Dadisho' Qatraya's Letter to Abkosh: the text according to MS Baghdad Archbishopric of the East n° 210 with critical notes and a translation

Ву

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adisho' Qatraya's Letter to Abkosh was first edited by A. Guillaumont and M. Albert in 1984². Although their edition gives the impression that it is based on three witnesses, in point of fact there is only one: the Notre-Dame des Semences (or Alqosh) n° 237, called S by the editors. The other two manuscripts used are merely 20th century copies made for J. Vosté and A. Mingana from the previous exemplar and thus have

¹ The text of the *Letter* was one of the subjects of the Intermediate/Advanced Syriac course we gave during the 2012 edition of the *Académie des langues anciennes* at Digne-Les-Bains and we extend our thanks to our two students, Jean-Marie Mouesca and Bosko Eric who participated in the analysis of the textual variants.

² A. GUILLAUMONT and M. ALBERT, "Lettre de Dadisho Qatraya à Abkosh sur l'hésychia" in E. LUCCHESI and H.D. SAFFREY (ed.), *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 10), Genève, 1984, p. 235-245.

no independent value, they are referred to as V and M respectively³.

We have already had the opportunity of drawing attention to the fact that another witness, Baghdad Archbishopric of the East n° 210 (which we have called G) has, in addition to Dadisho's Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers (DQC), the complete text of his Letter⁴, on ff° 169v°-173v°, and that having been unknown to Guillaumont and Albert, it has not yet been used to provide a critical edition of the letter.

G's importance for Dadisho's works is paramount since it constitutes the oldest East Syriac witness to his writings. Although the exemplar is acephalous and its colophon is lacking, A. Kaplan has been able to date it, on palaeographical grounds, to the first half of the 9th century⁵.

Compared with the previously edited text (E), G provides more than seventy true textual variants for the *Letter*. Although, by and large, their nature is not earth-shaking, there are several interesting divergences. Given that a simple list of variants without having the text immediately available would be frustrating for the reader, it has seemed preferable to reproduce the whole text as it appears in G. All the divergences from E have been noted here in an apparatus provided for G's text. Purely orthographic variants have also been included for the sake of completeness, though their importance is marginal. Where it has been deemed useful, a brief analysis of the variants has also been provided and constitute a kind of critical commentary.

We can say that G is a witness to the same text form as E which is stable. G allows us to fill in a certain number of lacunae where text has fallen out through homoeoteleuton and is therefore useful for completing the text.

However it is far from having the best text. Of the 84 true variants, we have preferred only 30 of G's. These variants have been marked with an asterisk (*) in the apparatus.

Comparing E and G, we can notice that while both have a tendency to make stylistic improvements there are perhaps a few more in E. As to the mind-set behind G, one element for further investigation could be the question as to whether the "heart" can

³ For a description of the manuscripts, see GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 236.

⁴ D. PHILLIPS, "The Syriac Commentary of Dadisho' Qatraya on the *Paradise of the Fathers*: Towards a Critical Edition", BABELAO 1 (2012), p. 12. I take the opportunity of correcting my remark there saying that G is a "fourth" witness to the text – it is in fact only the second.

⁵ A. KAPLAN, "Expertise paléographique du ms. Syr Bagdad 210 en vue de sa datation. Dadisho Qatraya, Commentaire sur le Paradis des Pères", BABELAO 2 (2013), p. 105-121.

be the seat of "thoughts". Two of the variants might indicate that G had a problem with this (see notes 64 and 118), but it would require more evidence to be confirmed⁶.

To facilitate reference to the text, we have kept the numbering of the sections established by the first editors of the text. We have added an English translation since it seemed a useful way of complementing the French rendering of thirty years ago.

What can we say about the context of the *Letter*? In all likelihood, it would seem that we are dealing with a real letter rather than a simple literary convention. The recipient, Abkosh (or Bakosh) was a friend of Dadisho's on whose insistence he composed at least two of his writings⁷.

Abisho's Catalogue tells us that Dadisho' composed Abix Aörxa "letters and questions", though the recipients are not mentioned. In this case, it means that the Letter to Abkosh is the only known surviving item of his correspondence and thus particularly valuable as being the sole witness to the epistolary genre among his writings.

The historical context is made clear by the letter itself. Abkosh had wanted to visit Dadisho', the latter not only refused him entrance to his cell, but also declined to even speak with him from the window. This greatly saddened his fellow monk and so Dadisho' decided to send him a letter to make up for his apparent lack of hospitality and justify his behaviour (Section 1). The justification is the need to preserve the monk's quietude. Dadisho' then develops on this at length by explaining the interdependence of the three basic virtues which are quietude, meditation and self-coercion (Sections 2 to 4) and the other virtues which come into being through them (Sections 5 to 7).

He concludes his analysis (Section 8) by making a correlation between the virtues and the passions to which they constitute a remedy. It is this part of the letter that is the most developed, from a literary and technical point of view. A triple correlation is established between each of the passions and, for each of them, three virtues that can cure them. Given the literary density of the section and its concluding position, we would like to suggest that it constitutes the real object of the *Letter*.

⁸ J.S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* [...], III/1, Rome, 1719-1728, p. 99.

⁶ A cursory examination of the variants in G related to the word $\leftarrow \Delta$ in DQC appears neutral in this respect, at least at first sight.

⁷ See note 11.

⁹ On the choice of this translation, see note 172.

Although, of course, Dadisho' is also speaking within the general context of , what he wants to explain in detail to his friend is the system of the three-fold remedy to each of the generic passions.

The editorial title 🕰 🕹 could have come into being by the assimilation of the letter to Dadisho's other works on the same subject. In S, and its copies, the letter is interpolated between four mēmrē and a text of admonitions (ར་་་་་་་་་་

"Profitbale discourses on the quietude of weeks" and thus associated with them.

