such an extent that the same one was believed to be the only-begotten of God and the son of a human being."⁷⁷ The miracles of Christ appear prominently at the beginning of the homily, and a discussion of his sufferings follows. Leo notes that Jesus speaks of the sufferings that he must endure in Matthew 17:12:

Lest the apostolic faith, so taken away in the glory of confessing the divinity in Christ, judges the assumption of our weakness unworthy and unsuitable for the God who cannot suffer [*inpassibili*] and thus believes now that the human nature in him is glorified in such a way that it could neither be affected by punishment nor destroyed by death.⁷⁸

Leo delivered this homily in 445 a few years after *Homily* 54 in which he first expressed the pairing of the miracles and sufferings of Christ as it would appear in his *Tome*.⁷⁹ Leo found the transfiguration to be a productive passage with which to communicate his formulation of the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ.

A second homily, entitled *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ*, comes even closer to the debate over the divinity and humanity of Christ. The only copy of the original Syriac text of this homily was destroyed in 1940.⁸⁰ A Greek translation survives along with versions in six

⁷⁶ On the Christology of this homily, see Cerami, *La trasfigurazione*, 222–7.

⁷⁷ Leo I, *Tractatus* 51.1 (Chavasse, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A:296; Freeland and Conway, *Sermons*, FOTC 93:218): "ad hoc discipulos suos doctrinae monitis et operum miraculis inbuebat, ut idem et unigenitus Dei et filius hominis crederetur."

⁷⁸ Leo I, *Tractatus* 51.2 (Chavasse, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A:297; Freeland and Conway, *Sermons*, FOTC 93:219): "ne apostolica fides ad gloriam confitendae in Christo Deitatis euecta, infirmitatis nostrae receptionem indignam inpassibili Deo atque incongruam iudicaret, et ita iam in ipso humanam crederet glorificatam esse naturam, ut nec supplicio posset adfici, nec morte dissolui."

⁷⁹ On the dates of these homilies, see Chavasse, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A:296, 317.

Niersemann sold this manuscript was University of Leuven, G. 197. The bookseller Karl W. Hiersemann sold this manuscript to the University of Leuven, and it has also been known as Hiersemann 487/255a, Hiersemann 500/2, and Codex Syriacus Primus. See Karl W. Hiersemann, Katalog 487: Manuscripte vom Mittelalter bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1921), 64–6; Karl W. Hiersemann, Katalog 500: Orientalische Manuskripte: Arabische, syrische, griechische, armenische, persische Handschriften des 7.–18. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1922), 3–6. On its transfer to the University of Leuven and its destruction in the Second World War, see J. Simon, "Répertoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées d'Europe contenant des manuscrits syriaques," Orientalia, n.s., 9 (1940): 279–80, 280nl; Bernard Outtier, "Le sort des manuscrits du 'Katalog Hiersemann 500," Analecta Bollandiana 93 (1975): 378; Werner Strothmann, "Die orientalischen Handschriften der Sammlung Mettler (Katalog Hiersemann 500)," in XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 28. September bis 4. Oktober 1975 in Freiburg im Breisgau: Vorträge, ed. Wolfgang Voigt, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement, 3.1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), 286–7, 292n30, 292n33. Grigory Kessel, "A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment from Mēmrā 16 of the Book of Steps," in Breaking the Mind: New Studies in the Syriac "Book of Steps," ed. Kristian

additional languages.⁸¹ The homily's authorship remains unknown. The Syriac version attributes it to John Chrysostom, the Greek to Ephrem the Syrian and Isaac of Antioch, and the Georgian to Theodore Abu Qurrah (*c.*740/50–*c.*820/5).⁸² Some have noted that it shares affinities with the works of Isaac of Antioch.⁸³ Its near quotation of the Council of Chalcedon would suggest that it comes from at least the second half of the fifth century.⁸⁴ Drawing on an established tradition, I will refer to its author as Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian. This homily closely parallels the Moses–Christ typology expressed in Jacob's *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"*.

A Christological focus appears throughout the homily.⁸⁵ The homily proceeds through the passage rapidly, verse by verse, until arriving at the Father's declaration to the Son in Matthew 17:5: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Listen to him!" Here Pseudo-Ephrem brings out a comparison between Moses and Christ:

The Father taught them that the economy of Moses was fulfilled and that they should listen to the Son. For he [i.e., Moses], as a slave, spoke what he was commanded and proclaimed what he was told and so [did] all the prophets until that which was reserved came, namely, Jesus who is the Son, not a servant; lord, not slave; master, not mastered; ruler, not ruled.⁸⁷

- S. Heal and Robert Kitchen (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 59–60n29, has brought forth a new proposal for the East Syriac origin of this manuscript.
 - ⁸¹ Geerard, Clavis patrum graecorum, 2:390-1.
- 82 On the debate over its authorship, see Tillemont, Mémoires, 8:757; Assemani, Ephraem Syri Opera omnia, Greek and Latin 2:liii; Bickell, S. Isaaci Antiocheni, viii; Joseph Lebon, "Éphrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche (526–44)," in Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son jubilé de 50 années de professorat à l'Université de Louvain, 1863–1913, Recueil de Travaux 40–1 (Leuven: Bureau du Recueil, 1914), 207; Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte, 36n5; Démocratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Éphrem (les versions)," in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, vol. 4.1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1960), 811–12; Geerard, Clavis patrum graecorum, 2:390–1.
 - ⁸³ Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Éphrem (les versions)," 811–12.
- ⁸⁴ Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (Assemani, Ephraem Syri Opera omnia, Greek and Latin 2:49C): "I confess the same one as perfect God and perfect human, perceived in two natures, united hypostatically or as persons, without division, without confusion, without change" ('Ομολογῶ τὸν αὖτὸν Θεὸν τέλειον, καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, ἐν δύο ταῖς φύσεσι καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἤτοι πρόσωπον ἡνωμέναις γνωριζόμενον ἀδιαιρέτως τε καὶ ἀσυγχύτως, καὶ ἀτρέπτως).
 - ⁸⁵ On the Christology of this homily, see Cerami, *La trasfigurazione*, 111–14.
- 86 Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (Assemani, Ephraem Syri Opera omnia, Greek and Latin 2:45D): οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ Υίός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ἐν ῷ εὐδόκησα, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.
- 87 Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (ibid., Greek and Latin 2:45E–F): Ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πατὴρ, ὅτι ἐπληρώθη ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ Μωσέως, καὶ ἵνα τοῦ Υίοῦ ἀκούσωσιν. Ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὡς δοῦλος, ἃ ἐκελεύθη ἐλάλησε, καὶ ἃ ἐρρέθη αὐτῷ ἐκήρυξε καὶ πάντες οἱ προφῆται, ἔως οὖ ἡλθεν ὃ ἀπόκειται, τουτ' ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς ὅς ἐστιν Υίὸς, οὐκ οἰκογενής κύριος, καὶ οὐ δοῦλος δεσπόζων, καὶ οὐ δεσποζόμενος νομοθέτης, καὶ οὐ νομοθετούμενος.

As the comparisons continue, Pseudo-Ephrem points to the Christological significance of the transfiguration:

His glory indicated his divine nature that is from the Father and his body indicated his human [nature] that is from Mary, both natures came together and became united in one hypostasis: only-begotten from the Father, and only-begotten from Mary. The one who separates [his natures] will be separated from his kingdom; the one who confuses his natures will perish from his life.⁸⁸

One pre-1940 catalogue entry on the now destroyed Syriac manuscript indicates that the original homily contained this phrasing. It states that this passage "opposes monophysites 'who confuse the natures of Christ' and the Nestorians 'who divide the persons of Christ.'" The other catalogue entry similarly indicates that the homily is "the work of a Chalcedonian polemicizing against Nestorians and monophysites." The Chalcedonian perspective was not lost on ancient and medieval readers. Individuals from competing Christologies received it differently. While a Coptic translation replaces this phrase with clear declarations of miaphysite Christology, ⁹¹ the Latin version retains this quotation almost in full. ⁹² Its Chalcedonian perspective was still evident to the first non-Greek Metropolitan of Kiev, who quoted this sermon at length to explain Christology in his native language during the eleventh century. ⁹³

- 88 Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (ibid., Greek and Latin 2:46D–E): Η δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσε τὴν φύσιν τὴν θεϊκὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός: καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας: ἀμφοτέρας τὰς φύσεις συνελθούσας καὶ ἐνωθείσας ἐν μιᾳ ὑποστάσει. Μονογενὴς ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας μονογενής. Καὶ ὁ μερίζων, μερισθήσεται ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ συγχέων αὐτοῦ τὰς φύσεις ἀπολεῖται ἐκ ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.
- ⁸⁹ Hiersemann, *Katalog 487*, 66: "impugnat monophysitas 'naturas Christi confundentes' et Nestorianos 'personas Christi dividentes'."
- $^{90}\,$ Hiersemann, $Katalog\,500,5$: "das Werk eines gegen Nestorianer und Monophysiten polemisierenden Chalkedonensiers."
- 91 A passage in this section of the homily in the Coptic version reads (E. A. Wallis Budge, "On a Fragment of a Coptic Version of Saint Ephrem's Discourse on the Transfiguration of Our Lord," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 9 [1887]: 322, 327): "Of him are not two births nor two natures, but only one nature of the Word which became flesh" (èqoi ΝΕ ΑΝ Μ΄ ΠΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΟΥΔΕ ΦΥCIC ΕΗ ΑΝΑΑ ΟΥΦΥCIC ΝΟΥΩΡΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ÈΔCΕΡΓΛΡΣ).
- The Latin reads (Luigi Tosti, ed., Bibliotheca casinensis seu Codicum manuscriptorum qui in tabulario casinensi asservantur [Monte Cassino: Typographia Casinensi, 1873–94], 3, Florilegium:30): "His glory proclaims the nature of the divinity that he had from the Father. His body proclaims his human nature which he appropriated from the holy Mary. One is the only-begotten Son from the Father and out of Mary" (Et gloria eius; annuntiavit natura[m] deitatis quam a patre habuit. Et corpus eius annuntiavit naturam eius humanam; quam de sancta maria traxit. Et unus est filius unigentius a patre; et ex maria).
- ⁹³ Hilarion of Kiev, Sermon on Law and Grace (Ludolf Müller, ed., Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis nach der Erstausgabe von 1844, Slavistische Studienbücher 2 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962], 77–9; Simon Franklin, trans., Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus', Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations 5 [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991], 10–11).

