

**THE FIRST EVANGELIZATION OF THE MESOPOTAMIAN  
REGIONS IN THE SYRIAC TRADITION:  
THE *ACTA MARIS* AS A CONTINUATION OF THE *DOCTRINA  
ADDAI***

Ilaria Ramelli  
*Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan.*

**Summary:**

The final wording of the *Acta Maris*, a Syriac document that narrates the evangelization of the Mesopotamian area, dates from the V century or even later, but it rests on earlier traditions. The present article tries to investigate the historical elements within the mythical frame.

**Keywords:** *Acta Maris* - *Doctrina Addai* - Early Syriac Christianity - Mesopotamia

**Resumen:**

La redacción final de la *Acta Maris*, un documento siríaco que narra la evangelización del área mesopotámica, data del siglo V –o aún de tiempos más tardíos– pero se basa en tradiciones tempranas. El presente artículo investiga los elementos históricos dentro del marco mítico.

**Palabras clave:** *Acta Maris* - *Doctrina Addai* - Cristianismo Siríaco Temprano- Mesopotamia

In the XIX century, in a monastery of Alqôsh (Iraq) a manuscript was found containing the *Story of Mar Mari, the Apostle*<sup>1</sup>: in 1881 J. B. Abbeloos had it copied, and in 1885 he published it<sup>2</sup>, adding the variant readings of another manuscript<sup>3</sup>. E. Sachau collated yet another manuscript (S = Sachau 222, Berlin ms. 75), which derived from that of Alqôsh: the variant readings

<sup>1</sup> In the title, *Mar*, the equivalent of Latin *dominus*, is a Syriac honorary title used for the saints, the bishops and other important men. I wish to thank very warmly Prof. David Konstan (Brown University, Providence, R.I.), who read this paper with his usual generosity and offered precious observations, and Prof. Alberto Camplani (University “La Sapienza”, Rome), who encouraged me to study the *Acta Maris* and kindly paid attention to my work and provided so useful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Abbeloos 1885.

<sup>3</sup> K, probably of the XIII cent., a gift from the Archbishop of Amid, George Ebedjesu Khayyath.

are very few and indicated in P. Bedjan's edition<sup>4</sup>. Today we have a new edition in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* and some studies, both articles and monographs<sup>5</sup>.

These are the contents of the *Acta* (the numbers correspond to the chapters):

1. While Jesus Christ was still on the earth, the news of his miracles spread.
2. Abgar, king of Edessa, who was ill, wrote a letter to him: he asked Jesus to cure him.
3. Jesus gave a portrait of him to the painters sent by Abgar.
4. After the Ascension of the Lord, Thomas the Apostle sent Addai, one of the disciples, to Edessa, so that he could cure King Abgar and other people.
5. After many conversions in Mesopotamia and the foundation of the Church in Edessa, Addai died.
6. Mari was constituted successor of Addai.
7. Mari introduced Christianity in Nisibis and founded the Church there; then, in Arzûn, he cured the local king and founded the Church.
8. Similar miracles and conversions happened in Bêt Zabdî, Bêt Arbayê and Arbela, where Mari cured the king of leprosy.
9. Mari saved from a daemon the son of a general.
10. Mari worked miracles and converted the entire regions of Assyria, Ninive, and the two rivers Zâb.
11. Mari sent his disciple Tômîs into Dasan and, on his part, spread the faith in Brûgiâ, Ra<sup>c</sup>masîs, and Wazîq.
12. In the region of Bêt Garmai he cured the daughter of the king of Shahqîrt.
13. The king abandoned idolatry.
14. When he saw a daemon driven out of the idol statues, the king received the baptism together with all his people.
15. Mari drove a daemon out of a fig tree and resuscitated a boy who had been killed by it.
16. Mari cured King Adar's daughter.
17. Then, he went to Persia.
18. He founded a Church near Baghdad.
19. He went to Seleucia, where the inhabitants were all given to debauchery.
20. There, he cured the leader of the banquet.
21. He also cured another important guest at the banquet.
22. Mari got ready to announce the Gospel to the inhabitants of Seleucia.
23. He actually preached the Gospel in Seleucia.
24. Mari passed the test of fire without burns, and cured several people.
25. Mari founded the church, with King Aphraat's consent.
26. He was accused

<sup>4</sup> Bedjan 1890: 45-94, translated into German by Raabe 1893. Other manuscripts of the *Acta Maris* also include other apocryphal Acts, often those of Judas Thomas, generally preceding those of Mari (Jullien 2001: 16-17, and 2003b: 168): Vaticanus syr. 597, fol. 8v-17v, XVII sec.; 214 and 215 Vosté (*olim* Scher 112 and 96); cod. 217 Vosté, now lost, Mossul 86, of the year 1712.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Jullien 2003a. My own translation of the *Acta*, with introductory essay and commentary, will be based on this edition, and is forthcoming in Brescia (Paideia Publisher), in the series Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico. Studies: Jullien 1999; 2001; 2002; 2003b; 2003c; also Duval 1970 [1907]: 108-111; Fiey 1970a: 40-44; Chaumont 1988: 23-29.

before Artabanus, King of Persia. 27. He cured the king's sister and a ferryman. 28. He cured Artabanus' sister, too. 29. He converted Qônî. 30. After the foundation of the Churches of Dôrqônî and Kûkê, he also evangelized Kashkar. 31. Mari went to Susiana and Persia, regions which had already received germs of Christianity from indigenous merchants. 32. He reached the inner region, where Thomas, the Apostle, had already preached the Gospel; at last, he returned to the regions of the Arameans, where he arranged for the continuation of his work after his death. 33. Mari died, after giving instructions and appointing Papâ his successor in the see of Kûkê. 34. The final prayer of the writer, who belonged to a monastic community, suggests that the *Acta* were read in a liturgical context, probably on the Saint's *dies natalis*<sup>6</sup>, celebrated yearly by the believers.

So, according to the *Acta*, Mari, starting from Edessa, preached and founded churches and schools in Southern Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, and Persia, following the river Tigris in his missionary itinerary: its area is very precisely inserted between that of Addai (Edessa and Southern Mesopotamia) and that of Thomas (far Persia and India)<sup>7</sup>. In fact, from Edessa, Mari preached in Nisibi and Arzanene (chaps. 6-7), in the Assyrian region of Arbela (8-11) and in that of Bêt Garmai (12-14), in that of Babylon (15-16) and in Persia (cap. 17), remaining for a long while in Seleucia and its neighbourhood (18-30), and finally in the regions of Mesene, Bêt Hûzayê, Persia, as far as the inner and Southern zones (31-32).

The author of the *Acta* declares at chap. 6 that he has "put together the ancient tradition, handed down in written works", and narrates the evangelization of Osroene, Mesopotamia and Persia thanks to Mari<sup>8</sup>, the successor of Addai, who, according to the legend, evangelized Edessa and converted its king, Abgar "the Black"<sup>9</sup> soon after Jesus Christ's Ascension. From Edessa, Addai sent Mari to Mesopotamia, to preach there<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> On this concept see Ramelli 2001d.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ramelli 2001a, chapp. 3-4 and *passim*; Jullien 2001: 13; 2003b: 172-173.

<sup>8</sup> On the origins of Mesopotamian Christianity cfr. Fiey 1970a; Kawerau 1981 and 1983. On the early spread of Christianity in Persia: Chaumont 1988; Jullien 2002 and 2003b. The sources about Mari are gathered in Assemani 2002, I [1719]: 10; II p. 387ff.; III, I: 299, 306, 341, 506-507, 584ff.; III, II: 4ss; 17-24.