Be that as it may, the *Letter* had its own independent life, as we can gather from G where it is associated not with the *mēmrē* but with Dadisho's *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*. This association could have taken place because, in Section 3, the *Letter* refers to two passages of the *Book of Paradise*.

The text of the Letter to Abkosh according to G

(f°169v°)

مهد برنام معن محن محن معدة لحده على المعدد معدة لحده على المعدد المعدد

[1] مدر علحدر 12 عمل بحاله بالم محسوس المدروس المدروس

¹⁰ J. VOSTÉ, Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq), Rome-Paris, 1929, p. 91, A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts [...] Volume 1: Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1933, col. 1147.

יו אלא אב אמבים האוז אינות המדינה האוז אינות האוז אינו

¹² בל כבות E.

^{*13} add waw E.

¹⁴ ~い~ *川* ~か。] *~川* ~か。 E.

[2] حم بست حمد المحمد حمد المحمد الم

¹⁵ am _<.] am><. E.

¹⁶ The diacritical point is not visible in G and has been supplied from E.

¹⁷ E legi nequit G

¹⁸ حصم الأحصر الأحصر E. G's reading could be explained as a correction made by a scribe on the point of making a homoeoteleuton.

¹⁹ べいべ いななか] べいななか E.

²⁰ رحد تمر احدا عمر E.

²² בערטו E.

 $^{^{23}}$ K. The addition of the suffix as a determiner to the substantive is secondary.

^{*24 **\}sqrt{3}\sqrt{3} E. Although both the imperfect and the participle are grammatically acceptable, it seems possible that with the uncoordinated participle, being somewhat less common than the imperfect coordinated with strength could be the primitive text.

²⁵ אוססס E. G has simplified the vocabulary by substituting a more common word

²⁶ محيح E. There seems little to choose between these two synonyms which both mean "sting" or "bite".

²⁷ add خن E. Omitted by haplography.

^{*28} Le. The participle is more coherent with the end of the introduction, section [1], where the same form is found. The omission of *yudh* by assimilation to following *nun* is easily explained.

²⁹ Kink E. The form Kink can be construed either as a superlative "the greatest of the gnostics" or as a title "the master" or "teacher". Both epithets are applied to Evagrius, though only once, in another of Dadisho's writings, the Commentary on the Book of Abba Isaiah, X, 2 (Kink); see R. DRAGUET, Commentaire du Livre d'abba Isaie (logoi I-XV) par Dadišo Qatraya (VIIe s.) (CSCO 326-327), Louvain, 1972, p. 140, 142 (translation p. 108, 110); Draguet opts for the superlative meaning for Kink Neither of the epithets appear in Dadisho's Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers, though Evagrius is regularly referred to as the "gnostic" there (to cite only a few: DQC II, 112, 194, 268; edition under preparation, see PHILLIPS, "The Syriac Commentary"). The choice between the two variants is thus open.

³⁰ حم*خ*ل 3.

E. The introduction of the conjunction is probably secondary.

E(SV)M. CE(SV)M. CE(SV)M. CE E(SV)M. CE E(SV

^{*33} add \leftarrow E. The addition of the conjunctive particle could well be secondary.

 $^{^{34}}$ حسے $\mathrm{E}(\mathrm{SV})\mathrm{G}\ tr\,\mathrm{M}.$

³⁵ **حملهم** E.

^{*36} E. As S.P BROCK has shown ("A Criterion for Dating Undated Syriac Texts: The Evidence from Adjectival Forms in -aya", Parole de l'Orient 35 (2010), p. 111-124 and in particular on the form Larad, p. 115), the use of adjectives as opposed to a genitive formation with a substantive betrays a later stage of the language. The older form is to be preferred here.

³⁷ ~ E.

^{*38} mals rand] mal E. E's text seems incomplete; one would expect a qualifying word such as la, which the previous editors appear to supply ad sensum when they translate "de tout son cœur" (GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 242). The text of Apophthegm Arsenius 1 as quoted by Dadisho' in DQC II, 4 is rand and rand subject the Budge's text of the apophthegm itself does not contain the phrase (E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, The Book of Paradise being the Histories and Sayings ... (Lady Meux Manuscript 6), London, 1904, vol. 2, p. 432). It would seem that in the Letter, Dadisho' has slightly embellished the basic text of the apophthegm and in E rand was left out due to a scribal error.

³⁹ mais E. At first sight, it does not seem obvious to choose between the two variants. Why would a copyist have changed one term for another? The parallel text in DQC II, 4 mentioned in the preceding note goes with G. I make a tentative suggestion: if one looks at the use of cois in DQC, one finds 18 occurrences of the term. Of these, the vast majority, 14 in all, appear in the composite phrase cois could with a possessive suffix on the second term. It thus seems tempting to suggest that the original text of the Letter could have been mais cold which has been differently abbreviated in E and G.

⁴⁰ E(SV)G om waw M.

⁴¹ om E. While G has the support of both the parallel text in DQC II, 4 and the apophthegm itself (see note 38), it is easier to imagine the name being added rather than its being left out. We opt for E's reading.

⁴² حسم E.

⁴³ ANT E.

⁴⁴ E(SV)G cum seyame M.

⁴⁵ كنده E. E's reading gives a better meaning, having more the sense of "the fact of dwelling"; G's reading could have been induced by the fact that خنعت is one of the recurrent words for designating a monastery.

^{*46} Kharaisa E. The repetition of the preposition has been induced by parallelism to hairas and can be considered secondary.

 $^{^{47}}$ **حملیہ:** E. The addition of the suffix as a determiner to the substantive is secondary.

⁴⁸ K:20K E.

⁴⁹ المحلم E. The function of the *lamadh* is not clear; it could introduce a loose apposition to the indirect object of محمنة حليم. G has left it out to make the text easier. We follow the *lectio difficilior*.