At this polemical point in the sermon, Pseudo-Ephrem inserts the familiar language of miracles and sufferings. "The deeds themselves testify and his divine miraculous feats $[\delta vv\acute{a}\mu\epsilon\iota s]$ teach those who doubt that he is truly God; his sufferings $[\pi \acute{a}\theta\eta]$ reveal that he is truly human." A long list of contrasts between actions that point to Christ's divinity and actions that point to his humanity follow. This is reminiscent of Jacob's letters and the *Homily on the Faith*. This homily shows how Moses-Christ typology could be drawn into the Christological debates to support a Chalcedonian point of view. Even if Jacob did not know this homily, its use of the miracles and sufferings shows that this language—drawn from Leo's *Tome*, the *Henotikon*, or elsewhere—fit Moses-Christ typology well. In this way, this homily serves as a convenient transition point, for it represents the culmination of Moses-Christ typology as it relates to Jacob's own Christological debates and its homiletical genre reminds us that these messages could have been proclaimed to wide audiences.

The Miracles and Sufferings of Moses and Christ

When Jacob of Serugh compared Moses and Christ in his *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"*, he reflected long traditions of interpreting this passage Christologically and of preaching Christology through their typological relationship. Jacob delivered a homily that drew on these traditions but utilized them for the concerns of his own time. This is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in his invocation of the pairing of miracles and sufferings to explain his Christology.

An extended treatment of miracles and sufferings appears in the middle of the homily. The first couplet serves as an introduction to the section: "Moses became god to Pharaoh while he was a human, / Just as the Son became human while he was God." Jacob explains how Moses became divine over the next eight couplets. It is the miracles that proved that he was god as the first couplet states: "He received power from God to become god. / He did become [god],

⁹⁴ Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (Assemani, Ephraem Syri Opera omnia, Greek and Latin 2:46F): Αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυροῦσι, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ αἱ θεϊκαὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς διακριτικοὺς, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεὸς ἀληθινός καὶ τὰ πάθη αὐτοῦ δηλοῦσιν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινός.

⁹⁵ Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ* (ibid., Greek and Latin 2:46F-8F).

⁹⁶ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (Bedjan, Homiliae, 4:109, 5–6): ממר מילות אות המולה אות אווער האווער מינות אישר בי מינות אישר

and he performed miraculous feats [صحنا وستاك], terrors, and wonders." The remaining lines specify the miracles and conclude that these miracles enabled Moses to become an image of the Son: "Because of the hidden mysteries that happened in him, / He came to portray the Lord of the prophets so that he might be like him." Four lines follow on the humanity of Christ. Each highlights the impossibility of what Christ underwent: "The Son of God dwelt in the virgin when he was God. / He took from her the likeness of a servant when he was Lord. // He became the Son of Man from the womb of the honored one, / And he received the sufferings [حتى] of humanity when he was God." Here, as in the works examined above, Jacob associates the divinity with miracles and the humanity with sufferings.

The pairing of miracles and sufferings becomes clearer in the lines that follow. A couplet re-centers the focus on comparing these two figures: "Moses ascended to the great name of the divinity, / But his Lord descended so that he might be embodied from humanity." 100 Jacob then juxtaposes miracles and sufferings: "Because Moses became god, he displayed miraculous feats [سم, ستلح] / And because the Son became human, he endured sufferings [معيحة سعتام]"¹⁰¹ This passage clearly associates miracles with divinity and sufferings with humanity. The word "displayed" (مصن) appears rather than "performed" (همذ), as in the Henotikon and Jacob's other works. Yet, the word "endured" (صبحة) recalls the *Henotikon* and Jacob's references to it in his letters. Jacob emphasizes this pairing again in the following two couplets: "After the miraculous feats of divinity that Moses displayed [ستكم], / The human ceased, for the great prophet was a human. // After all the pains and the sufferings [سعتم] of the crucifixion, / The Son of God displayed [سمر] through his own that he was God."102 Jacob relates the sufferings of Christ to the crucifixion, as he does in other works. Moses, the human, exhibited miracles as God. Christ, the Son of God, endured sufferings as a human.

Jacob does not directly refer to the miracles that Christ performed. He does so rather by analogy. Moses performed miracles that reveal his divinity, just as the audience would expect of Christ. Christ suffered as a human, just as the

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97 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (Bedjan, Homiliae, 4:109, 7–8):
אר א מבל כן אלא מבל כן
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⁹⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:109, 21–2):

ﻧﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﻪﻟﻪﻟﻪﻝ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﯩﻠﻪﺕ ﻣﯩﻠﻪﺕ ﻣﯩﻠﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﺋﺎﻟﻪﺵ ﺗﺮﯨﻐﯩﺪﯨﺪﯨﺪﻯ: ﻣﻮﻟﺪﺍ ﺋﯩﻐﻪﺕ ﺗﺮﯨﻨﯩﺪﯨﻚ ﻣﺎﻟﻪﺕ ﻣﻪﻥ ،

¹⁰⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:110, 5-6):

שלם מסא מביא ליש ולאסמל היא לישה לאסמל בים מסא מבי אים שלם

¹⁰¹ Iacob of Serugh, *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* (ibid., 4:110, 7–8):

סכולו עולא וארומסולא נעס, כמפאז: פין כיושא וכיושא מסא נבעא וכאי סכולו בלמס באיבא מעשא גוסעפטולא: ביא ואראא עס, כולמ ואלמא מסאי

audience would expect Moses to have done. Yet this reversal should not negate their expectations, as Jacob writes near the end of this section: "However much the Son of God descended, he was God, / And however much Moses was raised in glory, he was human." When Moses is named "god," it does not change the fact that he is human. When Christ endures sufferings as a human, he does not cease being God. This reversal emphasizes Christ's divinity all the more. Jacob encourages his audience to attribute the actions associated with humanity—sufferings—to Moses, and those associated with the divinity—miracles—to Christ. As in the *Homily on the Faith*, Jacob does not merely quote the *Henotikon* or any other document. Poetic restraints and the oral context would have made this challenging. Rather he artfully contrasts the unexpected feats that Moses performed and the surprising sufferings that Christ endured. He thus predicates both miracles and sufferings on Christ and on Moses.

The placement of Jacob's extended use of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings in the *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"* allows for a specification of its role. As seen above, Jacob found comparable points in Moses's life for his journey to and from God, his nativity, the slaughter of the innocents, his crucifixion, and his burial. Jacob uses this juxtaposition when he wishes to discuss Christ's identity, that is, the relationship between his divinity and humanity. The divinity relates specifically to miracles, Moses's here and by analogy Christ's. The sufferings—endured in the incarnation or crucifixion—point to his humanity.

Summary

The Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" shows Jacob's particular use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings in his typological exegesis of Deuteronomy 18:15–18. It is consistent with his letters, the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon, and the Homily on the Faith, all of which discuss the relationship of Christ's divinity and humanity through this pairing. This mirrors the use of this phrase among his contemporaries, who advocated a miaphysite interpretation of the Henotikon and this phrase. They themselves were responding to dyophysite interpretations, as exemplified in Leo's Tome and perhaps as preached in Pseudo-Ephrem's homily. Jacob's miaphysite perspective comes out even more clearly in the next homily, where the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings assumes a similar part in his exposition of his Christology in a polemical context.

In the *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"*, Jacob focused on the narrative of Moses's life rather than the passage at hand. This allowed him to explain the intricacies of his Christology through well-known stories. In so

¹⁰³ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" (ibid., 4:110, 17–18): אר מה מבינים משמעה ביב מציים אלאור מיבים: "רסה משלמי משלמי משלמי לייבים אלאלי מיבים: "משלמי משלמי מ

doing, he fit within a tradition of exploring Christology through typological exegesis in sermons, as exemplified in homilies on the Feast of the Transfiguration. Jacob thus communicated a specific miaphysite perspective on Christology connected to the language of miracles and sufferings in a way that was accessible to wide range of society.

EXEGESIS OF A CONTESTED PASSAGE: THE CONFESSION OF SIMON PETER

When Jesus came to the place of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying: "Concerning me, who do people say that I, the Son of Man, am?" They said: "Some say John the Baptist; others Elijah; and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." Then he said to them: "Who do you say that I am?" Simon Peter¹⁰⁴ answered, saying: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God." Jesus responded, saying to him: "Blessed are you, Simon, son of Jonah, for flesh and blood have not revealed [this] to you but my Father in heaven. And I say to you that you are Peter and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Sheol will not overcome it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Everything that you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and everything that you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." Then he commanded his disciples not to tell anyone that he is the Christ. 105

Matthew 16:13–20, Peshitta Translation

¹⁰⁴ I translate ←≤ as "Peter" throughout, for the sake of simplicity.