<sup>9</sup> In Syrac, *Ukamâ*: on him, wide documentation in Ramelli 1999a, 2004a and forthcoming e.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Acta Maris*, 5-6; 27; 31; Jullien 2003b: 173-174; 179-180. The Addai-Mari connection occurs in the patriarchal lists too, which present the series Thomas-Addai-Mari. Addai's spiritual testament (*Doctrina*, 78-82), and Mari's one (*Acta Maris*, 33) have many points in

From the point of view of the story told, our *Acta* are a continuation, so to say, of the Syriac document known as *Doctrina Addai*<sup>11</sup>: its final redaction was probably composed in the late IV century or at the beginning of the V, and its object is Addai's preaching in Edessa, with its doctrinal contents and its historical frame, which finds relevant parallels both with Eusebius (*H.E.*, I 13) and with Moses of Chorene<sup>12</sup>, *History of Great Armenia*, II 26-34, who, respectively at the beginning of the IV cent. and in the V, declare that they took their information from documents kept in the same Edessan archives from which the author of the *Doctrina* too says that he has derived his account<sup>13</sup>. The *Acta Maris* (chaps. 2-5) summarize the *Doctrina* accurately<sup>14</sup>, not without some inconsistencies with the rest of the document: in fact, it is probable that the part concerning King Abgar may have been inserted in the *Acta* subsequently<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, the *Doctrina* never mentions Mari, whereas the *Acta*, chaps. 6 and 27, present him as a disciple of Addai, and absorb Addai's story in order to lend prestige to Mari, by connecting him directly to the Apostles and also naming him "apostle" (*shlyh'*, vocalized *shlîhâ*), "blessed", sometimes "saint"<sup>16</sup>.

The *Doctrina Addai* is based on a document written by the king's scribe, Labûbna son of Sennaq son of Abshadar, the accuracy of which was tested by Hannân, "the king's trustworthy archivist" (*tabûlârâ sharîrâ d-malkâ*)<sup>17</sup>.

---

common, and both stories end with the appointment of the Saint's successor, as a proof of the importance of the principle of *diadokhé* or succession in each of them.

<sup>11</sup> On which see Howard 1981; Drijvers 1987; Desreumaux 1983 and 1993; González Núñez 1995; Griffith 2003; Mircovic 2004 & forthcoming; Ramelli, forthcoming e.

<sup>12</sup> Toumanoff 1961, Inglisian 1963 (who dates the final redaction of Moses' work to the VIII-IX cent.), and Thomson 1978; Krüger 1962; Sarkisyan 1980; Voicu 1983; Traina 1991, 1995 and 1998, who defends an early dating of Moses' historical work, to the V cent.

<sup>13</sup> Becker 2004, 256-57, admits that in the V century Moses derived data from the Edessan archives.

<sup>14</sup> At chap. 2, the sending of Abgar's envoys to the West and the letters exchanged between Abgar and Jesus correspond to chaps. 1-8 of the *Doctrina*; at chaps. 4-5, Addai curing Abgar and Abdû and the dialogue between Addai and Abgar correspond to chaps. 9-10 of the *Doctrina*; at chap. 5, the assembly in Edessa, the day after, has a full pendant at chap. 12 of the *Doctrina*.

<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts themselves emphasize the disconnection between the two parts, with a strong punctuation and the addition of graphemes, even coloured, in the mss. S and Vat.

<sup>16</sup> According to Jullien 2003b: 180, the same function that Addai had in Edessa is transferred to Mari for the Persian kingdom in the *Acta*.

<sup>17</sup> Howard 1981: lii-liii; 105-107. Traina 1995: 293 n. 65, suggests reading the transliteration not of *tabularius*, but of *tabellarius*, "courier", in line with the function of *takhydromos* ascribed to Anania (= Hannân) in Eus. *H.E.* I 13, 5.

The *Doctrina* narrates that Abgar “the Black” learned of Jesus’ miracles and of the risk he ran because of the Jewish chiefs’ hostility, from two Edessan nobles, his envoys, and his archivist Hannân, who passed by Jerusalem on their way back from a diplomatic mission to the Roman official in Eleutheropolis: Abgar would have liked to go to Jerusalem himself, but, in order to avoid entering the Romans’ territory, he preferred to send a letter to Jesus, in which he invited him to come to Edessa, escape from the Jews, and cure him, Abgar, of his illness; Jesus, in a message on his part, promised the arrival of a disciple at Edessa after his own Ascension, and let Hannân paint his portrait, which Abgar then enshrined in one of his palaces<sup>18</sup>. In fact, Thomas, one of the Twelve, sent Addai, “one of the Seventy-two”, to Edessa, where he “dwelled in the house of Tobias, son of Tobias, the Jew, who came from Palestine”, and began to work miracles, and was introduced to the king<sup>19</sup>. Addai cured Abgar and began to preach, first to the king, to whom he told the story of Protonike, emperor Claudius’ alleged wife, who found the true Cross in Jerusalem and had a big church built on the Golgotha<sup>20</sup>; then to the people of Edessa and the nobles, among whom was Labûbna himself: Addai provided a Christological section, one of personal testimony and one of exhortation against paganism<sup>21</sup>, at the end of which there is a general conversion and the decision to build a church. Among the converted people, the *Doctrina* also mentions some “Jews who knew the Law and the Prophets, who traded in silk”: the *Acta* too, chaps. 30-31, narrate the conversion of Jews and merchants, who actually played an important role in the diffusion of Christianity in Mesopotamia and the East<sup>22</sup>. The apostle ordained as priests Aggai, Palut, Abshlama and Barsamya, and gave them instructions for the Church of Edessa: every day “many people came to assemble for the liturgical prayer and the Old Covenant and the New of the *Diatessaron*”<sup>23</sup>. Abgar

<sup>18</sup> This section contains the most striking parallels with Eusebius’ and Moses’ accounts, who both declare that they too have derived their material from the archives of Edessa (this declaration is accepted by Jullien 2002: 67-68), and with the first chapters of the *Acta*.

<sup>19</sup> Abgar, professing his faith, repeated that he never went to Palestine himself because, “as the kingdom belongs to the Romans, I have respect for the covenant of peace established by me and my predecessors with our Lord Tiberius Caesar”. See Ramelli, forthcoming e.

<sup>20</sup> On this legend of *inventio crucis*, inspired by that of Helena, Constantine’s mother, cf. Heid 1991; Drijvers 1992, 1996b, 1997a, 1997b and 1999a.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Griffith 2003: §§ 14-18.

<sup>22</sup> For the late Neronian and Flavian age, the presence of Jews in the Mesopotamian area is attested by Josephus *B.I.* I 6; III 118.

<sup>23</sup> Tatian’s work, of the second half of the II century: cf. Molitor 1969, 1970 and 1971; Plooijs *et al.* 1963-70; Quispel 1971, Beck 1979, 1992 and 1993; Edwards 1985; Baarda 1983, 1986,

wrote to “Narsai, king of Assiria”<sup>24</sup> about Addai’s mission; then the document records some letters exchanged between Abgar and Tiberius and Addai’s instructions for the evangelization of Assyria. Aggai was appointed administrator and prefect of the Church of Edessa; the deacon Palut became presbyter and Abshlama, the scribe, became deacon in turn. After Addai’s death, Edessa became suffragan of Antioch and was in communion with the See of Rome: Aggai ordained ecclesiastics in all Mesopotamia, but Abgar’s son, a pagan, caused his martyrdom. Palut, then, asked Serapion of Antioch for the investiture: Serapion had received it from Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, who, however, lived in the days of Septimius Severus, too late for him to be a contemporary of Addai’s second successor.

In fact, the *Doctrina* presents several traces of a late redaction, such as the mention of Narsai, who lived in the III cent. A.D.<sup>25</sup>; that of Eleutheropolis, the seat of the imperial official, a city that received that name only in the days of Septimius Severus, whereas formerly it was called Baetogabra; or, again, the Protonike legend, a double of Helena’s *inventio crucis* in the first half of the IV century<sup>26</sup>.

According to Lipsius and Chaumont, Abgar “the Black” ’s legend was inspired by the story of Abgar the Great, who lived in the Severan age<sup>27</sup>; in Drijvers’ view, the origins of the *Doctrina* are to be traced back to the anti-Manichaean polemics of the III century A.D.<sup>28</sup>, and a final redaction of the document between the late IV and the beginning of the V century is supposed by Mirkovic, who advances good linguistic and socio-historical arguments for this<sup>29</sup>, and by Griffith, according to whom an anonymous writer composed

---

1993, 1994, 1995; De Halleux 1991, 1993a, 1993b; Mansfeld 1983; Hogan 1999; Leloir 1987 and 1992; Bundy 1993; Luke 1990; Boismard 1992 and 1999; Petersen 1984, 1989, 1990, 1992a, 1994 and 1995; Lenzi 2000; Joosten 2000. See also: McCarthy 1993; Schedinger 2001.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the region of Adiabene. Cf. Millar 1993: 100-101; Griffith 2003: n. 41; Jullien 2003b: 170-171.