بمحته بدهنه بحب لحكحة بعيب يعب حصن مام ورساح معل محند المام مسلم ארט יריאן ידיבי בינא יביעם ירשאי ערעם עשוע מח המהד אכי מחם מדע אלשא היים מיע ובחף כביי whereh Heroph whent of stands whent Dem res to both less esong further on mich حبله مللم بعد مدين مرية مراهم مراهم الملا علم المنام المنا שו זאלז תישות עום שמיש האבים יעות אאבים עות מים אים במור עלם שבם במלבם במים העומיות העובה κ אמת מה עארט ($f^{\circ}171r^{\circ}$). אור איז אוא רלז, המ κ הא הא מציאי המ ط حريس على : حملت موس مي من عرب عدد . مرساح سا 54 أعمر earby contract contract contract the second 158 Kina apando neze karlos kandado معلم معلمه وقع مد حضر مع محتمه معلم محتكمه حسام المستمامة فعد له ماستمام في مسلم حسر الم العمام الله محلا حعر مملم المهم المام معرفة محمله حسم له: محشر لممد وعلى وله بلاحيه مزحسه בהגא הנאשמה אנץ פליה בבהישה הלי בינה נעלא האוא

⁵⁰ K

 $^{^{51}}$ E(V^{post corr})G \sim SV^{ante corr}. G confirms V's correction of the *lapsus calami* in S.

⁵² Acata E. G has the longer form of the 1st person suffix attached to the 2nd person singular imperfect, on the model of the imperative which is attested by NÖLDEKE §188 but without any indication of whether there is an older or a more recent form (Th. NÖLDEKE, Compendious Syriac Grammar, London, 1904, p. 139. His suggestion, to be found also in R. DUVAL, Traité de grammaire syriaque, reprint Amsterdam, 1969, p. 200, that the longer form is linked to a negative imperative or a prohibition is not borne out here).

⁵³ E(SV)G. حيك M.

⁵⁴ iコイ E.

⁵⁵ **~ 6.22** E.

²⁶ **か**ずょっかべっ E.

^{*57} add $\triangle \subset$ E. The addition of such joining words is likely to be secondary, since, as such, there is no reason to suppress them while their addition can be considered an embellishment of style.

⁵⁸ S^{post rasuram}MG cum seyame V.

⁵⁹ هکر معکم *tr* E.

⁶⁰ om E. G has added the word to provide an explicit context for the frequentations to be avoided and is secondary.

العام مات حمس منته معنه منته منته منته الموسف منته وحمد منته وحمد منته ملا من اقلم فتعم المناه المنته وحمد المنته المنت

^{*} 61 \sim 1 \sim \sim 1 \sim 1

^{*62} pr **←** E.

^{*63} om waw E. This and the proceeding variant go together. E has an explicit hypothetical clause introduced by whereas G has a circumstantial clause, the hypothetical sense of which is implicit, but clear. E has "improved" the text and is secondary.

⁶⁴ سماً E. G has preferred using a word to designate the intellect which it felt better suited to خمته "thoughts"; E's reading is the older one. See also note 118 for a similar phenomenon.

⁶⁵ متنتاهم E. The same remark on the repetition of the preposition in note 46 applies here as well.

⁶⁷ LE 150 E

⁶⁸ אות E. The *pe'al* and *ethpe'el/ethpa'al* all have the same meaning here. Perhaps it is easier to imagine the contraction of the longer form to the shorter, rather than the other way round.

⁷⁰ **1~2** E.

⁷¹ دم E.

⁷² محتام E.

[.]E رتم ⁷³

⁷⁴ E. The addition of the suffix is secondary.

⁷⁵ **₹≈** E.

⁷⁶ E **~**[]**∂**1, G.

حف، دلم محمد مرتكم ومعماء محمد محمد حلمه المراكب معرف المراكب ا esasism, raj azus ⁷⁷ cusco risu. scehen lohm سمه حرايه محتم حرايه : معتدين بديس سوع حمه ppitziz se ppomet perce serve do go go se pr «لالم مستمرية المحتفرية ا - المعرب. ولمحد - - - المعربة المعرب מא עינטאן בטמבאי פטסינש ינביא לבא טבושי בוואי mhanno daah di mujako Kijal Kaul Kantohan המישוא אפרידי אש יאישן אבידישט לושישים איזשו متحجه بوستها بحورسانه جموعي يوسي والمجاب مهة مه المر حملاديه. بمه المهد محديد 8 مر حملادير حیل بهممتریم نهانه می شوه ۱۹۵ بحصی ها بخیار خص אוא שוב בנונ ובבא נשום אל בושה מכביאוא בבנים 88 . سے بھہ 87 ہیں ہیں۔ سیطامہ 86 میں بہت کیا نبے ہیں۔ תשל השינסבם שם הות ⁸⁹ לשביז המשמח המתחשם אם אב כן בשיוחל, חשוש לחל, וצא לא הלאלו כנות.

⁷⁷ E [ححم] G.

⁷⁸ ゃぇ <u>~</u> こっぱん E.

 $^{^{79}}$ האביה 79 E. The addition of the title is certainly secondary.

⁸⁰ ດຕ E.

 $^{^{81}}$ E(SV)G \sim 3ma 18

⁸² cum seyame E.

 $^{^{83}}$ E(VM)G سميحيد S per err. G supports the correction to S made by the 20th century copyists.

⁸⁴ am 🔀 a] amika E.

^{**85} add \checkmark E(SV) \checkmark M per err. The addition of the indirect object changes the meaning of the phrase. Instead of the original "If you seek out consolation from my words ... it will be a teacher ..." with \checkmark as the subject of \checkmark and, the latter becomes with \checkmark an impersonal "there will be for you" i.e. "you shall have". G has the preferred reading.