¹⁰⁵ Matthew 16:13–20, Peshitta Translation (The New Testament in Syriac, 22): בג הא א שבים בי אלא שיים בי גום لمالأنه وصفيح وفيلمون معمل همم للالمتورة ومحدة على محتر على منتع ومن ورده ومعمل هدي من من من من المراقع المنافع الم الله بمادة المنط المحافي ماسل وسودته المنت الله الماكية والمنت المادية المادية المادية المنافع عدد. و تعرف الدر المحديد عديد و ورده و وريد المراح אנא לאי. גאול מס באפאי. בעל מגא באפא אכעמ לבגל, בולג בא נשנטל לא עושנונים. לא אולל בלוגא eclaps sector. Oct esa estrapi con con como mais cerem. Octa estem conicon esm I assume that Jacob used primarily the . בשרשא : היגה בסג לאלהיגרסת,. גלאוש לא האילום 🗸 גמסגם בשנשא. Peshitta translation of this passage. I have located one variant in this homily that could indicate that he had access to the Philoxenian translation. The Philoxenian version of Matthew 16:18 has مة see (Peter A. L. Hill, "Matthew 16:18 in the Philoxenian محة المجامع), while the Peshitta has Version," TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism 13 [2008], http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol13/ Hill2008.pdf; J. Edward Walters, "The Philoxenian Gospels as Reconstructed from the Writings of in the Homily on the محمَّدكہ Philoxenos of Mabbug," Hugoye 13, no. 2 [2010]: 199–200). Jacob uses Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:477, 7). But, since this reading also appears in the Diatesseron, Sebastian P. Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet (Symposion, Reinhausen bei Göttingen, 1971), Abhandlungen der Äkademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 3rd series, 96 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 96–7, has persuasively argued that Jacob draws on the Diatesseron here. Other research on the text of Jacob's New Testament has shown that he quotes from the Diatesseron (Richard Hugh Connolly, "Jacob of Serug and the Diatessaron," Journal of Theological Studies 8 [32] [1907]: 581–90; Matthew Black, "The Gospel Text of Jacob of Serug," Journal of Theological Studies, n.s., 2, no. 1 [1951]: 57-63). Sony, "La méthode exégétique," 68-72, summarizes the findings on Jacob's biblical text. Jacob's knowledge of the Philoxenian version is unclear in this passage as a whole.

The Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received discusses a highly contentious text. 106 Matthew 16:13–20 features three exchanges: (1) Jesus asks the disciples who people say that he is, 107 and they respond John the Baptist, Elijah, Jeremiah, and other prophets (16:13–14). (2) Jesus then asks Peter who he says that he is, and Peter offers a confession of faith: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (16:15–16). (3) Jesus blesses Peter for his confession, states that he will found his church on him, 108 and orders the disciples not to tell anyone (16:17–20). The third exchange became a major source of debate in relation to the primacy of Rome. 109 But Peter's confession of faith, in the second exchange, was a point of contention during the post-Chalcedonian controversies. Jacob does not hide the debated nature of this passage from his audience. Rather he highlights its contested nature in the introduction. This reflects a wider debate over the Christological significance of this passage among Jacob's contemporaries, which he engages in his interpretation of this passage. The Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received offers insight into how Jacob directly engaged controversy through his preaching, communicating Christology to broad audiences.

A Combative Beginning to a Homily

Jacob carefully prefaces his interpretation of the biblical passage with an extended introduction. Its three major divisions invoke the Triune God, encourage the audience to participate actively in reflecting on Christology, and

¹⁰⁶ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:460–82). This homily has been translated into German: Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 316–32. It appears in nine manuscripts, all from the second millennium: Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/13; Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/14; Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/15; Damascus, Syriac Patriarchate, Syr. 12/16; Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Kilisesi, 3; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 130; Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 135; Rome, Vatican Library, Sir. 464.

 107 The Syriac is more specific than the Greek, which simply reads: "Who do people say that the Son of Man is?" (τίνα λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;).

¹⁰⁹ See especially Karlfried Froehlich, *Formen der Auslegung von Matthäus 16, 13–18 im lateinischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Präzis, 1963).

describe the basic contours of Jacob's Christology.¹¹⁰ As seen in the three homilies examined above, the introduction emphasizes the preaching context of the homily and flags its central concerns. He tells his audience how to interpret the biblical passage before he has even gestured toward it.

The opening lines of the homily feature an extended invocation of God. Jacob devotes a couplet to each person of the Trinity:

Merciful Father who delivered us through the blood of his only-begotten, Let me receive power from you to speak about your only-begotten! True Son who came to us in order to set us free,

Let me speak through you about your revelation about yourself!

Holy Spirit, teacher of the foolish and simple,

Let me become wise through you and stir up a homily that is full of wonder!111

Jacob repeats this pattern of three couplets addressed to the persons of the Trinity four more times. ¹¹² Throughout he signifies that the principal subject of the homily is the Son. He claims that only because the Trinity has given him strength and words can he preach on this topic.

Jacob then turns his attention from the Trinity to his audience. The concept of love, already mentioned once in his invocation of the Trinity, 113 forms a bridge between Jacob's audience and the message he is trying to communicate: "O that I had love [سمت] standing as a postulant / In the presence of the listeners and drawing them to instruction!" Love both instructs his audience and

¹¹⁰ Two significant studies of the structure of Jacob's homilies have appeared. Each influenced my representation of this homily, but I have avoided rhetorical terminology so as not to distract from my main argument. See Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten"; Brock, "Tamar."

¹¹¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:460, 1–6; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 316–17):

אכא ועפנא גפום, כגפה הענגיה: פנץ אסב עלא לפאפיה הענגיף כוא פוניא האלא להול, געוו ל: בא אפלל בל גלעי פללל אף יוטא גסהגפא ספיא גסבא ההרגאה: כאי אולעבת מאוב פאפיא גבלה ואהוא הם:

¹¹² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:460, 7–461, 16; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 317).

¹¹³ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:460, 7–8; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 317): "Father, begetter, give me a word about your child / To speak his story richly with love [מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹי (מוֹם בּבֹּי (מוֹם בּבֹי (מוֹם בּבּי (מוֹם בּבֹי (מוֹם בּבִי (מוֹם בּבִּי (מוֹם בּבִי (מוֹם בּבּי (מוֹם ב

helps them profit from the homily, as he states later. 115 He then demands that his audience listen to him with such love:

Do not cunningly hear my words to ensnare [them]!
For love [محض] is never subjected to lay a trap.
The word is free from cunning and wisdom:
So you then cleanse your listening for simple [words]!
Descend from the height of wisdom in which you stand,
And be humbled for me so that I might speak to you without guile.

116

The actions of descending, being humbled, and showing love parallel the actions of Christ that Jacob names later in the introduction. The first two sections of the introduction encourage the audience to imitate Christ in listening to the homily with generosity. They thereby anticipate varied responses to a contested biblical passage.

The third section of the introduction begins with the ineffability of Christ and suggests a dispute over his identity. Echoing language in his letters, Jacob calls both Christ and his story "unspeakable," "inexplicable," and "without end." Again reflecting the letters, Jacob claims that no one is able to "speak of [Christ] as he is" and that no one "grasps his story," "contains him," or "comprehends him." He admonishes those who claim to be able to speak of the ineffable Christ: "Of the Son of God, who is unspeakable for those who speak, / Who can

115 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:462, 8–11; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 318): "You who listen! You also profit when you hear! / And, if you should not profit, why do you pay attention to the speaker? // May love [מבסש] summon you, because love [מבסש] is also stirring me to speak! / For profit is only gathered through love [מבסשם]" (גם באמר לאבל בעל אואר אול באמש אל המשא אל המשא לא המשא

¹¹⁶ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:462, 12–17; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 318):

ליז עו האישיני ולה סול כירף אדים עדם: דעסכיאי ביביליסב עד ראי שנהיא איז בישיל הביאי כי, בירוליאי בי עו המליאי סעבעביסוליאי: דבאי זמים מודיבתי בדהן אפשיקאליאי עסול ובין וסכיאי דעבעביסוליאי דברס סאוב אמל: ס'אוליבבתי את מבאל אתי ולבעביאינילי

117 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:462, 18–20; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 318): "If the Son of God had not come down and been humbled for us, / Who would approach to speak before him, where he is? // Except through love [בעסבי], he would not have descended to poverty" (תלים בי המואר לב בי המואר לב בי האמשנה לבשבום בא אין האמשנה לבשבום בא אין האמשנה לבשבום בא אין האמשנה לבשבום בא לאין האמשנה לבשבום בא לאין האמשנה לבשבום לאין האמשנה לאי

118 Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:463, 14; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 319): מלא הלפני הלפים הלפים הלפים הלפים (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:463, 17; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 319): מבא הלפים
 speak unless he has spoken without contention [תבא שלים]? // Which teacher or wise one or disputer [תבא אוֹם] / Is able to explain the wonder which is unexplainable?" The language of "without contention" and "disputer" recalls the *Homily on the Faith*. Later, Jacob brings up the context of a dispute over the person of Christ: "Do not confess that your listening grasps his story, / For I did not confess that I have a word that approaches him. // The one who thinks that he contains the Son of God / Is truly erring, whether the one who listens or the one who speaks." For Jacob, there are wrong ways to speak about Christ, and he warns against those who claim to know too much.

Later, still in the introduction, Jacob specifies the confusion over the identity of Christ. Christ was both in the womb of his Father and in Mary at the same time. He is a But this did not mean that he grew less in his divinity: "The height was not cut off from the one who dwelled in the depth, / For he was wholly in each: in Mary and in his Father." And although he came to the depth, he did not become "comprehensible" or "explicable." Rather, people "were unable to speak of him." Their confusion stems from perceiving Christ as human yet knowing that he is God at the same time: "People saw that he came in the flesh even though he was God, / And they did not know what to say about his advent." Jacob's explication of the confusion directly follows his assertion that there are true and false ways of speaking about him. He outlines his own approach in the following lines.