<sup>25</sup> He must be the Persian king who in 294 succeeded Bahrâm or Vahrâm III (Desreumaux 1993: 98; 126); Moses of Chorene too, II 33, records that Abgar wrote to “Nerseh king of Assyria”.

<sup>26</sup> The idea that a Caesar ought to be subordinate to an Augustus also reflects the situation after Diocletian.

<sup>27</sup> On Abgar the Great: Ramelli 1999a & 2004a; Luther 1999; Lipsius 1880: 11 and 41; Chaumont 1988: 16.

<sup>28</sup> See above all Drijvers 1983.

<sup>29</sup> Mircovic 2004 & forthcoming: the *Doctrina* reflects the Syrians’ social aspirations in the IV century, during the process of Romanization and Christianization of the Syriac aristocracy:

the *Doctrina* at the beginning of the V century, deriving his material from the archives of the city –the same used by Eusebius, *H.E.* I 13, and Moses of Chorene, II 33–, with the purpose of putting forward “a paradigm of normative Edessan Christianity, supported by the local ecclesiastical and historical lore, which he hoped would play an authoritative role in the largely Christological controversies of his own days”: a kind of historical novel written, on the basis of pre-existent material, to promote Bishop Rabbûlâ’s agenda for the “Church of the Empire” in Edessa<sup>30</sup>. According to Drijvers, the final version of the *Doctrina* is probably due to Bishop Rabbûlâ himself (411/2 - 435/6)<sup>31</sup>.

Among a great deal of legendary stuff –that appears again in a shortened form at the beginning of the *Acta*–, some nuclei in the *Doctrina* might be very ancient and even contain historical traces, such as the letters exchanged between Abgar “the Black” and Tiberius, which also appear in Moses of Chorene, and, just as a hint, in our *Acta*, 4, but not in Eusebius: they seem to constitute a separate nucleus within the *Doctrina*, as I have tried to demonstrate by means of various arguments<sup>32</sup>. It is possible that the Edessan archives kept the official correspondence between the king and the emperor.

In the *Acta Maris*, too, historical traces are mixed up with legendary elements and literary fictions. The narration is interwoven with biblical references that tend to model the protagonist on some Old-Testament characters<sup>33</sup>, and above all Jesus himself, especially in chaps. 20-21<sup>34</sup>, but also elsewhere: in fact, the miracles worked by Mari often recall those of Jesus: cures, exorcisms, resurrections, e.g. at chap. 14. Mari is also strictly connected to the Apostles, and described as “the last of the Apostles”, as St.

---

Addai’s preaching is addressed above all to the king and the local nobles, and the redactor of the *Doctrina* seems to want to guarantee to the Syrian aristocracy and the Roman authorities that the Church will help to strengthen the Edessan *élite*’s loyalty to Rome. Abgar himself is similar to a Roman governor, and the Syrians, whose loyalty to Rome was actually not so deep (cf. Ramelli 1999a for Abgar the Black’s case), are presented as Romans *tout court*.

<sup>30</sup> Griffith 2003: § 46.

<sup>31</sup> Drijvers 1998: 15-16; on Rabbûlâ see also Drijvers 1996a; 1999b.

<sup>32</sup> Ramelli, forthcoming e.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. the three young people of Dn 3 (cf. *Acta*, 24); Moses (cf. *Acta*, 34, with reference to the fire column of Ex 13, 21-22 and 22, 31); Elijah and Elisha (cf. *Acta*, 8, with a hint to 2Kgs 5, 14).

<sup>34</sup> The assimilation to Jesus Christ is a theme well developed in other apocryphal *Acts*, especially in the *Acta Thomae*, e.g. chaps. 11, 12, 39: Thomas’ nickname itself, Didymus, indicates that he is regarded as Jesus’ twin. Cf. Ramelli 2000a: chap. 4; Julien 2001: 21.

Paul defined himself: at chap. 10 Mari's preaching is assimilated to that of Peter and Paul in Rome; at chaps. 19 and 33, Mari himself presents the Apostles who are in Jerusalem as his companions. In the *Acta*, Mari is referred to as one of the group of the seventy apostles or disciples, while in the short section derived from the *Doctrina Addai* he is said to be one of the Seventy-two; this element, together with the fact that in the *Doctrina* Mari is not mentioned among Addai's disciples, suggests that the two traditions may have been initially different, and that of Mari may have been inserted only subsequently in that of Addai, which was incorporated, in a concise form, in the *Acta Maris*.

The redaction of the *Acta*, in fact, seems to be rather late, and Abbeloos already supposed that it could be due to a monk who lived in the V or VI century A.D. and exploited ancient traditions<sup>35</sup>. The mention of Papâ offers a sure *terminus post quem*, because, between the III and the IV century, before A.D. 329, he was the first bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, then patriarch-*katholikós*, the chief of the Persian Church<sup>36</sup>. His story is treated extensively enough in the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>37</sup>, a late document based on more ancient sources: its historicity has been challenged, but I think that it ought to be admitted, and in fact in the last twenty years it has been maintained by several scholars, who have employed very good arguments to support it<sup>38</sup>. The *Acta Maris* regard Papâ as Mari's immediate successor, but, since Mari himself was Addai's successor, Papâ ought to have lived at the end of the I cent. A.D. or, at latest, at the beginning of the II century. The patriarchal lists fill the gap between Mari and Papâ, the first patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon ever attested, with the insertion of five names that evidently

<sup>35</sup> *Acta*, 44-45. The monastic establishments at that time were also important cultural centres, or were connected to such centres: extensive documentation in Becker 2004 and forthcoming, and in Ramelli 2004d.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kawerau 1985: 65 n. 35; Assemani 2004 [1775]; Moberg 1992.

<sup>37</sup> Kawerau 1985: 43, 46, 47, 52; Ramelli 2002a: 50-55; Ramelli, forthcoming d, and here below. Papâ's patriarchate is the first historically attested by the Syro-Oriental patriarchal lists, which usually try to reconstruct an unbroken succession of episcopates since the apostolic age. See Jullien 2001: 48-53. Barhebraeus indicates A.D. 324/5 as the year of his death; Amrus gives A.D. 325/6. His name is found in the most ancient Syro-Oriental synodical acts, among which the proceedings of the Synod of A.D. 424 show that the see of Seleucia existed already before Papâ, like many other episcopal sees such as Kashkar and Bêt Lapat.

<sup>38</sup> Kawerau 1985 & 1992; Jullien 2002: 133-36; Ramelli 2002a; Mathews 2003; partially Becker 2004.



contradicts the Mari-Papâ immediate succession of the *Acta*. According to Christelle and Florence Jullien<sup>39</sup>, such contradiction may well be a sign of a more ancient source utilized by the Church historians and now lost. Anyway, the names of Addai's and Mari's respective successors are the first historically attested for the Mesopotamian Church<sup>40</sup>: in fact, as Papâ would have been Mari's successor, whereas from the historical point of view he was the first patriarch of Seleucia, so Palut would have been Addai's successor, whereas historically he was ordained by Serapion of Antioch, towards A.D. 190, and was the first bishop of Edessa<sup>41</sup>. Thus, we might explain the shifts between the apostolic and the Severan age that are found both in the *Doctrina Addai*, as I had occasion to notice<sup>42</sup>, and in our *Acta*. Lending importance to Papâ and Palut, the authors of the *Acta* and the *Doctrina* recall authoritative characters to consolidate their Churches in the time of the composition of these documents: Palut, in Edessa, presented himself as true heir of the apostolic tradition, in opposition to other groups like that of Bardaisan<sup>43</sup>; Papâ in the *Acta* is presented as the promoter of Church unity, in an age in which secessionist trends were developing against Seleucia, both from the hierarchical and territorial point of view<sup>44</sup> and from the doctrinal one, such as the anti-Trinitarian groups of the Marcionites, the Docetists, and the Manichaeans<sup>45</sup>.

According to Abbeloos<sup>46</sup>, the part on Papâ in the *Acta Maris* might have been inserted subsequently in the more ancient *corpus* of Mari's legend. This scholar also assumed that throughout all the *Acta* there are no further

<sup>39</sup> Jullien 2001: 50.