⁸⁶ E(S)G **≺**am VM.

^{*87} אבים העבסביא ב' העבסביא E. G's single syntactic unit is probably original, because of the following singular שם לארא rather than a plural which one would expect with E's two substantives.

⁸⁸ E(SM)G حمث V.

⁸⁹ تحدة E.

^{*90} جە**ت** E.

^{*91} om E by homoeoteleuton.

^{*92} EG SVM by attraction to the following word. The previous editors' hypothetical correction has been vindicated by G.

عاديم مل ⁹⁴ هنا ⁹³ عجد خلة عد حران ماده [5] ملحدے کے محمدر ومدم کے محدم سد وسلم سیدے سالم الهله حموية. وهدم تسوم الله مرحد المحموم האסמר הבוש אהמשמר השלבה זע מובר משמרה حل مل مل مرتب المحتون علم مرتب المحتون محل مازدهم محل حلدهم عديم عديميم حلسم وحدثم معتبه دورن (ومربار) منه منه منه به المربان ال مندیم محیدیم حلعت مین محلی سیم و محیده معنونه حم*ولیم عوبز دینج مازی دویمه ⁹⁸ لین مشیر سلم س*ر لسبه حدالت بلات حديث المنا بحيلا المامه المسام حم سلم حمل جمتاب محمقتم وو ملسم حملة م حنمة لهم وعديسكم. رثم 100 صحيد ليستريم ورفع حاجم: בר ושמים ביותר בדוד איא מידש טאיא ובדט שאיי צידוי وعد سد محم عند المان من حدم من حمله aseath. of a shouse er hat had lacoap. Factle 104 λ حنہ کمنہ کیہ ہوئی ہیں۔ λ کا کیا ہوئی ہیں۔ λ مسلم محمد مدهد عبر عبد معدم بلده תום הזים של שור היי ביש היהו הנוזם העד ב تدحم ححدل ١٥٠ ولحة شر والمحمل وعيم حمل ١٥٠ وحمل אנה ביודים בחיד במים ביוא וישמיב בקיים where my pre construction

[6] محمد حب بمجاله مالعب بساله الله عربت. حمد منه ماله تحلحه الله عربت منه ماله بمادة الله عربت الله عربت الله

⁹³ عدد E.

⁹⁴ cm E.

⁹⁵ ἀ**←** E.

⁹⁶ べらん] べん iカベ E.

⁹⁷ E legi nequit G

⁹⁸ E ~~[]3 G.

⁹⁹ محمقتم E. E's vocabulary is more consistent with the introduction of the section which speaks of the need to "acquire" (جنمته) virtue.

^{*100} add m E. The anticipatory objective suffix is good literary style; it is easier to think that it was added rather than omitted.

¹⁰¹ om E. G has added the enclitic as a parallel to an Lab.

¹⁰² E(SV)G cum seyame M.

 $^{^{103}}$ אמה בתבא ביים 103 E. 103 E. 103 B. 103 E. 103 B. 103 E. 103 H. 103 E. 103 H. 10

¹⁰⁴ **↓ ↓ ↓** E.

 $^{^{105}}$ $\mathbf{\downarrow}$ m \mathbf{i} E .

¹⁰⁶ ف**دہ** E.

حتمنه ستحم مته الم 108 هنتهن مستد بنهت بنهت مسعد معمدة من منه منه ماء ماء مهمار وعمده والم حمه سعميم حبن له الله النصل لحزب حميمه محله הלידי יש בוצו ביד דישמעם שאטום בוע בוניי محديم 112 من الاصوبوب بعد المحدد من دعمه والمحدد لحمله مرك معامر ما معلم عد ملم بحر ملد بحرسه ما محلم rدلاے r محم r خہاک r (r0172r0) حمم انتہا r دللہ r دلاحہ م ودمنجم حسل مه حم المهنى حصامك ودادو حم ליסה בע אבים שמטען מש שסט אן 112 אישוא איזער مخب بعده مولخه والمراقع مدلكمة حب مدلكمة ندمه براء برامين 116. برماية براعم سعم مسه بمتماه השבע בסגולה. מכא העול הול שמב השלח הלואה באבח בין برم صلح ما بسم المارية بير مارية المرسة المرسة المرسة المربية وبمسك حديجة لمودك دخلاددة، وحب مود وتحمون

^{*107} Kara Kara | Kara E. E has preferred to simplify the text.

¹⁰⁸ الملم الما المام E. The demonstrative has been added by G by parallelism to the preceding المام المام

^{*109} add 🖎 E. A secondary addition.

¹¹⁰ عد E.

¹¹¹ om E. The same observation as in note 100 can be made here.

^{*112} במביא E. E had added א by parallelism to the preceding תכנא.

¹¹⁴ om E. Two variant forms of the same preposition.

¹¹⁵ E ح[] مماح G.

E. The slightly more complex phraseology of E is likely to be original.

¹¹⁸ add male E. The context is: "to purify his soul and his heart from thoughts". As pointed out in note 64, G might possibly seem allergic to using Laboratory is association with Laboratory. This could be an interesting anthropological quirk of this witness.

 $^{^{119}}$ cum seyame E. G has reduced the less habitual "evil ones" to designate the devils to the usual "Evil One" for Satan.

¹²⁰ جلم E.

¹²¹ E(SV)G محم M.

¹²² הכאכם, E.

حملت مسلم المال المال

^{*123} مدسے E. The conjunction is not necessary since عمد has one already.

 $^{^{124}}$ harshow E. Both the masculine and the feminine $3^{\rm rd}$ person can be used as impersonals.

^{*125} \triangle E. The expansion with "all" to generalize is likely to be a secondary expansion; in a very similar text in DQC I, 52 \triangle is present (see note 192).

¹²⁷ نصع E.

 $^{^{128}}$ om E. G has added the numeral by attraction to the first occurrence of $\mbox{\it add}$.