Here Jacob uses the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings to represent the divinity and humanity of Christ in a tightly ordered set of four couplets. People

Letters 13 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:52–3). There is no parallel for and in this sentence. This sentence is quoted in Chapter 3, and the Syriac text appears in footnote 28 there.

¹²⁰ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:463, 14–17; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 319):

لوز بملائه دلم دلالله در حلله: هده ددلل بمله حلله دله شنبه بمنه هوزيم به سمونه به وزوعه: هي بم دوقيم علد ودوزيم دلي مداوقوه

¹²¹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:464, 7–10; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 319):

רא ולשולם ודאיט בא נמאש בישור בליכם: נלא משלסניל נימיל א כדאל הנדיל הבאני א שמינים ולי וליבוד והמשל ושבי נדשע אם אבו מארמי. ביל הא להיא הא שבם היא מנים ליא מכניאי

¹²² Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:464, 19–20; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 320).

¹²³ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:465, 5–6; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 320):

\$000 منحة ها Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:465, 11–12; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 320):

שאסמי, אנצא האלא כבשו בו אלמא מס: סמנא מאכים בל מאלאמ לא נובם מסס:

perceive Christ's divinity through miracles: "They saw him who was full of power and strength and might. / His appearance was despicable, but his miraculous feats [معلقة] exalted above tongues. // He was making the blind see, the lepers clean, [and] the deaf hear, / Healing the sick, and raising the dead divinely." Although his exposition of the divinity spans four lines, Jacob names only one category that points to Christ's divinity: miracles. The second couplet merely specifies the miracles. These miracles led to confusion, as Jacob notes in the next two lines: "When they saw him in weakness as a human, / They turned and saw him in might as God." The final couplet describes his humanity: "At one time, he was hungry as a human who is full of sufferings [معنقة], / And, at another time, he was providing food as God who has mercy." Hunger and provision epitomize the confusion over Christ's divinity and humanity. Jacob characterizes humanity by its sufferings alone. Thus, in close proximity, Jacob uses miracles to refer to Christ's divinity and sufferings to refer to his humanity.

Jacob expresses his own view on the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ in the next lines. He writes: "This new manner of life was in the middle which was full of wonder. / Those who saw [it] wondered, and they did not know how to say who he was." People cannot speak of Christ's person because his manner of life stands between divine and human actions, between miracles and sufferings. Jacob advocates against attributing the divine and human actions of Christ to two, for the truth is in the middle. With this, the introductory section of the homily ends. Jacob has provided a frame for the interpretation of the biblical passage which introduces the question: Who is Jesus Christ? Jacob's contemporaries, as seen above, addressed interpretations of this passage that emphasize the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity. The homily's introduction indicates Jacob's knowledge of the Christological debate over this passage. 131 He has already addressed it by offering a miaphysite

¹²⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:465, 13–16; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 320):

¹²⁸ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:465, 17–18; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 320):

interpretation of the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings. By the end of the homily, he will provide a model confession of Christology for his audience.

The Christological Debates and Matthew 16:13-20

The history of the interpretation of Matthew 16:13-20 sheds light on Jacob's concern to offer an interpretation of this passage before he has even gestured toward it. The biblical passage itself suggests why Christology was a central concern. Peter's confession that Jesus is the Christ naturally leads to a discussion of Christology. But even Jacob's use of the language of miracles and sufferings may reflect the biblical text. Matthew uses the word "miraculous feats" (δυνάμεις/ دينكم) to describe Christ's miracles several times (Matt. 7:22; 11:20, 21, 23; 13:54, 58), but none occur in close proximity to this passage. Suffering, on the other hand, appears in the verse immediately following this passage, as the evangelist states: "From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he was going to go to Jerusalem and suffer [www] much from the priests, chief priests, scribes, and that he would be killed and, on the third day, rise" (Matt. 16:21). 132 Jacob alludes to this passage near the end of the homily: "He bound death and he knocked Satan down through his suffering [صععت]."¹³³ The passage itself led to Christological reflection and offers a partial explanation of the specific language of miracles and sufferings.

In a homily on Matthew 16:13–23, John Chrysostom shows similar attention to Christology and even the specific language of miracles and sufferings. Early in the homily, Chrysostom claims that miracles ($\theta a \acute{\nu} \mu a \tau a$) reveal Christ's divinity. ¹³⁴ He later contrasts the miracles of Christ with his predicted suffering in

¹³⁴ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Matthew 54.1 (PG 58:533; George Prevost, trans., The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Gospel of St. Matthew, LF 11, 15, 34 [Oxford, 1843], LF 15:729): "Therefore from these things, he seeks another [judgment], and he brings in a second question for the sake of not associating with the crowd, who, since they saw the signs that he performed which were greater than human capacity, reckoned him to be human, but one that appeared from the resurrection, just as Herod said. But he, leading them out from this thought, says, 'But, you, who do you say that I am?' That is, '[You] who are always present and see [me] working miracles [θαυματουργοῦντα], and have yourselves done many miraculous feats [δυνάμεις] through me' (Διὸ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτέραν ἐπίζητεῖ, καὶ δευτέραν ἐπάγει πεῦσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συμπεσεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἱ ἐπειδὴ μείζονα εἶδον τὰ σημεῖα ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως δὲ φανέντα, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡρώδης ἔλεγεν. Άλλ' αὐτὸς ταύτης αὐτοὺς ἀπάγων τῆς ὑπονοίας, φησίν Ύμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; τουτέστιν, Οἱ συνόντες ἀεὶ καὶ θαυματουργοῦντα βλέποντες, καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις δι' ἐμοῦ πεποιηκότες αὐτοί.). I follow the numbering system in Patrologia Graeca, not the translation.

Matthew 16:21.¹³⁵ Even if Jacob had knowledge of Chrysostom's homily, ¹³⁶ he—unlike Chrysostom—coordinates the miracles and sufferings and uses them to represent Christ's divinity and humanity. Yet this homily points to a tradition of Christological interpretations of this passage. Chrysostom's homily also shows that Christological reflection on this passage fit a preaching context.

Theodore of Mopsuestia's Christological interpretation of this passage elicited responses from Jacob's contemporaries. A fragment of his *Commentary on Matthew* marks the relationship of Christ's divinity and humanity as the subject of Matthew 16:13: "For the Lord Christ was indeed both God and human, each according to its nature in like manner: on the basis of the one, he indeed existed in a visible manner; but, on the basis of the other, namely according to his divine nature, he existed in an invisible manner." Another fragment seems to emphasize a distinction between the divinity and humanity:

But after the resurrection, those led out by the spirit to knowledge then also received a perfect knowledge of the revelation, so that they knew that something distinct came to this one, beyond other people, not another mere honor from God as to other people, but through union to God the Word, through which he participates with him in every honor after his ascension to heaven. 138

Christ's humanity participates in divinity after the ascension. This claim opened Theodore's Christology to accusations that he separated the divinity and

¹³⁶ Jeff W. Childers, "Studies in the Syriac Versions of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament" (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1996), 1:16–30, lists the extant Syriac translations of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew. Homily* 54 is not among these. But this does not preclude the possibility that it was known at the time. He also provides evidence that these homilies were translated by 484 and known to Philoxenos (ibid., 1:9; 2:106–10).

¹³⁷ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Matthew* (PG 66:709D): "Dominus enim Christus erat quidem et Deus et homo, utrumque secundum naturam similiter: ex altero quidem apparens, ex altero vero utpote secundum naturam divinam, invisibilis exstans." This fragment is preserved in a work of Facundus of Hermiane, where he specifies that the commentary addresses Matthew 16:13. See *Defense of the Three Chapters* 9.2.2 (Clément and vander Plaetse, *Opera omnia*, CCSL 90A:267; Fraïsse-Bétoulières, *Défense*, SC 484:129). The Latin text in the critical edition of Facundus differs only in capitalization and punctuation.

¹³⁸ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *On the Incarnation* (Johannes Straub, ed., *ACO* 4.1 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971], 55; Price, *Constantinople*, 248): "post resurrectionem autem spiritu producti ad scientiam tunc et reuelationis perfectam scientiam suscipiebant, ut scirent quia praecipuum ipsi praeter ceteros homines non aliquo puro honore ex deo peruenit sicut et in ceteris hominibus, sed per unitatem ad deum uerbum, per quam omnis honoris ei particeps est post in caelos ascensum."

humanity. This is the type of Christological interpretation of this passage to which Jacob's peers Philoxenos and Severos would respond. 140

Philoxenos addresses Theodore directly in his own *Commentary on Matthew*, written between 511 and 519. His interpretation of Matthew 16:16–17 identifies dyophysite interpretations as the subject of his commentary: "For just as he was called 'Christ' by these—Nathanael, Andrew, the Samaritan woman, and Martha—so the Nestorians confess him today. But we orthodox confess and believe as Peter confessed." Philoxenos may have had Theodore's *On the Incarnation* in mind, which similarly comments on the confessions of Nathanael and Martha in his interpretation of this passage. Philoxenos identifies Theodore as his opponent later in the commentary:

139 Theodore makes a similar claim elsewhere, see Theodore of Mopsuestia, Catechetical Homilies 12.9, 15.10, 16.3 (Tonneau and Devreesse, Homélies catéchétiques, 337, 475, 537–9; Bruns, Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien, 1–2:326, 394, 424–5). Francis Aloysius Sullivan Jr., The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Analecta Gregoriana 82, Series Facultatis Theologicae, Sectio B (N. 29) (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1956), 254, brought these passages to my attention. For treatments of Theodore's Christology, see ibid., 197–284; Rowan A. Greer, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian (London: Faith Press, 1961), 48–65 (especially 50–2 on the present issue); Alois Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 1, From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451), trans. John Bowden, 2nd ed. (London: Mowbray, 1975), 426–39 (especially 428–30). The two other fragments I have located on this passage do not clarify his Christological interpretation further. See Theodore of Mopsuestia, Commentary on Matthew 91–2 (Joseph Reuss, Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche, TU 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957], 32).