<sup>40</sup> Jullien 2001: 177-178.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Martyrdom of Barsamya, the Bishop of the Blessed City Edessa*, in Cureton 1864: 71, on the basis of ms. London Add. 14645.

<sup>42</sup> See Ramelli 1998a and 1999a.

<sup>43</sup> See Drijvers 1982; 1991: 494-496; Desreumaux 1997. On Bardaisan, ample documentation is found in Ramelli 1999b, 2001b, 2001c. Cf. Drijvers 1966; Jansma 1969; Guenther 1978; Teixidor 1992 and 1994; Winter 1999; Camplani 1997, 1998; Camplani-Gnoli 2001; Ramelli 2002b; Possekel forthcoming, also summary in Ramelli 2004b. On the penetration of Greek thought in Syriac culture see also Possekel 1999; Ramelli 1999d; 2004c. According to Efreem (*ap.* James of Edessa, *Letter to John the Stylite*: Wright 1870, I: 600; *Id.*, JSL 1876: 430), the Edessan Christians who were for the bishop were called "Palutians" by the dissident groups.

<sup>44</sup> Especially in the Southern regions of Bêt Huzayê and Fârs, as attested by the tendency of the Bishop of Susa not to accept Papâ's central authority. Cf. Fiey 1969.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Jullien 2003b: 178.

<sup>46</sup> Abbeloos 1885: 45.

anachronisms, e.g. due to any reference to Islamism or to the Nestorian tendencies that characterized the Syro-Oriental Church in V-VI sec. and are reflected in various documents of that time, like the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools* by Barhadbeshabbâ or the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>47</sup>. Similarly, the toponyms of some cities and regions are different from those that appear in some Arabic sources.

In our *Acta* the primateship of the patriarchal see of Seleucia is retrojected into the apostolic age. Actually, there are some documents that seem to have been composed with the purpose of supporting the exclusive primateship of Seleucia. The ancient sources concerning the foundation of the see of Seleucia connect it either to Jerusalem –such as the Arabic *Book of the Tower*– or to Antioch, regarded as Peter’s see. The first connection is asserted by Bishop Amrus, who even begins his exposition with Mari’s last will that his successor should be ordained in the Holy City. The Antiochian connection seems a consequence of the jurisdictional and ecclesiastical history of the see of Seleucia. A Melchite author who wrote in Syriac in the V century A.D. even inserted in the documentary *corpus* of the Council of Nicea some apocryphal articles, later included in the body of canon law of the Persian Church, according to which all the ecclesiastical gatherings of the Persian Empire were to be approved by the archbishop of Antioch<sup>48</sup>. The dependence on Antioch was thus considered historical, and it was regarded as attested also by the *Epistle of the Western Fathers* included in the synodal documents. The tradition mentions a letter of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Mesopotamian Syria to whom Papâ applied –he also applied to Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine–, so that they helped him to become patriarch. The text of the synod of Dadishô’ quotes a long apocryphal correspondence that confirmed Papâ as patriarch<sup>49</sup>. The tradition concerning the *Epistle* and the historical circumstances in which it was ostensibly composed is also related in the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>50</sup>: according to its narration, the bishop of Arbela, in agreement with that of Susa, and “with all the people’s assent”, chose “Papâ, the Aramaean, a learned and wise man”,

<sup>47</sup> On which see, with detailed *status quaestionis*, Ramelli 2004d and forthcoming a, and Becker 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Korolevskij 1932: 668-669; Dauvillier 1942: 302-305; Jullien 2001: 50-51. These canons in the Syriac version are edited in Braun 1898.

<sup>49</sup> It is published in M. Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca*, I, 2, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1907, 667-675. Especially for the letter to Helena see Mai 1838: 163-164; De Vries 1964: 437; 447-449.

<sup>50</sup> Ramelli 2002a, especially pp. 50-55.

in the last decade of the III century. After A.D. 313, according to the *Chronicle*, Papâ, because his see was the royal city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, wanted to dominate the other bishops as a metropolitan, “as though a unique chief were good”. But the presbyters of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the people did not agree, and wished his deposition<sup>51</sup>. Simon, too, Papâ’s archdeacon, opposed this plan, and denounced it to other bishops. Papâ worried about this, because Simon’s parents were close to the king, and therefore he sought allies among the “Western bishops”, above all that of Edessa. They promised to support him before Constantine, and in a letter addressed to the emperor – the *Chronicle* reports– they remarked that in the West there were the patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and thus it would have been simply right that there should be one in the East too, i.e. in the Persian kingdom. So, Papâ became “universal prelate for all the bishops and the Christians in the land of the East”. Simon was placated with the promise to succeed Papâ after his death. This way, according to the *Chronicle of Arbela*, the primateship of Seleucia was established.

In the tradition of the Jerusalem connection, on the other hand, all the bishops who preceded Papâ in Seleucia were from Jerusalem and related to Jesus himself either through Joseph his father or through a brother of Joseph’s, or through James the Just, the Lord’s “brother” and first bishop of Jerusalem, seen as a son of Joseph’s born from his first marriage<sup>52</sup>. This way, the patriarchate of Seleucia was directly connected to Jesus’ family, with much prestige and authority, and the Persian see of Seleucia, too, could compete in dignity with the patriarchates of the Western Church: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem<sup>53</sup>.

The narration of the *Acta Maris* presents many points in common with the other Syriac documents concerning Mari’s preaching in the Mesopotamian and Persian regions, and it is well known that the most ancient Nestorian liturgy is ascribed to Addai and Mari, the evangelizers of Edessa and

<sup>51</sup> The Syriac text here transliterates the Greek word *katháiresis*, which corresponds to Latin *condemnatio*.

<sup>52</sup> On Jesus’ relatives and their importance in the early Church of Jerusalem see Ramelli 2003b and 2005a; moreover, on James and the other “brothers” of Jesus (who, according to another tradition, were his cousins): Painter 1999 and 2001; Chilton 1999 and 2001; Lemaire 2002; Wallace 2001; Hengel 1985 and 2002; McLaren 2001; Jullien 2002: 246-251; Rigato 2003; Jossa 2004: 166ff.; McCane, forthcoming.

<sup>53</sup> Under Justinian, in A.D. 553, Christianity was divided into these five patriarchates, from which Seleucia was left out. In A.D. 585, instead, Isho’yaw, the patriarch *katholikós* of Seleucia, fixed a division that also included his own see, regarded as direct heir of that of Jerusalem.

Mesopotamia according to the tradition: the liturgy of the Mesopotamian Church is attributed to these two apostles just as that of the Church of Jerusalem is attributed to James the Just and that of the Alexandrian Church to Mark<sup>54</sup>.

Abbeloos<sup>55</sup> already observed that these *Acta* are based on an ancient tradition, of which, however, the source does not seem to be precisely known. Moreover, he remarked that the liturgy of Addai ad Mari must be more ancient than the division between Nestorians and Jacobites, and that the story of Thaddaeus-Addai's mission, recorded by Eusebius, *H.E.* I 13 –and, we could add, by the *Doctrina Addai* and Moses of Chorene, too–, is likely to go back to the common tradition of the Mesopotamian Churches, not only the Nestorian one.

After their first edition, the *Acta Maris* attracted a fair amount of attention among scholars: Franz Cumont<sup>56</sup> tried to point out the historical traces in them, in particular with regard to the Hellenistic political institutions of Seleucia, where the three “banquets” mentioned by the *Acta*, chap. 19ff., “one of aged men, one of young men, and one of boys”, seem to recall the civic assemblies of the Hellenistic *polis*, which there survived a very long time: it is possible to see behind them the Greek political institutions of the *gerousía*, the college of the *néoi* and that of the epebes<sup>57</sup>. From various points of view, other scholars accepted and remarked the presence of several historical elements in the *Acta*: for example, Th. Nöldeke, E. Nestle, H. Holtzmann, E. von Dobschütz<sup>58</sup>. F. Haase began his treatment of the first christianization of Persia<sup>59</sup> precisely with the analysis of the *Acta Maris*, even if his reconstruction is not considered incontrovertible, especially because of the use of hagiographical documents for a historical reconstruction, and of the *Chronicle of Arbela*, which I, at least, regard as historical, together with other scholars whom I have already cited. Some doubts on the historical reliability of our *Acta*, or at least of some elements contained in them, were raised by R. Duval<sup>60</sup>, according to whom the lack of originality in the account of miracles leads one to believe them as literary stereotypes more than historical narratives; by A. Baumstark and E. Tisserant,

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Liturgy* 2002 [1893]; Gelston 1991 and 1995; Coombs 1991; Hofrichter 1995; Ray 1993; Jammo 1995; Kim forthcoming; Spinks 1993. For an analysis of these liturgical, historical, and hagiographic documents, see Ramelli 2005b, introduction.