E. The impersonal form has been replaced by a feminine plural under the influence of אטביא that has become the subject of the verb.

^{*130} E. G has preserved the use of a singular verb agreeing only with the principal subject, a perfectly acceptable Syriac style, whereas E has preferred a plural to agree with the fact that there is a concatenation of several substantives.

¹³¹ روم E.

^{*132} E. There is no real difference in meaning here between the aph'el and the pa'el. We suggest that the second beth has fallen out through haplography.

¹³³ **₪** E.

¹³⁴ E **↓**]**;** G.

בבער בחד ¹³⁵ איז איז אין אין אין אין איז פאמב אַזש אַר [8] مسمند محمد محمد محمد محمد المعرب المع ممصنهم بعصع محسنم حمرني بساه بحتصار حدين أعرب سهما المام عبين معنو معنو حجاء والمام المام الما على ودا المحلم بدساك بين المالي المالي والمالي المالي والمالي والمالي المالي والمالي المالي والمالي و בשבה השנה ל באוע מבבבו החשורה בבשם حملهميم سلم لهله شعه ومملسهم محتقه وحل شعيم \prec مرع به $^{-142}$ حریر نبی \prec مریایه $^{-141}$ شهریته מובאה הוש השיאוף ויהוש שישי בהדטים עליביש دسلمله بمصمه دردم فند عنهم لستم حد بمحند دبمحمر אטר הבבה אשרם : שור בלבשה אשרם אטר הלבה التصام محدد العلم ماهلم. محدد العلم ماهلم. 143 حدد العلم ما محمد العلم ا حد جامعہ تعدمہ تا کہ مصر 145 محدد الحدمہ ال سحرة المعام الم من مدته در سره لسعه درخ درکرورک بند بدند می بختیم می لسلم له حدمة لم يحمد براهتما مراهة الماساء مراها ملحل سب مسمع المامه حديدهم المامه المحمد المحمد المحمد

¹³⁵ Lalad E. The addition of the suffix as a determiner to the substantive is secondary.

¹³⁶ אנבטיט E. The form בינסיט as an adjective is not attested as such in the dictionaries, unlike בינסיט, but free –aya forms to create adjectives are frequent in Syriac (Nöldeke, Compendious Syriac Grammar §135, p. 80-83) Perhaps G has normalized the form.

¹³⁷ **حہ** E.

سلعم om E. A secondary addition to match سلعم

at the beginning of the sentence, while G has had its attention drawn to the nearer feminine substantives ماسية , ماسية at the beginning of the sentence,

 $^{^{140}}$ ightharpoonup ightharpoonup ightharpoonup ightharpoonup

¹⁴¹ E abassa G per errorem.

¹⁴² ਨਾਪ ਸ਼ੜਾਪ] ਨਾਸ਼ਕਾਂ E.

محد اهلم ماها المام عدد اهلم ماهلم 143 [om E through homoeoteleuton.

^{*144} om E. Probably omitted through the close visual resemblance to

 $^{^{145}}$ איטלק E. There is a curious inversion of the synonyms in the witnesses, see note 147

¹⁴⁶ **About** E. G has regularized the vocabulary to fit in with the three parts of the soul announced in the preceding lines: desire, anger, thought.

اسم 147 E. There is a curious inversion of the synonyms in the witnesses, see note 145

¹⁴⁸ The punctuation is that of E, G has none here.

¹⁴⁹ **143** E.

graph is top states where confirm sad is تعلم بحمام 152 دحملهم حدة موبوحات حصوم ت المعرودية المعسن المرابع المعروب المعروب المرابع المرابع المرابع المرابع المرابع المرابع المرابع المرابع الم مود حدمه ومحمه ومعم وماسله دبيه حم עבלא הפליא מסי למכ עבלא הפליא מסטים 156 Ling us way 155 aura sees: Eagle 1994 159

Adamana പ്രാം 158 . പ്രതിപ്ര محبسحته م המנחם מלות שבא הסיבא. ממלהבא מחוא ממלעת بحمسته حمقاده تحاهماته اوالعمعموم حيساح גמנשי במקיצי יוסבא גארשאי נשכי במייחל באש בונגא a cormanda of the middle of th سلغه بدهمصته مختص حنعامه حنفه الفه المقامة مغلم

¹⁵⁰ area. E. G has removed the relative, which is not strictly necessary and added a suffix to the verb to replace it. This can be considered to be a stylistic improvement.

اء 151 ہے مشم $\mathrm{E}.$

[&]quot;natural desire" which has the sense of what is the original, true nature created by God with the idea of nature as what is of this world (See, for example, the *Praktikos* 24 (A. GUILLAUMONT and C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique on le moine*, vol. 2 (Sources chrétiennes 171), Paris, 1971, p. 556-557). In consequence, G thought it necessary to replace "natural" by "pure".

¹⁵³ **Abi** E. E's text means literally "restriction of the throat" with the idea of reducing food. G doubtless found the metaphorical use of the part of the body difficult and has replaced it with a literal psychological one.

¹⁵⁴ The use of double diacritical points is quite common in G.

¹⁵⁵ L. The text is talking about the irascible part of the soul, G has preferred to make this explicit by replacing "part" with "anger".

¹⁵⁶ Kini pan E.

¹⁵⁷ בישר] E legi nequit G.

 $^{^{158}}$ حدها 158 ا 158 المالة الما

 $^{^{159}}$ האביבסס E. The same remark can be made as in note 46, but here it is E that has the better reading.

^{*160} add ach E, probably a stylistic embellishment.

 $^{*^{161}}$ حمد کمیده E. The relative distinction made by E between reading and prayer that G puts on the same level is a secondary development.

^{*162} miles and mreas miles E. E has hierarchized body and soul, going from the "baser" to the "nobler" element.