140 Uwe Michael Lang, John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century: A Study and Translation of the Arbiter, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 50, points out that Nestorios and Cyril of Alexandria disagreed on the interpretation of the name "Christ" in this passage, whether it indicated anything about the substance of Christ rather than his activity. The Patriarch Photios of Constantinople offers an interpretation of this passage from a Chalcedonian point of view in his Commentary on Matthew 68 (Reuss, Matthäus-Kommentare, 307): "He anticipates the economy and confesses himself as human in order that through his own voice and through the answer of [his] disciples he might present the truth of the two natures, of the divinity and the humanity" (αὐτὸς τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας προλαμβάνει καὶ ἀνθρώπινον ἐαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ, ἵνα διά τε τῆς οἰκείας φωνῆς διά τε τῆς τῶν μαθητῶν ἀποκρίσεως τῶν δύο φύσεων παραστήση τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος). This excerpt addresses Matthew 16:13–17.

¹⁴¹ See J. W. Watt, ed., *Philoxenus of Mabbug: Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, trans. J. W. Watt, CSCO 392–3, SS 171–2 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978), CSCO 393, SS 172:7*, on the dating.

 142 Philoxenos of Mabbug, $Commentary\ on\ Matthew$ (ibid., CSCO 392, SS 171:24–5; CSCO 393, SS 172:21–2):

ם אישי גאול איכו בי בשנוא כך מלגן: נולנאתל באונו אים בשכל נולא בכל לא: כבות בכם בכלא אב נסלה בים: אול ולבום בב אישי לי, גאבר, בלום שבונה בה בכם בכונו.

¹⁴³ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *On the Incarnation* (Straub, *ACO* 4.1:55; Price, *Constantinople*, 248): "Therefore just as through the confession of this sort Nathanael is not shown to have knowledge of the divinity—the Jews and the Samaritans, hoping for such, have been as far as possible from knowledge of the Word of God for a long time—so also Martha through that confession is not then proven to have knowledge of the divinity, nor manifestly is blessed Peter" (Sicut igitur per huiusmodi confessionem non deitatis Nathanael habens scientiam ostenditur, [Iudaei et Samaritae talia sperantes plurimum quantum dei uerbi a scientia longe erant], sic et Martha per confessionem illam non deitatis habens tunc scientiam probatur, manifeste autem nec beatus Petrus).

The wicked Theodore said that [the phrase] "You are the Christ" referred to, as he says, the human; that is, "Christ" is the name of the human. 144 But the phrase "the Son of the living God" refers to God the Word; the reading refers to God the Word. Who will accept [this] from you, O fool and dullard, unless they are insane like you? For even though the Father revealed *one* and Simon also confessed *one* who is the Son and who is Christ, he would deny Simon's confession and the Father's revealation and understand Christ as two instead of one. 145

Theodore, on Philoxenos's view, interprets Peter's confession as referring to two: one human (Christ), the other divine (the Son). Philoxenos refutes Theodore's view on grammatical grounds, noting that the confession begins with a singular "you" (كتابة), indicating a single subject. 146 It is significant for understanding the wider debate over this passage that Philoxenos found it necessary to refute renderings of this passage that emphasize duality over unity. 147

144 I follow Watt, *Fragments*, CSCO 392, SS 171:25n18, in adding a n to حنعت, as Watts notes that this reading appears in the margin of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 101, fol. 57v.

¹⁴⁵ Philoxenos of Mabbug, Commentary on Matthew (ibid., CSCO 392, SS 171:25; CSCO 393, SS 172:22):

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146 Philoxenos of Mabbug, Commentary on Matthew (ibid., CSCO 392, SS 171:25–6; CSCO 393, SS 172:22): "But let us ask you, O you who err, is that which is set down at the beginning of the statement, 'You [sing.] are', said about one or about two? If it was set down about two, why does he not say, 'You [pl.],' but rather, 'You [sing.] are'? But if it is taken as though it was written about one, of which of them is [the phrase] 'You [sing.] are'? Of Christ or of the Son? If 'You [sing.] are' is fitting for Christ, it is not then agreeable to the Son. And if it is right that the Son received it, it was not said about Christ" (מר ר יושר אום ביישר האום
¹⁴⁷ See also Philoxenos of Mabbug, *Ten Discourses against Habib* 10.82–3 (Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes decem*, PO 40.2:103–5, 102–4). Philoxenos addresses the oneness of the Son in 10.82, and discusses Matthew 16:16 in 10.83.

Severos engaged the same passage throughout his episcopate. He comments on it briefly in both his first and last *Cathedral Homilies*, ¹⁴⁸ and he discusses in two other homilies at length. In a homily delivered sometime late in 514, ¹⁴⁹ Severos asks:

What then is the characteristic of the apostolic church in Antioch? That it will cry out to Emmanuel with Peter: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," and it will confess as one and the same "Christ" and "the Son of the living God": the same one God, the same one truly human, not one and another, as those at Chalcedon wickedly divided him as a duality of natures after the unspeakable union. 150

Severos argues against dyophysite interpretations of this passage. His interpretation of the passage centers on his understanding of the beginning of Peter's confession:

For he did not say, "You are the Christ in whom is the Son of the living God," as though to understand one in another, just as those who want to separate him. Rather he confessed, "You are the Christ *and* the Son of the living God," using "You are" in a common and customary [manner].¹⁵¹

Severos interprets both titles, "Christ" and "the Son of the living God," as referring to one subject by inserting the word "and" to clarify that this is a case of apposition with one subject. At the end of his episcopate late in 518, Severos wrote a homily specifically on the passage. He again praises Peter for his "precise confession" that rules out dyophysite understandings of Christ. 152 Both

- ¹⁴⁸ He refers to Matthew 16:18 in *Cathedral Homilies* 1.9 (Brière and Graffin, *Homiliae cathedrales: I à XVII*, PO 38.2:14, 15). He quotes Matthew 16:16 in his final homily, *Cathedral Homilies* 125 (Brière, *Homiliae cathedrales: CXX à CXXV*, PO 29.1:235, 236), in reference to *Cathedral Homilies* 124 (ibid., PO 29.1:208–31), which is dedicated to this passage.
 - On the dating, see Alpi, La route royale, 2:189.
- ¹⁵⁰ Severos of Antioch, *Ĉathedral Homilies* 56 (Rubens Duval, ed., *Les* Homiliae cathedrales *de Sévère d'Antioche: Homélies LII à LVII*, trans. Rubens Duval, PO 4.1 (15) [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1906], PO 4.1:77):

- 152 Severos of Antioch, Cathedral Homilies 124 (Brière, Homiliae cathedrales: CXX à CXXV, PO 29.1:218, 219): "For as one, without subtracting or changing, Emmanuel appears from two, namely from the divinity and from the humanity, one person, one hypostasis, one nature of the same God the Word. For this is a precise confession. Peter did not simply receive that blessing" (ענג עובע באיס אבל באיס א

Severos and Philoxenos responded to interpretations of this passage that emphasize duality over unity.¹⁵³

The history of Christological interpretations of this passage sheds light on Jacob's treatment of the passage. It shows a consistent tendency to interpret the passage Christologically based on the leanings of the passage itself. It reveals that this was debated in both Syriac (Philoxenos) and Greek (Severos). Jacob himself tells us that Diodoros's writings were being translated into Syriac at the school of the Persians in Edessa when he was a student, making it possible that he also had access to Theodore's interpretation of this passage if not these specific texts. Finally, the one homily of John Chrysostom and the four of Severos of Antioch that treat this passage expose a tradition of preaching on Christology in relation to this passage. Both prior exegesis and the homiletical tradition anticipate Jacob's Christological exposition in his *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received*.

Preaching Christology in the Midst of Controversy

Jacob prepared his audience for a Christological discussion of Simon Peter's confession in the introduction. He anticipates alternative interpretations, perhaps even that of Theodore. The body of the homily progresses through the biblical passage line by line, offering a consistent defense of the Christology outlined in the introduction. His use of the pairing of miracles and sufferings places his own mark on the miaphysite Christology he expounds.

The topic of miracles helps Jacob transition into an exposition of the homily. "They did not let go of understanding him as human. / The miraculous feats which he performed [ستك همنا testified that he was God. // He was integrated with people and was performing miraculous feats [مصحنا ستك] as God, / And no one on earth knew how to say who he was." He ties miracles to the disciples'

¹⁵³ Although after Jacob, John Philoponos also argued that this passage pointed to a single nature in Christ against dyophysite views, see his Arbiter 11 (Sanda, Opuscula, 12; Lang, John Philoponus, 182–3): "Thus, then, when Peter said: 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God', what else did he mean by the name 'Christ' but him who is by nature the Son of God? Therefore, though the name 'Christ' was not in the first place indicative of substance, when we say that one Christ is the end-product of two natures, his divinity and his humanity, it is evident that we are not saying that some operation is the end-product of substances in composition" (איסרים בעם האיסרים האיסרים בעם האיסרים האי

¹⁵⁴ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:466, 6–9; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 321):

סגבושא נשולבלסעות, לא דילפה 2000: עשלא נסבל שנחנה 2000 לנה נאלנה אינה שלהל בד אנשא 1000 עשלא אינה איל אלה איל אלהאינל: 10א אנד נגב נאדיל דענה דב איני בנא 10 איני בנאיל

reply to Jesus's first question: "There is one who says that he was Elijah because of his miraculous feats [,ωωω]." Jacob likewise claims that the world "was confused" (καος καρος) about Christ's identity, recalling the "confusion" (καρος) near the end of the introduction. Such linguistic connections form a strong link between the introduction and the interpretation of the passage.