<sup>55</sup> Abbeloos 1885: 137-38, *Epilogus criticus*.

<sup>56</sup> Cumont 1893.

<sup>57</sup> See Jullien 2001: 145.

<sup>58</sup> Nöldeke 1885; von Dobschütz 1899: 194\*-196\*.

<sup>59</sup> Haase 1925: 94-96.

<sup>60</sup> Duval 1970 [1907]: 108-109.

who above all claimed a lack of local characterization in the *Acta*<sup>61</sup>; by J.-B. Chabot<sup>62</sup>, according to whom this narrative is completely legendary and does not provide any serious information from the historical point of view: such an attitude is also maintained by J. Assfalg and J.-B. Segal, in whose view this late document is only a farrago of legends<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, according to Jean-Maurice Fiey<sup>64</sup>, Mar Mari is a historical character, not a mere hagiographical fiction, and represents the missionary prototype of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and the valley of the river Tigris. A fine observation of Fiey's is worth mentioning: some details of Mari's missionary itinerary as traced in the hagiographic literature, and primarily in the *Acta Maris*, correspond to the change of bed of the river Tigris, which took place in the years between A.D. 79 and 116. Marie-Luise Chaumont<sup>65</sup> also analysed our *Acta* from the historical point of view, above all pointing out their Iranian context. Christelle and Florence Jullien<sup>66</sup> class the *Acta Maris* among the accounts of foundation of Church centres: the apostolic origin would have provided a justification for the hegemonic plans of the patriarchal see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon; moreover, the story of the foundation of Christian communities thanks to Mari allowed the communities traditionally connected with the apostle to affirm their own identity<sup>67</sup>. The Julliens do not exclude an historical background in our document, like Chaumont, and underline the Iranian context of Mari's mission. An increase in the first wave of diffusion of Christianity in the Persian Empire must have taken place thanks to the deportations of thousands of prisoners from Syrian cities to Persia in the time of Shapur I's military expeditions against the Roman Empire, in A.D. 253-260: the cities to which the prisoners were deported are listed in the inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rostam, which celebrate the Persian king's victories against Valerianus, the Roman emperor: Gundeshapur in the region of Bêt Hûzayê, Shad Shapur in Mesene, Bishapur in Persia<sup>68</sup>. The *Chronicle of Seert* (X cent. - beginning of the XI), records the deportation of Demetrianus, metropolitan bishop of Antioch, together with all his clergy. From the synodical acts of the Syro-Oriental Church it seems that those Aramaean and Greek

<sup>61</sup> Baumstark 1922: 28; Tisserant 1931: 161.

<sup>62</sup> Chabot 1934: 41.

<sup>63</sup> Assfalg 1962; Segal 1970: 65.

<sup>64</sup> Fiey 1970a: 40-44 and pictures 1-3; cf. Fiey 1967: 3-38 and picture 37.

<sup>65</sup> Chaumont 1988: 23-29.

<sup>66</sup> Jullien 2001: 13; 24ff.; 2003b: 167-168; 175ff.; 77-78, 137ff. and *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. also Desreumaux 1987.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Ramelli, forthcoming f. On the rôle of deportations in the spread of Mesopotamian Christianity see Jullien 2002: 53 ff.

Christians integrated themselves quite well in Persia and there established the structure of the Church. Before the Sassanid era, such displacements had been due to the anti-Christian persecutions still raging in the Roman Empire. For instance, from the *History of Karkâ d-Bêt S<sup>e</sup>lôk*, a document of the VI century, we know of Bishop Theocritus' arrival from Asia Minor to the region of Bêt Garmai toward A.D. 170 because of a persecution in the Roman Empire, probably that of Marcus Aurelius<sup>69</sup>. For the late Parthian era the *Chronicle of Arbela* mentions 17 Persian bishoprics: even though this number is probably excessive<sup>70</sup>, nonetheless it was a period of progressive diffusion of Christianity in those areas, also thanks to land and sea trade and exchanges between the Roman and the Oriental regions, especially those of Mesopotamia and Persia. This is well shown by the *Acta Thomae*, probably composed in Edessa in the III century: in those acts an important rôle is played by the merchants and the apostle is sold to Habbân, sent by the Indian king Gudnaphar, who was seeking for a good architect in the West. This is also shown by the mission of Pantaenus, the learned master of Clement of Alexandria, who from Egypt went to India in order to preach and teach: almost certainly he followed the trade routes to India<sup>71</sup>. It seems to me interesting to notice that St. Paul already followed trade routes, both when he went to Rome and when from there he reached Spain, travelling by ships belonging to *alienigenae*, according to Jerome<sup>72</sup>.

Form the historical point of view, an important aspect in the *Acta Maris* is the probable connection with the Baptist and Manichaean groups<sup>73</sup>. In fact, from the beginning of the III century A.D., some Judaeo-Christian Baptist groups established themselves in Southern Mesopotamia, especially in Mesene. According to the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*, which has provided so

<sup>69</sup> On this persecution, then probably revoked by the emperor himself, see Ramelli 2002c.

<sup>70</sup> See Ramelli 2002a. The Julliens (2001: 25), remark that only 7 of them are historically attested in the III century.

<sup>71</sup> On Pantaenus' mission see Ramelli 2000a, 2000b and 2001a. The historicity of Pantaenus' mission is also admitted by Karttunen 2001: 196-197. On the trade routes see Jullien 2002: 215-223; Ramelli 2001a: chap. 2 and *passim*; also Raschke 1978; Sidebotham 1986; Kumar Singh 1988; Begley-De Puma 1991; Karttunen 1995 and 2001: 181ff. On the contacts between the classical world and India, in addition to the bibliography cited in Ramelli 2001a, see Daffinà 1977; Karttunen 1986 and 1993; Dihle 1992.

<sup>72</sup> See Ramelli 1998b.

<sup>73</sup> Jullien 2001: 41-46; Jullien 2002: 137-151. On baptismal theology in first Christianity see Porter-Cross 2003; for a baptismal inscription from Edessa see Ramelli 2003a.

much information about Mani, his origin and his education<sup>74</sup>, Mani's father, Pattiq, belonged to one of these groups, and, till the age of 24, Mani himself lived in such a community, of the kind that, according to the Coptic *Kephalaia*, spread as far as India; their members were very attentive to ritual purity and followed the so-called "Saviour's precepts", with reference to Jesus. In these environments Mani began to preach his own doctrine, converting first of all some of his former coreligionists, among whom was also his father. His message rapidly spread through Persia –above all thanks to the support of Shapur I and of some local rulers, such as the governor of Mesene, Bat–, and reached India and Egypt, where it was announced by Mani's first disciples, Pattiq and Adda. Some of these disciples' names correspond strictly enough to those of Mari's disciples mentioned in the *Acta*. Mari's three main disciples have names very similar to those of Mani's followers: 1) Adâ or Adda corresponds to Manichaean Adda, whose name occurs in a lacunose passage of the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*<sup>75</sup> and in various other fragments of Sogdian and Parthian sources. Adda preached in the region of Bêt Garmai according to the *History of Karkâ d-Bêt S'êlôk*; he is also mentioned in the *Acta Archelai*, a Greek document of the first half of the IV century that relates the story of Mani's origins and is attributed to a certain Hegemonius: it was one of the most important sources of the Christian heresiologists who wrote against the Manichaeans. Finally, some Manichaean texts found in Turfan, North-West of India, mention Adda as one of the most intimate disciples of Mani and as a missionary in the Roman Empire<sup>76</sup>. 2) Papâ, Mari's alleged disciple, recalls Papos, the first Manichean missionary of Mesopotamia and Egypt, according to Alexander of Lycopolis (end of the III cent. A.D.), an anti-Manichaean polemicist from the region of Thebaid, in Egypt, where in the city of Lycopolis Mani's writings were translated and commented<sup>77</sup>. Alexander seems to have known Manichaeism thanks only to Papos' preaching. 3) As for Tômîs, his name is very similar to that of Tôm or Tumis, to whom the Manichaean psalter is attributed.

