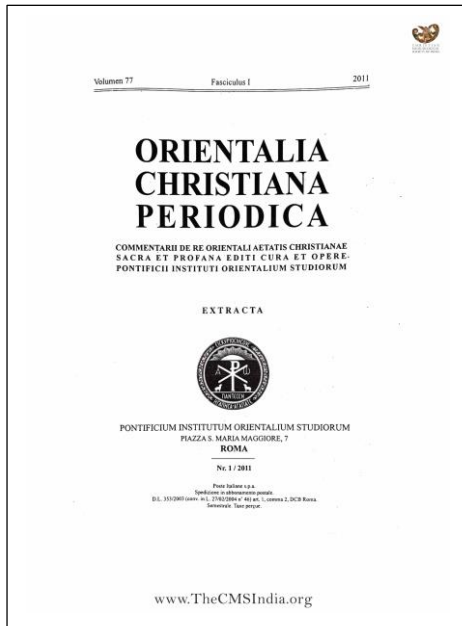


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Sebastian P. Brock and Nicholas Sims-Williams

An early fragment from the East Syriac baptismal service from Turfan¹

Manuscripts of the liturgical texts of the Church of the East rarely date from earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and so the discovery of a fragment of the East Syriac baptismal rite among the manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan collection is of particular interest, in that these manuscripts are usually dated to about the ninth or tenth century. This is a little earlier than the Mar Esha'ya (Mosul) manuscript (10th/11th cent.) which hitherto has had the claim to be the oldest manuscript to preserve the service,² and half a millennium earlier than the earliest manuscript of the rite in western collections.³

Although some literary texts from the 500 or so Syriac fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been published, the liturgical texts, which constitute the vast majority, have received little attention until recently, when a project to catalogue all the Christian materials in the Collection is now almost completed.⁴ The two adjacent fragmentary folios with part of the baptismal service have the signatures T II B 46 no. 4 and T II B 20 no. 1 + T II B 67 no. 5, now renumbered as Syr. HT 88 and 66.⁵ The signature T II B indicates that the fragments were found in the course of the second German Turfan expedition of 1905 at Bulayiq, in the Turfan oasis, at the

¹ SPB is responsible for the introduction and the Syriac, and NS-W for the Sogdian.

² See W. Macomber, "A list of the known manuscripts of the Chaldean Hudra," *OCP* 36 (1970) 125.

³ Catholic University of America, Hyvernat Syr. 4 + British Library, Or. 5750 (15th cent.); Macomber, "A list," 126.

⁴ This has been made possible thanks to funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK) to Dr E. C. D. Hunter, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The catalogues of the Syriac fragments, by Dr Hunter and Dr Mark Dickens, and of the Sogdian ones by Professor Sims-Williams, are now nearing completion. A helpful introduction to this material can be found in M. Dickens, "Multilingual Christian manuscripts from Turfan," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 9 (2009) 22-42 (where an illustration of Syr HT 66r can be found on p. 40).

⁵ Now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, as a Depositum of the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, to whom we are most grateful for permission to publish the text.

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site of a ruined East Syriac monastery. The combination of text in Syriac and rubrics in Sogdian is found in a number of the Turfan fragments.

The Turfan fragment turns out to be of particular interest since it contains some of the central part of the service, opening with the prayer of the consecration of the oil (88r-v)⁶ and ending with the beginning of the prayer of the consecration of the baptismal water (66v).

Its witness to the former turns out to be particularly valuable, since it represents an earlier form of the text than the other witnesses, and the passage in question illustrates well how epicleses tended, with time, to be expanded.⁷ The developments can best be seen by juxtaposing translations of the Turfan fragment and the Urmia edition; in that of the latter, the wording which appears in brackets in this edition is given in brackets, while the passage which is bracketed in de Kelayta's edition is distinguished by italics:⁸

Turfan 66r3-10

May there be fulfilled now also, O Lord
by your grace this great and awesome
mystery

and may it grant by the power of the
Spirit to all those who have been
marked with the life-giving mark
in the name of the Father
Son and Holy Spirit,
a portion and sharing in
the Kingdom of heaven
which is perfected
in the type of the death and of the
resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Urmia edition