Jacob elaborates several themes related to the first exchange between Jesus and the disciples, and then turns to Peter's confession. Here the language of love and division resurface. Just as Jacob's audience needs love to profit from the homily, love is also necessary for speaking of the Son: "That occasion and that request are much beloved [מבובראם], / So that he was stirred to be addressed in a loving way [מבובראם] by one who knows." Meanwhile, divisions over the identity of Christ abound: "The people are divided [عداد] in many parts, / And Judea is full of schisms [موداد] and speeches because of you. // Each regards you according to what he thinks, while many are / The contentions [عداد] and divisions [عداد] concerning you." Love, divisions, and contentions serve as linguistic links between the introduction and the narration of the passage. Jacob thereby connects the conflict in the passage to the contemporary debate over the interpretation of this passage as seen in the homily's introduction.

Jacob frames Peter's confession of Christ as an antidote to the divisions. After receiving a revelation from God concerning the name of the Son, Peter learns and speaks the Son's name:

He raised his voice, as he was commanded by the revelation, Before our savior: "You are the Christ, the Son of God."
His true name was hidden in the Father, and Simon learned it.
He came and showed the Lord of the name that he knew it.
He learned, and he recounted the worshipped name of the Son of God,
For there was no way for him to add to [Accordance] or subtract from [it]. 159

¹⁵⁵ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:466, 12; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 321):

³⁶ Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:466, 3; 467, 4; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 321).

¹⁵⁷ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:469, 1–2; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 323):

^{324,} ituat מסה אנגד מסה אויד. האואר אויד. האואר אויד. בעל אויד. א

הפרד הביט ובנוטונים של המונטים וספיבורים ברומי המיסיד בילוני מיד מופי היד מיסיד המבי ביני ביני ביני הביני מיסי המינים הבינים הבינים הם בינים בי

¹⁵⁹ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:473, 18–474, 4; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 325):

ם אינ של מות אינה ולא המה בין אנואה: ב-נו פיסם ולאנה מם כשנואה כים ולאמאי שכם שיניאה בים מא מסא מסא מסא מסא מסא בארא ביל בים ביל אולא בינה, לדינה ושכא ונוג מסא למי לבים בולנונה, לשכא פין עולא וכין אלמא: ולא לדם מפס אפלא לדבה ו אינה למ פסים אי

The last line of this account seems to reflect miaphysite Christology. The Henotikon rejected the "addition" $(\pi \rho o \sigma \theta \acute{n} \kappa n)$ made at Chalcedon. ¹⁶⁰ Philoxenos and Jacob approved of the edict precisely because it rejected the "addition" (מאסשבא) of Chalcedon. And Jacob, in a letter discussed above, stated his Christology in reference to the addition: "One nature that was embodied without receiving an addition [ماهمها]."162 Peter's confession reveals the hidden name of Jesus that can neither receive an addition nor endure a subtraction. As the passage continues, Jacob moves to the foundation of the church built on Peter and devoid of division: "I will trust you in the bridal chamber of the daughter of the day, / And upon you I will build it, for your building is higher than contentions [منتكم]. // Your truth is the stone. For this reason, you are the stone, / And upon you I will build the church which is higher than divisions المقالحة]."163 Again the language of "contentions" and "divisions" seen in the introduction to this homily, earlier in the exegesis of the passage, in the Homily on the Council of Chalcedon, and in the Homily on the Faith, serves as a link between the exegesis of this passage and the introduction that reflects the debate over this passage. The confession of Simon Peter—that permits no addition or subtraction to Christ—should solve the divisions over Christ's identity.

The conclusion points again to the unity of the homily and the confession of Peter as the foundation of the church. After narrating the final parts of the third exchange, Jacob draws attention back to Peter's confession: "Because that disciple called the Son by his name, / He gave him a blessing and built the church on the apostle." Peter's confession, on Jacob's view, does not only represent what he learned in heaven, but rather reflects his love for the Father, as some of the final lines state: "The Father loved [[[]]] her because she loved [[]] his only-begotten. / His firstborn received her, for he saw his Father who loves [[]] her //... He built for her a house on the disciple who loved [[]]

¹⁶⁰ Zeno, Henotikon (Bidez and Parmentier, Ecclesiastical History, 113; Whitby, Ecclesiastical History, 149).

Philoxenos of Mabbug, Letter to the Monks of Palestine (de Halleux, "Nouveux textes I," 35, 42); Philoxenos of Mabbug, First Letter to the Monks of Beth Gogal (Vaschalde, Three Letters, 117, 162); Jacob of Serugh, Letters 16 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:66, 68). This language explicitly appears in another homily: Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Council of Nicaea (Bedjan, S. Martyrii, 863, 14): "The Son of God, one number, without an addition" (מלמא מנג מבענא מלמא מנג מבענא מבענא מנג מבענא מנג מבענא מבענא מנג מבענא מבע

¹⁶² Jacob of Serugh, Letters 13 (Olinder, Epistulae, CSCO 110, SS 57:56):

עג בעלי ג'אל מבל אר מפשפא Jacob of Serugh, Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received (Bedjan, Homiliae, 1:476, 7–10; Landersdorfer, Ausgewählte Schriften, 328):

¹⁶⁴ Jacob of Serugh, *Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received* (Bedjan, *Homiliae*, 1:479, 12–13; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 330):

علد وفرس وماء لحن معدده مه الالمعدي: حدد لم المحمد محدد الم المحدد المعادد ال

him, / And he gave her the keys of the height and the depth because of his love [[2020]]."165

In this homily, Peter's confession represents his love for God, just as God had shown him love. Jacob calls on his audience to listen to the homily with love so that they might profit, and he warns them that one could only speak rightly of the Son when doing so in love. Peter becomes the paradigm. To love well is to confess as Peter did. And they have already heard the content of that confession in the beginning of the homily: Christ's identity stands between the divinity and the humanity of Christ as testified by his miracles and sufferings. To fulfill Jacob's admonition to love at the beginning, one needs to follow Peter in making this confession. The emphasis on love would have been accessible to all levels of society and perhaps served as a motivation to share in Peter's confession. Members of the audience did not need to know the details of the Christological debates to confess as Peter. They could merely repeat the model confession which Jacob provided them. It is as simple as affirming that Christ who performed miracles and endured sufferings is one.

Summary

Jacob recognized that the interpretation of Matthew 16:13–20 was a matter of debate. Although Philoxenos and Severos more explicitly name their opponents, Jacob's homily on this passage similarly supports miaphysite Christology and argues against Christologies that emphasize the duality of Christ's divinity and humanity. He integrates the juxtaposition of miracles and sufferings into the introduction, indicating that the interpretation of this passage is consistent with the miaphysite interpretation of the *Henotikon*. Thus, this homily shows the intersection of Jacob's engagement with the debate over the use of the *Henotikon* and his biblical exegesis. He encourages his audience to adhere to Peter's confession, the content of which he has already outlined through the juxtaposition in the homily's introduction. His exposition of Christology in this homily has continuity with the *Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet"*.

אמשת אלוגים מלוגים מלוגים ולוגים ולו

Yet his treatment of a contentious passage suggests even further how he viewed homilies as a means of engaging with the highly debated topics of the post-Chalcedonian Christological debates. Homilies did not stand outside of these debates. They were rather a means of spreading knowledge of these debates to wide audiences.

CONCLUSION

The Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" and the Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received are remarkably ordinary. Each focuses on a specific biblical pericope, addresses interpretive questions, and explains theological claims. These biblical passages do not hold any particular place in ancient lectionary cycles. The homilies themselves do not suggest a festal context or any extraordinary setting. These are the type of homilies delivered during any ordinary liturgy in any given church. Such homilies provide the strongest evidence that Jacob sought to spread his Christological teachings to wide audiences. While it is not possible to specify the date or place of their delivery, these homilies form the most likely candidates for sermons delivered before a broad range of society.

They thus point toward a new setting in which Jacob expressed his Christology. They divert our gaze away from the individuals, monastic communities, and ecclesiastical leaders that corresponded with Jacob and heard his letters read aloud. They lead us past gatherings of clerics, the instruction of the catechumenate, and the inaugural sermons of patriarchs, all of which called for doctrinal clarity. They remind us of the producers of manuscripts in Jacob's day who gathered and ordered his recorded and edited homilies as commentaries on the biblical text. But they make us go even further and fix our attention on the ordinary audiences that gathered to hear homilies in any given church during any given liturgy. They ask us to appreciate these anonymous audiences of elites and non-elites, of clergy and laity, of learned and unlearned. They allow us to see how Jacob communicated to them, all at the same time, a specific understanding of Christology—a Christology that he taught high-ranking ecclesiastical and civic leaders and yet also chose to preach before unremarkable audiences.

Here in these sermons Jacob again returns to the pairing of miracles and sufferings as a means of expressing this Christology. The highly debated Christological phrase had long since become a recognizable phrase on which opponents hung their competing Christologies. Jacob added his voice to this mix at least as early as the early sixth century, and he spread knowledge of it within and beyond the Roman Empire through his letters and his circulating homilies. He included it, too, in a homily focused on doctrine.