<sup>74</sup> Koenen-Römer 1985; Cirillo 1986 and 1990. On Manichaeism also see, at least: Widengren 1964; Lieu 1992; Sundermann 1992; van Tongerloo 1995; Tardieu 1988; Cirillo-Van Tongerloo 1997; Magris 2000; Reck 2001; Albrile 2003. On Manichaeism and its relationship to Christianity and Gnosticism I limit myself to few references: Giversen-van Tongerloo 1991; Böhlig-Markschies 1994; Cirillo-Van Tongerloo 1997; Waldmann 1992.

<sup>75</sup> 165, 4; Henrichs-Koenen 1988: 112.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Sundermann 1981 and Jullien 2001: 41-42.

<sup>77</sup> On Alexander see Riggi 1969; Edwards 1989; Villey 1986; Stroumsa 1992; Van der Horst 1996; translation of his work: Van der Horst 1974; Villey 1985; edition: Brinkmann 1989.

Furthermore, the *Acta Maris* seem to follow the same missionary itinerary of the first Manichaean preachers. The itinerary of Mari's preaching in his *Acta* touches many centres directly connected with Mani's life and with some important events in it. In part, this is inevitable, of course, since the two preaching areas were the same; still, in the light of what we have said, it seems probable that there is a precise purpose behind the delineation of this "missionary geography", as though Mari, the first evangelizer of Mesopotamia, spread Christianity precisely in the area in which, in the time of the redaction of the *Acta*, the rival doctrine was being propagated, though Mari's itinerary seems to follow a direction that is opposite to that of Mani, at least as described in the Coptic *Kephalaia*<sup>78</sup>. Mani, in fact, after spending his childhood among the Baptists of Mesene<sup>79</sup>, pushed on as far as the Indian border and to the heart of Sassanian Persia –these were the lands that had seen Thomas' mission, according to the tradition–, then to Susiana or Bêt Hûzayê, then he returned to Messene and reached Seleucia-Ctesiphon, in the region of Babylonia, and that of Bêt Aramayê. Many centres mentioned in the *Acta Maris* were important in Mani's life: Bêt Lapat is the place in which Mani died and to which his followers went on pilgrimage; Gowkai or Gaukai is the last stage of Mani's mission before his trial in front of King Vahram of Persia: following the suggestion of the inhabitants and the Magi, the king of Gaukai, Artabanus, summoned him and forced him to adore the gods, threatening him with death. Karkâ, in the region of Bêt Garmai, also was a flourishing Manichaean centre toward the half of the III century: here Mari in the *Acta* benefits by the collaboration of Adâ, a homonym of Mani's disciple, he too a worker of miracles. One has the impression that Mari in our *Acta* functions as a symbol of the christianization of those lands that in Mesopotamia, from the late III - IV century onward, run the risk of being absorbed by Manichaeism. The *Acts of Mari*, therefore, far from being devoid of any historical background, reveal an Iranian cultural, political, and religious context<sup>80</sup>. And, anyway, such a "polemical modelling" of Mari's mission on that of Mani does not exclude its historicity.

But it is possible to point out yet other elements of the Iranian background in the *Acta*. As we also know from the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>81</sup>, the Magi, priests of Zoroastrianism in Persia, were very active in opposing the Christian

<sup>78</sup> See Jullien 2001: 42-43.

<sup>79</sup> In the *Acta Maris*, chap. 27, a similar Baptist context seems hinted at.

<sup>80</sup> See also Jullien 2001: 27-28.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Ramelli 2002a: introductory essay.



evangelization in those regions. Mari, in the *Acta*, during his long period of preaching, had occasion to meet various sacerdotal orders: those who celebrate sacrifices in Seleucia (chap. 25), the simple priests in Arbela (chap. 10), and the chiefs of Magi or *mauhpata*, high priests often endowed with political powers too (chap. 11). Several passages (above all chapp. 23-24) reflect the Mazdean worship of fire, in which Ahura-Mazda, the supreme divinity, was adored: it is through fire that Mani has to pass, in order to demonstrate not only his innocence, but also the superiority of the Christians' God; it is an example of a typical Mazdean ordeal. The name of a military chief of Arbela whom Mari met, Zardush, even recalls the name of Zarathushtra, the founder of the Persians' main religion.

Similarly, from the political point of view, the Iranian background pops up in many passages of the narrative. Our *Acta* mention a series of kinglets and local rulers, who occur and are documented in the *Chronicle of Arbela* too<sup>82</sup>, such as those of Arzanene (chap. 7), Adiabene (chaps. 8-10), Shahqêrt (chaps. 12-14) and Darabar (chaps. 15-16). This situation actually corresponds to the Iranian territorial administration in the Parthian age, in the I-III cent. A.D., which was characterized by a certain devolution of power, a heritage of the Seleucian division of the whole kingdom into satrapies, and by a certain independence of the local chiefs. The *Chronicle of Arbela* attests such an independence also in the time of the first persecutions against the Christians in the Persian Empire: some local rulers followed the directives of the central power, while others tried to spare the Christians and limit the persecutions in some degree<sup>83</sup>.

An important dimension might also be revealed through an inquiry into the religious positions within Christianity that seem to be behind from our *Acta*, and that perhaps could rectify Abbeloos' impression of a total lack of references, in our document, to the controversies between Nestorians and Monophysites. In fact, it would seem possible to find some traces of an anti-Monophysite position, that would fit the Syrian cultural and religious context after the so-called "School of the Persians" in Edessa was closed, according to emperor Zeno's order, in A.D. 489<sup>84</sup>. Thus, the followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia's theology migrated to Nisibis<sup>85</sup>. Theodore, the great exegete of

<sup>82</sup> On which see Ramelli 2002a: introduction.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Ramelli 2002a: introductory essay.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Jullien 2001: 33-34; on this school and the discussion of evidence about it also see Becker 2004 and forthcoming.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Fiey 1977.

the Antiochian school, was a disciple of Diodorus of Tarsus<sup>86</sup> and bishop (A.D. 392 to 428), very venerated by the Syro-Nestorians, who considered him the “Interpreter”, i.e. exegete, *par excellence*. His writings were condemned after his death by the Second Council of Constantinople in A.D. 553, together with those of his master Diodorus<sup>87</sup>. In fact, it is well known that Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, supported Theodor’s theological doctrine, that did not admit the hypostatic union of the divine nature and the human one in Christ<sup>88</sup>. Precisely in the school of Edessa, on the initiative of Ibas, bishop of this city (dead in A.D. 457)<sup>89</sup>, and of his disciples, Theodore’s works were translated from Greek into Syriac in the first half of the V century. During the VI century, some Edessan bishops, such as Jacob Baradaeus, in order to oppose the Nestorian views, adopted a contrary position, inspired by Monophysitism and according to which in Christ the divine nature prevailed over the human one<sup>90</sup>.

In A.D. 482, the emperor, Zeno, following the suggestion of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, promulgated an edict, the so-called *Henotikon*, with which he intended to recall the Christians to unity and to the Nicaean *Symbolon*, but he was opposed both by the Monophysites and by the followers of the Council of Chalcedon, that in A.D. 451 criticized the Monophysite doctrine, reaffirming Christ’s double nature. In A.D. 484, Pope Felix III condemned this document, causing a schism between Rome and Constantinople that was healed only in A.D. 519, with the orthodox emperor Justin’s accession to the throne. In Edessa, where Theodore and the Nestorian line were studied, Monophysitism then took over<sup>91</sup>. This might be the historical and religious context in which the *Acta* were composed, on the basis of more ancient traditions.

<sup>86</sup> On these two and their exegetical position see Ramelli, forthcoming b. Cf. Ramelli, forthcoming c.