May there be fulfilled now also, O Lord,
by your grace this great and awesome
mystery, (and may there come grace
from the gift)⁹ of the Holy Spirit and
reside and dwell on this oil, *and bless it and
sanctify it and seal it in the name of the
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by the
power of your grace may this oil*
of anointing, be so that it grants
to all those who have been
marked with the life-giving mark
which is in the name of the Father
Son and Holy Spirit complete and true
sanctity and an exalted sharing¹⁰ in
the Kingdom of heaven in this baptism
which is perfected and fulfilled
in the type of the death and of the
resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

⁶ For the role of oil and the different anointings, see S. P. Brock, "The baptismal anointings according to the anonymous *Expositio Officiorum*," in G. Karukaparampil (ed.), *Tuvaik. Studies in Honour of Rev. Jacob Vellian* (Syrian Churches Series 16; Kottayam 1995) 27-37 (also available in *Hugoye* 1:1 [1998]).

⁷ For the situation in the West Syriac baptismal tradition, shared with the Greek, see S. P. Brock, "Studies in the early history of the Syrian Orthodox baptismal liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 23 (1972), 16-64, esp. 44-59.

⁸ For details of these editions, see below.

⁹ Not bracketed in de Kelayta's text.

¹⁰ For the variants here, see the annotation to the translation, at 66r line8.

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The main elements of the service that are to be found in the Turfan folios are as follows:

88r4-88v15	Prayer for the sanctification of the oil
88v16-66r1	Preface to the Sanctus
66r2	Sanctus
66r3-10	Prayer for the effects of the 'Mystery' It is here that K and U interpolate what are in effect two further epicleses over the oil; the phraseology (with 'bless, sanctify and seal') is derived from the Anaphora of Theodore. ¹¹
66r16-66v2	Formula uttered over the oil
66v3	Our Father
66v3-6	Approach to the font
66v10-17	Prayer for the sanctification of the water (this will have continued onto the next folio, now lost).

Editions and translations of the East Syriac Baptismal rite

In the absence of any critical edition of the East Syriac Baptismal Rite, use has been made of the Urmia edition, *Liturgia sanctorum apostolorum Adaei et Maris cui accedunt duae aliae in quibusdam festis et feriis dicendae: necnon ordo baptismi/Taksa d-quddaše d-qurbana wda-'mada* (Urmia 1890) 55-75, in which the Turfan folios correspond to pp. 67-69. This has an English translation, *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari* (London 1893) 63-82, here 73-75. The Introduction to the English translation (p. viii) indicates that the editors (belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission) made use of 'the best manuscript available, an Alqosh one', and that words added in brackets represent readings of other manuscripts serving as the basis for the edition. There is a German translation of this edition in G. Diettrich, *Die nestorianische Tauf liturgie* (Giessen 1903) 3-52, here 35-38; Diettrich lists some variants in his commentary, but only a few are of any real relevance for our present purpose. Two other editions have been consulted in the notes, by J. A. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, I (Rome 1749) 174-201, here pp. 194-199;¹² and by E.Y(J). de Kelayta, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East* (Mosul 1928), 107-156, here

¹¹ For the different wording of the epiclesis in the three East Syriac Anaphoras, see S. P. Brock, "Invocations to/for the Holy Spirit in Syriac liturgical texts: some comparative approaches," in R. F. Taft and G. Winkler (eds), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948)* (OCA 265; Roma 2001) 377-406, here 401 (reprinted in *Fire from Heaven. Studies on Syriac Theology and Liturgy* (Aldershot 2006) chapter IX).

¹² Based on Vatican Syr. 65, dated 1556/7; this was copied by the famous bishop Mar Joseph evidently on his way to India.

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pp. 136-141.¹³ De Kelayta also made use of brackets to denote passages not in all the manuscripts he used. There are two translations of de Kelayta's edition, in English by K. A. Paul and G. Mooken, *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari together with the Liturgies of Mar Theodorus and Mar Nestorius and the Order of Baptism* (Trichur 1967) 117-173 (here, 148-52), and in German by J. Madey and G. Vavanikunnel, *Taufe, Firmung und Busse in den Kirchen des Ostsyrischen Ritenkreises* (Einsiedeln 1971) 22-60 (here, 48-51). An earlier English translation was made by G. P. Badger, in his *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, II (London 1852) 195-212 (here, 204-206).¹⁴ These different witnesses to the text are indicated by the following symbols in the annotation to the translation below:

A = Assemani
 B = Badger
 K = de Kelayta
 U = Urmia.