But here we see the phrase in a new way. We see it at work on multiple levels. It satisfies the concerns of his peers, for Jacob draws on a widely known phrase

and offers a thoroughly miaphysite interpretation of it. But it also proves comprehensible to those unfamiliar with the details of the Christological controversies. Miraculous feats—well-known from the Gospel accounts of the life of Christ—represent Christ's divinity. His sufferings—exemplified in the passion narrative but also known from Jesus's hunger and thirst—represent his humanity. The slogan of miracles and sufferings became a means of appeasing many audiences all at once. It recalled specific texts that were known to cultural elites, yet it was clear enough to be comprehensible by wide audiences. These two average homilies show us how knowledge of the Christological debates spread in the Roman Near East. They allow us to glimpse the simultaneous dispersion of Christological doctrine to civic and ecclesiastical leaders and to ordinary people. Jacob's homilies met the curiosity and demands of both. The medium of homilies and the pairing of miracles and sufferings allowed him to communicate to both parties at the same time, promoting miaphysite Christology to a wide range of society in the Roman Near East.

Conclusion

Homilies as Historical Sources

The goal of this monograph has been twofold from its beginning. First, I have attempted to shed significant light on the writings and life of one of the foremost authors of the Syriac tradition. Chapters I through 6 represent an advance in the specific claims that we can make about Jacob of Serugh as a leader of the emerging Syriac Orthodox Church. By linking him to a specific Christological debate, we are in a better position to understand his contribution to this movement and his own perspective on the tumultuous times in which he lived. Second, this intensive case study on Jacob's writings has been directed to the much broader problem of using homilies as historical sources. The monograph has been organized as a demonstration of a method for contextualizing homilies without a known historical context. This brief conclusion summarizes the central movements and arguments in the hope that this method may inspire both similar case studies on other homilies and indeed lead to improvements to the approach taken in this book.

The characteristics of Jacob of Serugh's corpus demand a new approach to discussing questions of audience in relation to late antique sermons. The richness of details about the physical audience in the sermons of Augustine of Hippo or John Chrysostom have no parallel in Jacob's preaching. It may prove possible in the future to engage in such a study of the audience of a very select number of individual homilies. But such an approach will not help situate most of the between three and four hundred sermons in Jacob's corpus. Rather, the contextualization of these homilies must rely on a broader conception of the audience of homilies which is rooted in the ordinary usage of this term. The audience of late antique homilies includes both the people assembled to listen to a homily and the individuals who heard the homilies read after their distribution in manuscripts. Put differently, we can contextualize homilies better when we attend both to those who listened in liturgical settings and to their readership. The spectrum of such an audience serves as a tool to investigate homilies as historical sources.

Specific details of well-known theological debates can serve as tools to contextualize homilies. The pairing of miracles and sufferings as a representation of the relationship between the divinity and humanity of Christ forms one such detail. This phrase developed into a slogan of sorts in pre- and post-Chalcedonian Christological discourse. The use of this phrase in Leo's *Tome* as well as in Zeno's *Henotikon* gave it wider currency. Through these texts, it became a source of debate among Jacob of Serugh's contemporaries. His letters provide an important link to this controversy. They attest to his direct knowledge of the discussion of the *Henotikon* in the early sixth century and show the influence of this set phrase on his expression of Christology. These letters ground Jacob's use of this phrase in a well-documented and chronologically limited timeframe. They thus serve as a means of contextualizing his use of the same in his homilies.

Four of Jacob of Serugh's homilies show strong connections to the debate over the Henotikon in the early sixth century. The Homily on the Council of Chalcedon characterizes the Christology of supporters of the council through the pairing of miracles and sufferings. It thus exhibits close ties to his language in his letters and the language of his peers. The occasion for the homily may have been the recently instituted commemoration of the council in the year 518. But we can interpret it most securely as a text that circulated during the second or early third decade of the sixth century. The Homily on the Faith shows the transformation of Jacob's Christological and polemic language to fit the meter and style of poetic homilies. He uses the pairing of miracles and sufferings to expound Christology in a catechetical context. The precise physical audience of this homily remains obscure. But it would have fit well several known catechetical contexts in late antiquity, ranging from a gathering of elites to much broader audiences. The Homily on "The Lord will Raise a Prophet" and the Homily on the Revelation that Simon Received demonstrate the integration of the pairing of miracles and sufferings into Jacob's biblical exegesis. These two homilies assume normal liturgical settings that would have hosted a wide range of society. They also complete the spectrum of audiences of homilies from a narrow elite readership to a diverse audience in a physical liturgical setting.

The choice of Jacob of Serugh's homilies for a case study on preaching yields a deeper understanding of the transmission of theological knowledge. A parallel case study on Augustine, for example, would indeed have allowed more precision regarding the individuals and communities that heard theologically rich preaching. Augustine's corpus also contains clear examples of homilies dictated for circulation in manuscripts and not delivery. In this way also, his works could also demonstrate a spectrum of intended audiences. Yet it is the challenge of working with largely understudied corpora that prompts new methodological approaches. The absence of contextual details within and about Jacob's homilies provoked an investigation of the transmission of homilies from their preparation to their distribution. This then led to the schematization of a spectrum of the fruitful paths for engaging homilies, ranging from

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sermons best interpreted as texts that circulated among reading communities to those that likely reached broader audiences. In this way, the value of investigating Jacob's preaching for the general study of late antique homilies becomes apparent.

The development of a new methodology for situating sermons historically and a spectrum on which to locate homilies support new avenues of research. The distinction drawn between homilies that permit contextualization in liturgical settings and those that are best interpreted as circulating texts represents one fruitful approach. Sermons of the latter type needed to meet the expectations of reading communities. An exploration of the large number of both Latin and Syriac manuscripts that contain sermons may lead to more precision in the types of individuals and communities that read homilies in circulation. This may also help clarify what influence homilies had within the daily lives of priests and monastics. On the other hand, the spectrum also suggests the potential for exploring the late antique circulation of homilies that were first delivered in liturgical settings. These sermons also underwent a process of transmission within late antiquity. Future studies could thus fruitfully engage the variety of audiences preachers attempted to meet simultaneously. Our understanding of the multiple ways in which sermons transmitted theological knowledge both within liturgical settings and through circulation in manuscripts can thereby be expanded.

The distinction between different types of sermons may also aid in the further investigation of the rhetorical and didactic strategies of late antique preachers. A recent dissertation explores the pedagogy exhibited in the homilies of Hesychios of Jerusalem and Caesarius of Arles. Noting differences between homilies dictated for circulation and those recorded during delivery may reveal convergences and divergences in the ways that late antique preachers sought to transmit theological knowledge for different audiences. The poetic nature of most homilies composed in Syriac from late antiquity presents further challenges. Although a few studies have appeared in this regard,² none has fully taken into account the effects of the metrical qualities for understanding the rhetoric and pedagogical techniques of Syriac homilies. Attention to such details may help answer how late antique audiences from various levels of society may have received theological teachings expressed within homilies.

This monograph has attended to the challenges of historically investigating an immense literary corpus authored by one of the most prominent figures in the Syriac tradition. The particular type of reflection it has encouraged bears

McLaughlin, "Christian Pedagogy."
 Blum, "Zum Bau von Abschnitten"; Rilliet, "Rhétorique"; Brock, "Tamar." Likewise, a similar study on Jacob of Serugh's near contemporary Narsai of Nisibis has appeared: McVey, "Three Nestorian Doctors."

implications for understanding the development of Christianity in its late antique context. Jacob of Serugh has now secured an important place in the historical development of post-Chalcedonian Christological debates and the emergence of the Syriac Orthodox Church. The difficulty of locating his homilies within these controversies has led to a new approach to situating sermons within historical currents. It has revealed the prominent role that homilies played in communicating theological concepts. Homilies may yet transform our understanding of the range of society that participated in theological debates.

Table

Table 1. Severos of Antioch's Correspondence with Civil and Military Leaders

Ref	erence	Pages/Folios	Date	Recipient	Given Title	PLRE	Content
SL	1.21	1.1:81-3; 2.1:73-5	514-18	_	Master of the Offices	_	Theology (Christology)
SL	2.1	1.1:222-6; 2.1:199-203	508-11	_	Patricians	-	Clerical Concerns (Ordination)
L	51	PO 12:153-4	513-18	Amantius	Chamberlain	2:67-8 "Amantius 4"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
L	89	PO 14:324-6	519-38	Ammonius	Scholastic of Bostra	2:73 "Ammonius 10"	Exegetical Problems
SL	3.1	1.2:261-2; 2.2:231-2	513-18	Anastasios	Comes	2:80 "Anastasius 8"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
SL	8.3	1.2:443-5; 2.2:395-6	513-18	Aurelius	Scholastic	2:201 "Aurelius 2"	Clerical Concerns (Discipline)
L	53	PO 12:157-9	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
L	54	PO 12:160	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Liturgy
L	55	PO 12:161-2	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Chalcedon
L	56	PO 12:162-6	519 (?)	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Consolation
L	97	PO 14:364-9	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Theology (Christology)
L	98	PO 14:370-83	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Theology (Eschatology)
L	99	PO 14:383-99	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Exegetical Problems; Theology (Trinity)
L	101	PO 14:416-22	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Exegetical Problems
L	105	PO 14:426-8	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Liturgy; Exegetical Problems
L	117	PO 14:454-60	519-38	Caesaria	Hypatissa	2:248 "Caesaria 2"	Consolation
L	63	PO 14:174	519-38	Caesaria	- "	2:248 "Caesaria 2" or	Theology (Hamartiology)
						2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	
L	100	PO 14:399-416	519-38	Caesaria	_	2:248 "Caesaria 2" or	Exegetical Problems
						2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	, and the second
L	103	PO 14:423-5	519-38	Caesaria	_	2:248 "Caesaria 2" or	Exegetical Problems
						2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	· ·
L	104	PO 14:425-6	519-38	Caesaria	_	2:248 "Caesaria 2" or	Exegetical Problems
						2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	Č
L	106	PO 14:428-9	519-38	Caesaria	_	2:248 "Caesaria 2" or	Exegetical Problems
						2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	Č