<sup>87</sup> Documentation in Becker 2004 and Ramelli forthcoming a. Also see Devreesse 1948; Simonetti 1977; Bruns 1995a and 1995b; Van Rompay 1982 and 1987; Hill 2001 and forthcoming; Yousif 1990; Oñatibia-Janeras 2000; Debie *et al.* 1996; Gerber 2000.

<sup>88</sup> On Nestorius and the Nestorians see e.g.. Abramowski 1995; Baum-Winkler 2000 = 2003; De Halleux 1982 and 1993c; Dupuy 1995; Mooker 1995; Jugie 1935: V; Spinks 1999.

<sup>89</sup> He probably began the Syriac translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s works: see Teixidor 1992: 123-24. He is also mentioned in the *Chronicle of Arbela*, 69 Kawerau = 65 Ramelli, as a “perfect man”, defensor of orthodoxy, and appears in the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, a work of Nestorian inspiration in which he is presented in a very positive light. Cf. Ramelli, forthcoming a.

<sup>90</sup> See A. Desreumaux, *Doctrine de l’Apôtre Addaï*, in Bovon-Geoltrain 1997: 1480-81.

<sup>91</sup> The developments of these polemics are studied by Van Rompay, forthcoming.

In fact, certain theological features in the *Acta* are likely to be connected with the Monophysite controversy. It is worth considering them very briefly. The professions of faith in chaps. 20, 23, and 27, concise and simple according to the style of the councils of the IV century, generally correspond to the conciliar formulations of Nicaea and Constantinople. Against any docetic trend supported by Monophysitism, the *Acta* insist on the incarnation of Jesus (chaps. 23, 27), who assumed a human body and suffered for all humankind (capp. 7, 8, 33), before being exalted in glory. The insistence on the distinction of the hypostases (*qnômê*) of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit inside the Trinity points in the same direction: in full correspondence with the Nicene Creed, the Son's and the Father's substance is one and the same, and the former is begotten, not created, true God from true God, who became incarnated in the Holy Virgin<sup>92</sup>. Only in the Son's person does the invisible, supreme and creator God become visible. Moreover, at chaps. 20 and 27 the three divine Persons are presented as strictly united and all equal to one another, according to the conceptions of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). In particular, as for the pneumatological doctrine, at chap. 27 our *Acta* declare the Holy Spirit's divine nature, his proceeding from the Father and his equality to the other Persons of the Trinity. It is interesting to remark that the professions of faith by which the *Acta* seem to be inspired are more ancient than the splits that troubled the Church of Syria, both for the adoption of Diodorus' and Theodore's theological doctrines, which tended to dyophysism, and for the monophysite reaction. From this point of view, it seems to me that Abbeloos was right when he observed, as we have seen, that the core of the Mari tradition must go back to the time that preceded the controversy between the Nestorian and the Monophysite trend in Syrian Christianity<sup>93</sup>.

The theological declarations found in the *Acta* seem to contradict some heresies that above all challenged the Trinitarian dogma, such as Arianism and Marcionism. In order to oppose the subordinationism typical of the former, already condemned at the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325, but then supported by some emperors in Constantinople till the Council of A.D. 381 held precisely in that city, our *Acta* (chaps. 20 and 27) seem to stress the begetting –not the creation– of the Son and his consubstantiality to the Father. Against the Marcionite doctrines, which drew a sharp distinction between the Creator of the Old Testament, seen as an inferior demiurge, and Jesus Christ's Father, and which were condemned in A.D. 144 with the excommunication of Marcion

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Chabot 1902: 394-395.

<sup>93</sup> On this controversy in the synodal acts see Jullien 2001: 37.

himself, the *Acta Maris* emphasize the Creator's unicity and his identity with God the Father, and the inspiration of the Old Testament by the Holy Spirit who "spoke by means of the prophets", which was denied by the Marcionists and the Gnostics<sup>94</sup>. In fact, Marcionism, after remaining confined to Northern Mesopotamia between the II and the III century, from the beginning of the IV century onwards spread widely in Persia<sup>95</sup>, where the deported Syrians very probably contributed to its diffusion: it was opposed by Ephrem and his disciples Zenobius and Paulonas<sup>96</sup>. Aphraat in his *Exposition on Fasting*, III 9, presents Marcionism as a danger for the Christian communities<sup>97</sup>. Similarly, Marcionism is listed among dangerous heresies by Simeon Bar Sabba'ê too<sup>98</sup> and the *Chronicle of Seert* presents it as one of the main problems of the end of the III century, at the time of *Katholikós* Papâ<sup>99</sup>, and the same is also attested by the Arabic historian Mari Ibn Suleyman<sup>100</sup>. Around A.D. 375, Epiphanius of Salamis, in his *Adversus haereses* or *Panarion*, XLII 1, 1, attests the spread of Marcionism in Persia, besides Rome and Italy, Egypt and Palestine, Arabia, Syria, the Thebaid, and other places. In the V and VI centuries there were still substantial Marcionite groups in Persia, according to the ecclesiastical author John of Ephesus. Mari's name, furthermore, recalls that of a disciple of Ibas, an important exponent of the Edessan school, who did not like Monophysism very much, and is well known also for his controversy with the Magi of Nisibis<sup>101</sup>. To his disciple Mari, who was in Bêt Ardashîr<sup>102</sup>, Ibas, when he

<sup>94</sup> See Ramelli, forthcoming g.

<sup>95</sup> See Fiey 1970b.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Assemani 2002, III, I, [1725]: 63; 118-128.

<sup>97</sup> Aphraat, in Persian Farhâd, "the Persian sage", was born in a pagan family in the region of Mossul at the beginning of the IV century. After his conversion, he became a monk in the monastery of Mar Mattai, and then Father Superior of ascetics. He wrote twenty-two *Expositions* (*Demonstrationes*, ed. Pierre 1988-89), each of them corresponding to a letter of the Syriac alphabet, plus the twenty-third *Exposition*, a recapitulation of the others. The first ten, begun in A.D. 336, were finished in A.D. 345; the last twelve were composed at the time of the persecution of A.D. 343/4 and of the hostilities between Persia and Rome. On Aphraat's theology and Christology see Petersen 1992b; on him in general, I cite at least Rizk 1992; Camplani 1993; Bruns 1991-92; Zuurmond 1988; Alencherry 1993; Pierre 1993; Pericoli Ridolfini 1994.

<sup>98</sup> Bedjan 1891: 150; Kmosko 1907: 823-824.

<sup>99</sup> Scher 1907b: 237 [27].

<sup>100</sup> Gismondi 1897: 30-31; 1899: 8.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Assemani 2002, III, I [1725]: 171; 350-352; 359; Duval 1970 [1907]: 345.

<sup>102</sup> According to Chabot 1934: 47-48, it was the town of Rew Ardashîr. In the view of Labourt 1904: 133 n. 6, instead, it was the patriarchal see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and so Mari was

became bishop of Edessa as Rabbûlâ's successor, around A.D. 510 wrote a letter then condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 553: from this letter it results that Mari had been sent as a missionary to the Persian Empire in order to propagate the same ideas as Theodore of Mopsuestia's and Diodorus', much appreciated by Ibas, who also criticizes the recent condemnation of Nestorius and provides precious information of the Theodorean and Nestorian doctrines in Persia<sup>103</sup>.

Personally, I would remark another aspect in the *Acta Maris* that seems relevant to our present investigation: Mari, already connected with Edessa through Addai's character, at chaps. 7 and 25 is presented as the founder of the schools of Nisibis and Seleucia, the principal centres of diffusion of Nestorianism and Theodore's theological doctrines. And not only this, but there is another point: given Mari's concern, expressed by him at chap. 33, about the orthodoxy of the doctrine taught by him, he is clearly presented as the guarantor of the correctness of this doctrine, which in Edessa was first supported, but then, after Ibas' death, disclaimed, in favour of decidedly Monophysite doctrines. In fact, it is not by chance that Ibas, as we have seen, was concerned with Mari's story, and regarded Mari, the alleged founder of the school of Nisibis, as a preacher of the orthodox doctrine (which for him was close to that of Theodore and Diodorus).