Edition and translation

The folios (paper; approximately 19 × 14 cms)¹⁵ have 17 lines of writing, with the liturgical text in Syriac but the rubrics in Sogdian. The text and translation both reproduce the line division of the manuscript. The script has some quite distinctive features, notably the upper arm of the Estrangelo *alaph* which bends upwards (a final vertical *alaph*, similar to Serto, is also sometimes found at ends of words). A few words have the standard East Syriac vocalization, though in *mare (kull) syame* substitute for *rbasa arika*. The Sogdian rubrics are usually, but not always, in red; those in red are underlined in the edition below. In 66r line 14 *kaph* with a line above it is used to represent Sogdian *x*, which in the manuscript is in the form of \curvearrowright with a backwards flourish near the top of the diagonal stroke. Abbreviations in the manuscript are resolved (in round brackets).

¹³ Thanks are due to Dr Mark Dickens who very kindly provided SPB with images of the relevant pages, the edition not being available in Oxford.

¹⁴ Diettrich, *Die nestorianische Taufliturgie*, xiii, suggests he may have used what is now Cambridge, Add. 1984.

¹⁵ Further codicological details will be given in the Catalogues. At the top right of the versos is what looks like a cross followed by \curvearrowright ; could this denote 'living cross?', or is it just a decorative indication of a verso? (It also occurs elsewhere in the Turfan fragments in Syriac script).

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[ܡܢܗܘܢ]ܐ, ܡܢ, ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ [ܡܢ] 10
 [ܡܢܗܘܢ]ܐܘܠܗܘܐ: ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ
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 ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ: ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ 15
 [ܡܢܗܘܢ]ܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ
 [ܡܢܗܘܢ]ܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ. ܡܢܗܘܢܐܘܠܗܘܐ

Note: in the English translation, the Sogdian rubrics are denoted in italic, whether or not they are written in red ink in the manuscript.

HT 88r

and let us worship and praise God, the Lord of all.
(They) answer It is right and fitting. *The deacon says:*
Peace be with us. The priest says
 To you, rich in your love and overflowing in your compassion
 and kind in your grace, our Lord and our Cre[ator]
 5 and [benef]actor, we call out and [we] beseech
 that in your will, Lord, and in the will of [your] Son,
 the Only-Begotten (who is) from you, that grace may come
 from the gift of the Spirit of Holiness, he
 who is from you, perfect in his person,
 10 a sharer in your essence and in your creative activity,
 and may it (sc. grace) be mingled in this oil, and may it grant
 to all those who are anointed with it
 the pledge of resurrection from the place of the dead,
 for it is given for the perfection of sonship
 15 and for an escape from the passions of sin,
 and for the enjoyment of heavenly rest.

Line 1: and let us worship] the prayer lacks only opening word ܡܢܗܘܢ 'Let us give thanks', which will have featured at the end of the previous folio.

Line 2: The first word seems to be *pcbyn* (with non-final *nun*), which must be an abbreviation for the noun *pcbynt* 'answer', or for a form of the corresponding verb 'to answer'. U(rmia edition): 'They respond, It is right...'. For *šammaša* as a loanword in Christian Sogdian, see N. Sims-Williams, "Syro-

Sogdica III: Syriac elements in Sogdian," in *A Green Leaf. Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28; 1988) 152-3.

Line 3: rubric in U: The priest recites this *ghanta* (prayer said without voice raised) quietly over the oil. (K: The priest recites this *ghanta* of the sanctification of the oil quietly).

Line 5: in your grace] + and ineffable in your glory A B K U.

Line 7: Lord] O God the Father A B U (bracketed); O God, Father of truth K.

Line 8: Only-Begotten = K U] holy A.

(who is) from you] our Lord Jesus Christ A B K U (bracketed).

come: for this verb in epicleses, see Brock, "Invocations to/for the Holy Spirit in Syriac liturgical texts: some comparative approaches," [see note 11] 378-386, 403.

Line 15: sonship] + of your Lordship K.