¹⁶³ sine seyame E. G has generalized with a plural.

¹⁶⁴ κισοα το Γενισοα κουτίστου Ε. One wonders if the shift κοστίστου is just a question of two synonyms or if we are dealing with a shift from a Semitic word to a Greek one (νόμος).

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*סבישי ישה יביני ביני ביני ביני ביני אברה

Translation of the text

The letter that Mar Dadisho' sent to Bakosh on the subject of quietude¹⁷²

[1] Before anything else, I greet you in the fear of God and the love of our Lord and I beg your Charity to pray for the sinner I am. Next, I ask your Modesty¹⁷³ to be neither sad nor despondent because I did not let you enter my cell, nor did I speak with you from the window. I was hindered from this for two reasons: firstly, because you have no need of one as lowly as myself, for you have acquired many great teachers and helpers and, secondly, if I did this for you in particular, others would request and require the same thing. Now I am incapable of doing this for a great number, because it would be unprofitable for me.

As for me, my dear friend, I have found no profit whatever in being a recluse in my cell and holding conversation with brothers from the window. What profit would I acquire if I shut my body

167 кдагола кдагола ј кдагола кдагола Е. The text is different from the Peshitta of Eph 4:22 which has кдагола кдагола кдагола. Could кдагола be a mistaken reminiscence of кдагола?

^{*165} **π. E., by assimilation to the Peshitta text of Eph 4:22.**

¹⁶⁶ E **~₼₻** G.

דבשמינים ₁₆₈ E.

¹⁶⁹ حمنے خے E.

¹⁷⁰ صدر ساحم E.

¹⁷¹ معمره E.

¹⁷² We have opted for this voluntarily awkward translation of ΔΣ in order to bring out its specifically technical nature in Syriac spiritual literature with a semantic field ranging from tranquillity, quietness or stillness of the mind (partially corresponding to the Greek ἡσυχία in Byzantine literature) to physical solitude. See, for example, F. DEL RÍO SÁNCHEZ, Los Cinco Tratados sobre la Quietud (Śelyā) de Dādīšōʻ Qatrāyā (Aula Orientalis. Supplementa 18), Barcelona, 2001, pp. 29-35.

 $^{^{173}}$ The word is used as respectful means of address and also as an ecclesiastical title.

in a cell, but I let my mind wander everywhere? Indeed how could the mind not wander when the senses of the body roam free and wander? Moreover, how could the senses not wander when the three of them that are most in need of being kept under control are allowed to be free? By those, I mean the tongue, sight and hearing. How much harm does a brother who is a recluse suffer from lack of watchfulness over his senses and in particular that of hearing! We can learn this from the writings of the fathers and from the experience of things.

[2] From experience, it is as follows. When a brother who is a recluse speaks of profitable matters with another brother from the window, he can be watchful over his sense of sight in order not to look in an unrestrained fashion and he can also keep his tongue in order to stop any despicable and harmful word from escaping him. This is possible if he is very valiant and perfect. As to his sense of hearing however, how can he keep watch over it, since he has no power over the tongue of the person who is speaking with him? If it happens that he hears a word that is harmful to his observance, it will make him suffer more than a scorpion's sting and will be a cause for his thoughts to wander for a long time. Now if one word from one brother can hurt a recluse, how much more so many words from many brothers.

[3] So this is what we learn from experience. Listen now to the writings of the fathers. The blessed Evagrius, the greatest of the gnostics ¹⁷⁴, that very grammarian of the passions and examiner of the thoughts, says this: "Because it is through the five senses that the intellect receives thoughts, let (the monk) look to see thus through which (sense) warfare waxes the strongest against him. It is clear that it is through hearing." This he demonstrates (by quoting) from the First-Born of the wise, saying: "According to the word of Solomon: 'A word of sadness troubles a man's heart. ¹⁷⁵""

We also learn the same thing from what happened to the glorious and blessed Arsenius following an order from God. When he was still in the royal palace¹⁷⁶, he desired the way of life of the angels¹⁷⁷, but was hindered from so doing because of the distractions of the world. He cried out in pain from the depths of his heart to God and said, "Lord, lead me to life." The Lord replied

¹⁷⁴ κιλω is the usually rendering of γνωστικός in the Evagrian sense of the word: one who, after practical experience, has moved on to the truly spiritual matter of contemplation (see A. GUILLAUMONT and C. GUILLAUMONT, Évagre le Pontique. Le Gnostique on À celui qui est devenu digne de la science (Sources chrétiennes 356), Paris, 1989, p. 24-40 and ibidem, Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique, (Sources chrétiennes 170), vol. 1, p. 38-63).

¹⁷⁵ Prov 12:25.

¹⁷⁶ Before becoming a monk, he was preceptor to the emperors Arcadius and Honorius (L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du Désert. Collection alphabétique*, Sablé-sur-Sarthe, 1981, p. 23)

¹⁷⁷ i.e. the monastic life.

to him from his holy height¹⁷⁸, saying: "Arsenius, flee from men and you shall live." So he went to Scete to be with abba Macarius and lived in a coenobium of many monks.

Once he had received sufficient instruction befitting a coenobium, he was deemed worthy of dwelling in a cell¹⁷⁹. Thanks to the ability of his knowledge and the discernment of his mind, he perceived that all his observance in the cell during the week was lost to him whenever he went to the community. This happened because of the commotion which occurred in his heart due to what he saw and the harmful things he heard, caused by dissolute brothers who are often to be found in monasteries. On this subject, Evagrius says, "As to those who wish to accomplish the disciplines¹⁸⁰ of virtue in a community, Satan arouses the dissolute brothers against them¹⁸¹."