(continued)

Table 1. Continued

Ref	erence	Pages/Folios	Date	Recipient	Given Title	PLRE	Content
L	102	PO 14:423	519-38	Caesaria	Patrician	2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	Exegetical Problems
SL	3.4	1.2:277-82; 2.2:244-9	521-36	Caesaria	Patrician	2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
SL	10.7	1.2:504-11; 2.2:448-55	519-35	Caesaria	Patrician	2:248-9 "Caesaria 3"	Personal Questions (Marriage)
SL	7.7	1.2:430-2; 2.2:382-4	513-18	Calliopius's Wife	Patrician's Spouse	2:252-3 "Calliopius 6"	Theology (Christology)
L	78	PO 14:294	513-18	Conon	Silentiary	2:307 "Conon 5"	Theology (Hamartiology)
SL	10.4	1.2:496-8; 2.2:439-42	508-11	Conon	Silentiary	2:307 "Conon 5"	Personal Questions (Marriage)
SL	1.45	1.1:139-40; 2.1:125-6	513-18	Conon	Brigand-Chaser	2:307-8 "Conon 6"	Clerical Concerns (Diaconate);
					· ·		Theology (Christology)
L	73	PO 14:288-9	513-18 (?)	Dorotheus	Comes	2:378 "Dorotheus 11"	Exegetical Problems
L	65	PO 14:176-238	508-11	Eupraxius	Chamberlain	2:426 "Eupraxius"	Theology (Christology/Trinity);
				•		•	Exegetical Problems
L	66	PO 14:238-9	508-11	Eupraxius	_	2:426 "Eupraxius"	Exegetical Problems
L	67	PO 14:239-41	508-11	Eupraxius	Chamberlain	2:426 "Eupraxius"	Exegetical Problems
L	5	PO 12:23-4	513-18 (?)	Eusebios	Scholastic	2:432 "Eusebius 24"	Theology (Trinity)
SL	1.44	1.1:137-9; 2.1:123-5	514-18	Eutychian	Governor of Apamea	2:446 "Fl. Ioannes	Clerical Concerns (Deposition)
				•	•	Palladius Eutychianus 4"	•
L	76	PO 14:291-2	532-8 (?)	Georgia	Patrician	2:503 "Georgia"	Exegetical Problems
SL	10.8	1.2:512-15; 2.2:455-9	519-38	Georgia	Daughter of	2:503 "Georgia"	Personal Questions (Marriage)
				Ü	Hypatissa		
L	46	PO 12:144-9	516-17	Hippocrates	Scholastic	2:566 "Hippocrates"	Theology (Christology)
L	47	PO 12:150-1	516-17	Hippocrates	Scholastic	2:566 "Hippocrates"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
L	48	PO 12:151	516-17	Hippocrates	Scholastic	2:566 "Hippocrates"	Theology (Christology)
SL	1.4	1.1:126-9; 2.1:113-15	515-18	Hypatius	Master of Soldiers	2:576-81 "Hypatius 6"	Clerical Concerns (Church Property)
L	36	PO 12:119-20	509-11	Isaac	Scholastic	2:626 "Isaac 2"	Theology (Christology)
L	20	PO 12:41	508-11 (?)	Isidore	Comes	2:631 "Isidorus 7"	Theology (Trinity)
L	19/62	PO 12:41; PO 14:173	508-11 (?)	Isidore	Comes	2:631 "Isidorus 7"	Theology (Trinity/Christology)
L	21	PO 12:42	508-11 (?)	Isidore	Comes	2:631 "Isidorus 7"	Theology (Christology)
L	62/19	PO 12:41; PO 14:173	508-11 (?)	Isidore	Comes	2:631 "Isidorus 7"	Theology (Trinity/Christology)

L	95	PO 14:349-50	508-11 (?)	Isidore	Comes	2:631 "Isidorus 7"	Exegetical Problems
Br	9	Harvard, HL 22, fol. 18v	_	John	Soldier	_	Theology (Trinity)
L	24	PO 12:46-50	_	John	Soldier	-	Theology (Trinity)
SL	5.1	1.2:309–16; 2.2:275–82	489-508	John	Tribune	2:605 "Ioannes 48"	Clerical Concerns (Reception of Heretics)
SL	4.6	1.2:297–300; 2.2:263–6	513-18	John	Comes from Antaradus	2:607 "Ioannes 59"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
L	81	PO 14:298-301	519-38	John	_	2:609 "Ioannes 66"	Exegetical Problems
L	82	PO 14:301-2	519-38	John	Scholastic	2:609 "Ioannes 66"	Exegetical Problems
L	83	PO 14:302-8	519-38	John	Scholastic	2:609 "Ioannes 66"	Exegetical Problems
SL	8.4	1.2:445-67; 2.2:397-412	519-38	John	Scholastic of Bostra	2:609 "Ioannes 66"	Clerical Concerns (Discipline)
SL	1.17	1.1:70-3; 2.1:63-6	513-18	Misael	Chamberlain	2:763-4 "Misael"	Clerical Concerns (Ordination)
SL	11.1	1.2:516-20; 2.2:459-63	513-18	Misael	Chamberlain	2:763-4 "Misael"	Asceticism (Vows)
SL	1.27	1.1:97-9; 2.1:87-9	513-16	Musonius and	Vindices of Anzarbes	2:769 "Musonius 3";	Theology (Christology)
				Alexander		2:57 "Alexander 16"	<i>C.</i> * <i>C.</i> *
Br	23	Harvard, HL 22, fol. 60r-v	-	Nonnus	Scholastic from Harran	2:788 "Nonnus 3"	Theology (Trinity)
L	2	PO 12:14-22	513-18	Oecumenius	Comes	2:794 "Oecumenicus"	Theology (Christology)
L	3	PO 12:22	513-18	Oecumenius	Comes	2:794 "Oecumenicus"	Theology (Christology)
L	1	PO 12:3-14	508-12	Oecumenius	Comes	2:794 "Oecumenicus"	Theology (Christology)
L	64	PO 14:175-6	513-18	Oecumenius	_	2:794 "Oecumenicus"	Theology (Manner of Teaching)
L	68	PO 14:241-5	508-11	Phocas and	Chamberlain	2:881 "Phocas 4";	Exegetical Problems
				Eupraxius	(Eupraxius)	2:426 "Eupraxius"	
L	79	PO 14:295-6	519-38	Probus	General	2:912–13 "Fl. Probus 8"	Exegetical Problems
Br	11	Harvard, HL 22, fol. 20r-v	515-18	Sergios	Physician; Sophist	2:994 "Sergius 6"	Theology (Christology)
L	31	PO 12:92-4	515-18	Sergios	Physician; Sophist	2:994 "Sergius 6"	Theology (Christology)
Br	8	Harvard, HL 22, fol. 17r–18v	519-38	Sergios	Comes and Archiatros	2:995 "Sergius 8"	Exegetical Problems
L	85	PO 14:310–16	519–38	Sergios	Comes and Archiatros	2:995 "Sergius 8"	Exegetical Problems

(continued)

Table 1. Continued

Reference		Pages/Folios	Date	Recipient	Given Title	PLRE	Content
L	86	PO 14:316-18	519-38	Sergios	Comes and Archiatros	2:995 "Sergius 8"	Exegetical Problems
Le	1-3	CSCO 119-20, SS 64-5	513-post-518	Sergios	Grammarian	2:995 "Sergius 9"	Theology (Christology)
Br	25	Harvard, HL 22, fol. 66r-v	513-18 (?)	Simus	Scrinarius/Secretary	2:1016 "Simus"	Theology (Trinity)
L	4	PO 12:22-3	513-18 (?)	Simus	Scrinarius/Secretary	2:1016 "Simus"	Theology (Trinity)
L	111	PO 14:444-6	513-18 (?)	Simus	Scrinarius/Secretary	2:1016 "Simus"	Theology (Soul and Body)
SL	9.3	1.2:479-83; 2.2:423-7	519-38	Thecla	Comitissa	2:1064 "Thecla 3"	Clerical Concerns (Sacraments)
SL	1.24	1.1:92-4; 2.1:83-5	514-18	Theoctenus	Chief Physician	_	Theology (Christology)
SL	10.3	1.2:492-5; 2.2:436-9	508-11	Theodore	Tribune and Notary	2:1095 "Theodore 54"	Asceticism (Vows)
L	42	PO 12:136-7	516-17	Theophanes	Scholastic	2:1108 "Theophanes 2"	Clerical Concerns (Heresy)
L	43	PO 12:137	516-17	Theophanes	Scholastic	2:1108 "Theophanes 2"	Clerical Concerns (Deposition)
SL	1.8	1.1:45-8; 2.1:41-4	513-18	Timostratus	Duke	2:1119-20 "Timostratus"	Clerical Concerns (Ordination)
L	44	PO 12:138-40	516-17	Urban	Grammarian	2:1188 "Urbanus 2"	Clerical Concerns (Heresy)

Abbreviations: Br = Brock, "Some New Letters"; Harvard, HL = Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Syr.; L = Brooks, Collection; Le = Lebon, Collection; Le = Lebon, Collection; Le = Lebon, Le =

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¹ https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/122718

² https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/502128

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⁷ https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/503612

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I have provided the title of all primary sources as referred to in the footnotes throughout the book. I indicate in parentheses the editions and translations that I cite. Full entries for the editions and translations are found in the Bibliography under "Modern Sources."

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	3rd ed. 3 vols. Subsidia hagiographica 8A. Brussels: Société des
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BHO	Paul Peeters, ed. Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis. Brussels: Société
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CLLA	Gamber, Klaus. Codices liturgici latini antiquiores. 2nd ed. 2 vols.
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