HT 88v

For you, in the wisdom of your dispensation
have caused this world to advance at the coming
of your Christ to an understanding that is worthy of your glorious
Trinity, and you renewed it with [spir]itual
5 gifts suitable for knowledge [of [fai]
[of] your faith. For the holy oil
which you gave (to) the ancients, and transmitted the mark
and the permission of the temporal priesthood
and of transient kingship
10 to be a sign and a parable of those
who depart from earthly things to heavenly things
in an immortal body and in a soul
that is immutable, being circumcised by it
with a circumcision without hands, and with the stripping off
15 of the flesh of sins with the circumcision of the oil.
May they be worthy, along with the heavenly and holy
powers, so that in fear they may praise the Lord Almighty,

Line 3: glorious] *om* K.

Line 4: the second vowel on **بيليه** is misplaced; it should be **بيليه**.

Line 5: the scribe evidently began writing 'your faith' but found there was not sufficient space, so started again in the next line.

Line 7: (to) the ancients: the preposition *lamadh* is erroneously missing.

and] + now A K U.

transmitted] + to the priests in the Church A B K (bracketed) U.

the mark (*rushma*) and = U] *om* A K.

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- Line 11: to (heavenly things)] with *lamadh*, but A K U have *lwat* 'towards'.
 Line 12: in a soul = A] and soul K U.
 Line 14: and = K] *om* A U.
 Line 16: May] And may A K U.
 along with] so that along with A K U.
 Line 17: so that = K(!)] *om* A U.
 fear] + and trembling K.
 praise] sanctify A.
 the Lord = A B (and mss *apud* Diettrich, 36 note7)] you, O Lord K(+ God) U.

HT 66r

- the Sovereign of all. *He says*: crying out
 Holy, holy, holy. *He says this*
softly: May there be fulfilled, therefore, now also,
 O Lord, by your grace this great and awesome
 5 mystery, and may it grant, by the power of the Spirit,
 to all those who have been [marked] with the [li]fegiving
 [mark], in the name of the Father and S[on and Spirit]
 [of Holi]ness, a portion and sharing [in the Kingdom]
 [of heaven] which is perfected in the type of the d[eath]
 10 [and the resurr]ection of our Lord Jesus Christ [.]
Qano[na]. For to you and to him and to the Spirit of Holi[ness]
 be glory and ho(nour) and tha(nksgiving) and w(orship), now. *Afterwards*
the priest takes the oil and seals
that oil which is on the altar (thronos)
 15 *with the likeness of the cross, and*
he says, This oil is marked and mingled
 with the holy oil, [to become]

- Line 1: crying out] + and praising without cease, and calling one to another, and responding K U.
 Line 2: Holy holy holy] A also abbreviates the Sanctus, while K and U give the full wording, and then have the rubric 'The priest repeats this *ghanta* quietly'.
 Lines 2-3: *w'bt 'yny trmq* 'he says this softly'. *trmq* 'softly, quietly' is a new word, evidently a derivative of *tm* 'tender'; cp also verso, line 9.
 Line 4: awesome] divine A B; + and divine U; + (and glorious and holy) and divine K; see also Diettrich, 37 note 1.
 line 5: and may it grant ... Spirit] for the expanded text in A (B) K and U, see the introduction.
 Line 6: [marked] = U] anointed by it K.

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- Line 8: of Holiness¹⁶] + (with) a perfect and true sanctity A B K U (bracketed).
a portion and sharing] an exalted sharing A B U; (a portion and) exalted sharing
K; cp Diettrich, 37 note 4.
- Line 9: heaven] + in this baptism A B U; in (that absolving) baptism K; cp Diettrich,
37 note 5.
perfected = A] + and fulfilled K U.
of the d[eath] = U] of (the passion and) the death K
- Line 10: Lord] + and Saviour K.
- Line 11: *qnw* (in red): As this is a rubric, it should probably be interpreted as Sog-
dian, i.e. a loanword. The same word *qnwn* is attested in the Sogdian version
of the Apostolic Canons¹⁷ in the sense of 'canon, regulation'; here, however, it
will be the liturgical technical term for the end of a prayer when the voice is
raised.¹⁸
- Lines 12-16: *pyštrw msydr 'st mšh' 't t'pt pr xwny rwyn qy pr θrwnws b't pr clyb'*
m'nwqy' 't w'bt. While *clyb'* is common in Christian Sogdian, *mšh'* and *θrwnws*
have not been noticed elsewhere. It is interesting that a distinction is made
between the two kinds of oil (for these, see 66r, lines 16-17, 'oil' ... 'holy oil'),
with the word for 'oil' first appearing as the Syriac loanword, and then as Sog-
dian *rwyn*: the Syriac term has been kept for the 'holy oil' in the horn (already
consecrated), whereas Sogdian is used for the oil (in the *laqna*) which is being
consecrated for the pre-baptismal anointing.
- Lines 13-15: The rubric in K and U reads: 'He makes the sign of the cross over the
oil (+ in the bowl, and they respond, Amen K), and then the priest takes the
horn of oil from the hands of the person (priest K) holding it, and he signs with
the sign of the cross the oil which is in the bowl (*laqna*) on the altar (*thronos*)
with the oil in the horn, from east to west and from north to south, saying'.
- Line 16: marked (*metršem*) = A] + and consecrated B K U.
- Line 17: oil] + of anointing K.