So what did the blessed man do? He cried out again to God in the suffering of his heart and said, "Lord, lead me to life". It is as if he was saying in the presence of God, "I had prayed before your Greatness and implored your Grace to save me from the tumult of the world, so to speak from the waves of the sea. You caused me to dwell in a haven of peace in order for me to be agreeable to you and for my soul to live in remembrance of your love. Yet now, among the brothers, I suffer even greater confusion and disturbance through what I see and hear." Then he heard the divine voice again that said to him, "Arsenius, flee, be silent and remain in quietude." These are the roots, that is to say the remedies, for a man not to sin. It is as if God said to him, "When you were in the world, I did not order you to be in quietude and silence in a solitary dwelling, because you lacked instruction and perseverance. Now however that you have been instructed and sufficiently trained, depart henceforth from the monastery of many brothers and remain in quietude and silence."

By "flee", God commanded him to go far from the company of the brothers and to shut up his body in a cell. By "be silent", he instructs him not to speak from the door or the window with those who come to him. Finally, by "remain in quietude", he warns him not to hold conversations with people in his mind all

The translation in GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 242 "du haut de sa sainteté" misses the point that the genitive with a substantive has an adjectival force, just as root means "holy Spirit" and not "spirit of holiness".

¹⁷⁹ Life in a community is a simple preparation for the solitary life in a cell.

¹⁸⁰ See our remarks on the highly polysemic word **~i⊃ox** in D. PHILLIPS, "Lost and found: Dadisho' Qatraya's *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers* as a witness to the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia" in M. KOZAH *et alii* (ed.), *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38), Piscataway, 2014, p. 210.

¹⁸¹ Praktikos 5 (GUILLAUMONT and GUILLAUMONT, Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique, vol. 2, p. 504-505).

the time, because there is absolutely no profit to be derived from confining one's body in a hermitage while letting the senses go free through talking from the window. Neither does it serve any good to confine the body and the senses while allowing the thoughts of the intellect to wander and reflect about the brothers and exterior things. Apart from the set times of prayer when one reflects on one's fathers and brothers spiritually, as befits the law of spiritual love, a recluse should in no way remember anybody or reflect on anything, except on God and on himself.

He who does not divest himself of all things cannot put on the Lord of All. The remembrance of God cannot dwell with the remembrance of men in the heart. As it is written in the *Book of Paradise*, "A certain brother asked an elder and said, 'How should a monk dwell in his cell?'. The elder replied by saying, 'He should in no way have any remembrance of men when he dwells in his cell'¹⁸²".

[4] Contrary to my habit, I have obliged myself to write these few things to you¹⁸³, that they may serve as the apology I owe you. God knows how I love you in the person of our Lord and how I have profited from your aims and your zeal in the fear of God. That I owe you honour and satisfaction, this I know. However, I live among many people and it is does not befit your Charity that you should be for me a pretext for complaint or gainsaying because I speak with you alone among this large community or that I give a pretext to others to be scandalized about me.

Now, if you keep the commandments of our Lord Christ, in spiritual love, and keep the gaze of your mind stretched towards him¹⁸⁴ at all times, with the insatiable¹⁸⁵ and ceaseless desire and zeal to do his will, it is he himself who will be for you a teacher, guide and helper for accomplishing his will and for the joy of your soul. Now, it is written, "The commandments of the Lord are upright and gladden the heart¹⁸⁶" – here is joy for your delectation; "the commandment of the Lord is choice and enlightens the eyes¹⁸⁷" – here is light for your soul to journey in his path without stumbling; "the testimony of the Lord is faithful and brings wisdom to children¹⁸⁸" – here is divine understanding and

¹⁸² WALLIS BUDGE, *The Book of Paradise*, vol. 2, p. 432 (translation vol. 1, p. 589).

¹⁸³ According to the French translation (GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre" p. 243), it is the "things" which are not habitual, not the fact of writing. It is however clear that it is the latter which is intended, whichever Syriac text is followed (see note 74).

¹⁸⁴ Perhaps compare Heb 12:2.

¹⁸⁵ Not "sans lassitude" (GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre" p. 243).

¹⁸⁶ Ps 19:8.

¹⁸⁷ ibidem.

¹⁸⁸ Ps 19:7.

spiritual wisdom in order to be enlightened with spiritual considerations and to resist the enemies' attacks. As it is written, "Make me wiser than my enemies because I have kept your commandments¹⁸⁹." If you seek out consolation from my words in replacement of my conversation with you, (this consolation) will be a teacher and a consoler. I even dare to say that the narrowness of the seclusion in which I am, the poverty of the place in which I dwell and the confined hermitage which I inhabit will serve you in place of a teacher, if it is that you do indeed desire to draw some profit from my littleness and my simplicity.

[5] But if words are also necessary, listen then. You must learn and know, my dear friend, that before anything else a monk has to acquire these three virtues which will be for him like the tools of craftsmanship used by craftsmen. Just as every craft necessarily needs three things, by which I mean to say: an iron anvil, a hammer and pincers so all the different disciplines among monks have need of these three things. They are: quietude, meditation and coercion (of self). Without them, no virtue can be properly accomplished with the upright intention which behoves it. These (virtues) engender one another: quietude engenders meditation and meditation coercion. From these are thence engendered and established all the precious and glorious virtues.

Therefore, a monk must leave the world in order that his soul become used to living in quietude according to his strength and his stature, be it as a kelliot 190 or a coenobite. Accustom yourself, my brother, even if you are in a coenobium, when you have the opportunity, to sit and meditate. Reflect, saying to yourself, "For what reason did I leave the world and what do I run after in order to acquire it 191?" Meditate on the passions and ponder on the virtues: what and how many are the virtues and what and how many are the passions? Then because of quietude and suchlike meditations, you will perceive how this monastic way of life is hard and that without constantly compelling yourself, you will be unable to accomplish it, for you have a combat against nature, old habits and will.