HT 66v

- a type of incorruptibility in the baptism
that brings forgiveness, in the name of the Father. *He says*, And hold
us worthy, our Lord. *He says*, Our Father who is in heaven. *When*
they finish the priest shall go to the font
5 *with the censer and the fans and*
the [] and the cross.
[*The deacon*] says: Let us pray. *Priest*: The Grace

¹⁶ [*dqwd*]š' has been restored here, following the text's normal usage, though the *shin*
could also be read as *yodh* + *shin*, i.e. [*qd*]yš'; for similar *shins*, see for example 66r line 16.

¹⁷ N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2* (Berliner Turfantexte 12; Ber-
lin 1985) 101-109.

¹⁸ See A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London 1894) 292.

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Line 9 For the restoration *w'bt tr[nq]* 'he says so[ftly]', see 66r line 3.

Line 16 The next folio will begin *ܘܡܢ ܩܘܠܘܢ ܩܘܠܘܢ ܩܘܠܘܢ*.

Appendix: Sogdian word-list (including Syriac loanwords in the Sogdian rubrics)

<i>'st</i> 66r13 '(he) takes', 3 sg. pres. indic.	<i>pyrm'</i> 66v5 'censer' (Syr. < Greek <i>purō-</i> <i>ma</i>)
<i>'t</i> passim 'and'	<i>pyštrw</i> 66r12 'afterwards'
<i>'y'mnt</i> 66v4 '(they) finish', 3 pl. pres. indic.	<i>qnw</i> 66r11 abbreviation for <i>*qnwn'</i> 'canon' (Syr. < Greek)
<i>'yny</i> 66r2 'this'	<i>qw ... s'</i> 66v4-5 'to'
<i>b't</i> 66r15 '(it) may be, is', 3 sg. pres. subj.	<i>qy</i> 66r14 'which'
<i>c'nw</i> 66v3 'when'	<i>rwyn</i> 66r14 'oil'
<i>clyb'</i> 66r15, 66v6 'cross' (Syr.)	<i>šmš'</i> 88r2, 66v6, 66v8 'deacon' (Syr.)
<i>dn ... prw</i> 66v5-6 'with'	<i>šw't</i> 66v4 (he) shall go', 3 sg. pres. subj.
<i>dynd'r</i> 66v7 'priest'	<i>t'pt</i> 66r13 '(he) seals', 3 sg. pres. indic.
<i>m'nwqy'</i> 66r15 'likeness'	<i>trnq</i> 66r3, 66v9 'softly, quietly'
<i>mrh'wθ'</i> (with <i>syame</i>) 66v5 'fans' (Syr.)	<i>θrwnws</i> 66r14 'altar' (Syr. < Greek <i>thronos</i>)
<i>msydr</i> 88r3, 66r13, 66v4 'priest'	<i>w'bt</i> passim '(he) says', 3 sg. pres. indic.
<i>mšh'</i> 66r13 '(consecrated) oil' (Syr.)	<i>wzn'</i> 66v5 'font' (Syr.)
<i>pcbyn</i> 88r2 abbreviation for <i>*pcbynt</i> 'answer'	<i>xwny</i> 66r14 'that'
<i>pr</i> 66r14 (<i>bis</i>), 66r15 'on, by, with'	[..]n' 66v6

SUMMARY

This article publishes a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection of the East Syriac baptismal rite. The Syriac text, which is provided with rubrics in Sogdian, includes the prayer for the consecration of the oil in a shorter form than that found in texts of the present rite, thus illustrating how the prayer has been expanded over the course of time.

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 - Directory of Christian Songs.
- Christian Arts / Music Iconography.



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