[6] So, when you will have received instruction concerning these three things and will have understood that without quietude there is no meditation, and that without meditation there is so coercion (of the self), you will then acquire the discovery of the knowledge of three other virtues which are even greater than the others. They are prayer without ceasing, the overthrow of thoughts and asceticism.

¹⁸⁹ Ps 119:98.

is derived from κέλλα and refers to a monk living a solitary life in a cell.

¹⁹¹ Perhaps compare Phil 3:12 (so GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 244), but the vocabulary of the Peshitta is somewhat differ (is instead of cap).

Listen then to how they become known to someone and how they are engendered one from another. When someone is in quietude with his soul, this very quietude and silence awaken his mind to meditate on himself. Once he has meditated on himself and has correctly understood what sin is and what righteousness is, he knows that it is impossible to depart from evil and do good, except by compelling himself every day and at every instant. When he realizes that, however much he compels himself night and day, he is too weak for improvement, he then understands that, without divine help, he is unable by himself to free himself from the passions and accomplish the virtues.

Henceforth he applies himself to the labour of prayer and prays without cease in order to find help. When however, he sees that prayer is hindered by the thoughts arising from the passions, he continually takes care to purify his soul from the thoughts that are aroused in him by the Evil One. In this way, his heart is illuminated through prayer and his mind is strengthened against his enemies. Furthermore, when he realizes, thanks to his discernment and the teaching of experience, that he cannot overthrow his thoughts and pray all the time when lying with a full stomach on his bed, he devotes himself to the labours of asceticism. Once his body has become lighter through fasting, it becomes easier for the mind to overthrow the thoughts or pride 192 which arise against the knowledge and love of God; and once the body has been somewhat weakened and emaciated through keeping vigil, the mind is immediately illuminated in prayer.

[7] These three other virtues are born from the first three and without them they cannot be learnt or acquired. Just as the king's crown, his ring and the cup of gold he drinks in cannot be fashioned without pincers, anvil and hammer so, without quietude, meditation and coercion (of self) one cannot acquire prayer without ceasing, the overthrow of thoughts, bodily labour and the other kinds of virtue.

Thus, we must cherish quietude as being the root from which all the virtues sprout. In this quietude, it does not behove us to reflect on anything else apart from our sins and passions and on how we can free ourselves from them, and acquire purity of heart and be deemed worthy of the vision of God and his love. "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God¹⁹³" and "He

¹⁹² GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 244 translate, we think, ad sensum with "obstacle". No such meaning is attested in the lexica. Although the mention of pride seems unexpected, an almost identical text is found in DQC I, 52 שבושם בי שלא האלים בי שלא בי

¹⁹³ Mt 5:8.

who loves me and keeps my commandments, I shall love him and show myself to him ¹⁹⁴". This is pledge of perfection to come.

[8] I also add the following for your instruction. At all times, investigate the generic passions and the comprehensive virtues and meditate on them. The generic passions are the following: concupiscence, love of money and vain glory. These were vanquished by our Saviour on our behalf and he gave us victory over them, we¹⁹⁵ who run after his knowledge seething with love. He showed us in the Gospel the spiritual remedies by which these three passions can be healed, they which are the fathers of all the passions. The remedies are fasting, prayer and mercy. Now, since the rational soul has three parts, I mean, concupiscence, anger and thought – which is the intellect –, and the three of them have fallen sick through sin, our Saviour has offered the healing which is appropriate to our passions. To this end, he says, "When you fast, when you pray and when you give alms, do not do so and so, but do so and so 196... Through fasting, he healed concupiscence, through alms, he cured anger and through prayer he purified the intellect.

The holy fathers, seeing our Lord's aim given in the Gospel, have expanded on these three generic virtues by way of a more developed explanation which they have made triple for each of them¹⁹⁷. Thus the concupiscible part of the soul, which fell sick through being mixed with the concupiscence of the body, is healed and with it the concupiscence of the body also, so that both of them become one pure desire in God. This takes place through fasting, the restriction of desirable things and keeping vigil which engender sobriety. As for the irascible part of the soul which, through sin, was mingled with bodily anger, it is cured and bodily anger with it, so that both of them become one natural anger of the soul which proves itself constantly valiant against the passions and the demons and is strengthened in divine hope. This takes place through gentleness, humility and mercy which engender neighbourly love. As for the intellect, which is the cognitive part of the soul, it is purified and healed through the reading of divine writings¹⁹⁸, the recitation¹⁹⁹ of psalms and constant prayers which engender the love of God.

¹⁹⁴ A loose adaptation of Jn 14:21.

¹⁹⁵ The Syriac has switched from a first person plural to a third person plural used generically.

¹⁹⁶ See Mt 6:15, 6, 2.

¹⁹⁷ For each of the generic passions, Dadisho' expands the single remedy "of the Gospel" into three. The correspondence between the passion and the remedy to be applied varies, but the basic idea comes from Evagrius (see GUILLAUMONT and ALBERT, "Lettre", p. 245, note 6).

¹⁹⁸ This could be Scripture in the strict sense, but also religious books in general.

In this way, the whole man is healed in his soul and in his body from the sicknesses of sin which is a transgression of the law. He acquires perfect health which is in righteousness, puts off "the old man corrupted through the desires stemming from error²⁰⁰" and puts on the new man in holiness and sanctity. "He is renewed in knowledge in the image of his Creator²⁰¹", our Lord Jesus Christ who chose you for his service. He, through his grace, will make you perfect in his love, will fulfil you in his kindness and will make you strong in order to perform his will and will keep you from Satan's snares. He will teach you his knowledge, affirm you in his hope and make you worthy of his kingdom and of his glory together with all the saints who accomplish his will. Amen.

End of the letter of saint Mar Dadisho'

¹⁹⁹ Or "office".

²⁰⁰ Eph 4:22.

²⁰¹ Col 3:10.