Therefore, in a certain sense, the tradition concerning Mari as expressed in the *Acta*, and in the form that it assumes in this document, seems to compete with that of Edessa. According to the Julliens<sup>104</sup>, in fact, in the *Acta* we even face a kind of reinterpretation of Christian history intended to support the prestige of the patriarchal see of Seleucia, here dignified with apostolic origins. We can add that not only the see of Seleucia, but also the school of Nisibis was endowed with such authority in the *Acta*, and in this way too we might see a sort of competition with that of Edessa<sup>105</sup>.

In fact, if in the *Acta* there is undoubtedly a strong link with Edessa, it seems also possible to note the denial of some privileges traditionally reserved

---

assimilated to the *katholikós*; according to van Esbroeck 1987, Mari is to be identified with a homonymous ecclesiastic of Constantinople, defender of the Chalcedonian positions.

<sup>103</sup> This letter seems to be the most ancient document we have concerning the closing of the school of Edessa (analysis of this and other evidence in Becker 2004). Ibas himself had many troubles in his life, because of his ideological positions.

<sup>104</sup> Jullien 2003b.

<sup>105</sup> On the other hand, we always must remember Becker's (2004 and forthcoming) and others' remarks about the use of the term "school" for the centres of learning in Edessa and Nisibis.

to this city and a certain feeling of rivalry towards it. Only Mari and some of his disciples, such as Onesimus, are from Edessa, as is clear from chaps. 7 and 31, while the other disciples' origin is not mentioned: we only know, from chap. 31, that they had joined Mari. Moreover, the route followed by the apostle in his preaching starts from Edessa, a city connected with Addai and Thomas, and ends very near to Thomas' area of evangelization. Edessa is then seen as a starting point for missions to the South, especially at chaps. 19 and 22, when Mari in Seleucia asks his Edessan collaborators for help: so, Seleucia is connected directly to Edessa<sup>106</sup>: precisely the contacts with Edessa favoured the earliest spread of the Christian message in Persia thanks to Huzite traders, even before Mari's arrival, according to the *Acta*, chap. 31. In our document, however, Edessa no longer has the exclusive possession of certain prerogatives that it has in the tradition of the Abgar legend, expressed in the *Doctrina Addai* and elsewhere: the impregnability of the city and the ownership of Jesus' portrait. The former prerogative, in the Abgar legend, is warranted by a promise contained in a clause of the alleged letter sent by Jesus to Abgar: in the *Acta Maris* the same privilege is also invoked for Dorqôni (chap. 34), within the final prayer, where it is requested that Mari's relics become a "glorious protection" and a "source of succour", so that Dorqôni may be an "infallible shelter" and a city "illustrious and glorious thanks to its faith more than all the nearby regions and cities". Furthermore, in the *Acta Maris* Edessa is no longer the only city that owns Jesus' portrait<sup>107</sup>: in fact, this prerogative vanishes here, since at chap. 1 – a passage that finds a parallel in Eusebius (*H.E.* II 18, 2-4) – it is affirmed that Christ's portrait is found "in many places", although the presence of such images in the Syro-Oriental Church does not seem to be attested by any other source<sup>108</sup>.

In fact, our *Acta* lend a remarkable importance to the little town of Dorqôni, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, like Kûkê, the see of the future patriarchate. It is in Dorqôni that Mari chose his own successor, Papâ, as a kind of prefiguration of the Oriental patriarch; it is there that Mari led the Churches founded by himself; it is there, again, that he gave the last recommendations and exhortations to his disciples, leaving his spiritual will; finally, it is again in Dorqôni that he died (chap. 33). From the Syro-Oriental synodical acts it is attested that there was a bishop in Dorqôni, who signed some ecclesiastical

<sup>106</sup> Jullien 2003b: 170.

<sup>107</sup> It is the famous *achiropita* or *mandylion* of the Byzantine tradition, on which see Dobschütz 1899, and Ramelli 1999c.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Jullien 2001: 30 and 35, with the definition of the *Acta Maris* as "un correspondant de l'histoire d'Addai pour tout le sud mésopotamien"; Jullien 2003b: 181-182.

decrees in A.D. 410 and 424. According to the *Chronicle of Seert*, I 60, a monastery and a school, renowned toward the end of the IV century, were founded there by Mar Abdâ, and dedicated to Mar Mari. The school was destroyed in the V century, but it seems to have been reconstructed from the IX onward. Probably, the redactor of the *Acta* was himself a monk of the local monastery, and, as results from chap. 34, he addressed the other members of his confraternity, on the occasion of the liturgical commemoration of the saint. This is the view of the Julliens<sup>109</sup>, and it appears likely indeed; however, given the slightly “propagandistic” purposes that we have tried to point out in the *Acta*, one may assume that the document might have been composed, or at least utilized, for a bit wider circulation, too.

The Oriental patriarches Ahhâ I (410-414) and Yahballahâ I (415-420) studied in that same monastery, in the school annexed to it. Another patriarch, Isaac, who died in A.D. 410/11, was buried there, and yet another, Babai, was baptized there<sup>110</sup>. The Nestorian pontifical adapted by Cyprian of Nisibi toward the middle of the VIII century attests that, after the patriarchal ceremony in Kûkê, the assembly went in procession to Dorqônî, to the monastery of Mar Mari, where the ritual terminated with the request of grace and blessing near the Apostle’s grave<sup>111</sup>. Doubtless, the connection with the patriarchal ceremony helped to strengthen and increase the cult of Mari. According to the Arabic historian Mari Ibn Suleyman, Mari’s feast was initiated there by Simon Bar Sabba’ê in A.D. 343-344, after the feast of the Cross<sup>112</sup>. The veneration of Mari’s relics in Dorqônî, and probably in the region of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, also seems hinted at in the *Acta Maris* (chap. 34), in an exhortation at Mari’s grave on his *dies natalis*<sup>113</sup>: according to the Arabic historian Sliba, this grave was located in the church of Dorqônî, to the right of the altar, in the traditional position of the Bêt Sohdê or *Martyrium*<sup>114</sup>.

On the basis of what we have observed so far, we can suppose that the redaction of the *Acta Maris* can be placed in the context of the Persian region in the late V or VI century, and this essentially corroborates Abbeleos’

<sup>109</sup> Jullien 2001: 47.

<sup>110</sup> Gismondi 1897: 19.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Assemani 2002 III, II [1727]: 676-678.

<sup>112</sup> Gismondi 1899: 4.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Ramelli 2001d.

<sup>114</sup> Jullien 2001: 48.

aforementioned view. The Julliens<sup>115</sup> also hypothesize the end of the VI century or even the beginning of the VII for an extreme redactional phase, even though there seems not to be so late *terminus post quem*: an alleged allusion to the last of the Sassanids at chap. 17 is quite unlikely to my view; the reference, as the context makes clear, is certainly to the first Sassanid, instead, whose name too was Ardashîr, who founded the Sassanian Empire and ended the Parthian one. The text runs as follows: “And he, the blessed Mar Mari, and those who were with him, went to the Persians’ region, and in that region he acquired many disciples. In fact, that other reign of the Persians that was realized through the action of Ardashîr had not yet begun”. The first occurrence of “Persians” (*d-prsy*) in the expression “the Persians’ region” refers to the Parthian Empire, the second to the Persian Empire of the Sassanids. Similarly, in the *Chronicle of Arbela* –the author of which knew very well the transition from the Parthian to the Sassanid Empire<sup>116</sup>– the regions ruled by the Parthians in the Arsacids’ era are often designated as Persian, just like here. The redactor of the *Acta* is asserting that the Sassanid Empire did not yet exist in the time of Mari, and this is correct: the Ardashîr mentioned in our passage<sup>117</sup> is certainly the one who in A.D. 224 defeated the Parthian king Artabanus, the last of the Arsacid dynasty, and became king of kings, thus founding the Sassanian dynasty, which reasserted its control over the entire Eastern realm: he claimed descent from a soldier by the name of Sasan, and appealed directly to the Achaemenid heritage of the first Persian Empire<sup>118</sup>. In my reading of the Syriac text I follow a very simple and obviously necessary emendation of *shwlm*’ into *shwmly*’<sup>119</sup> due to

<sup>115</sup> Jullien 2001: 53.

<sup>116</sup> See Ramelli 2002a: introductory essay; Ross 2001: 65.

<sup>117</sup> Syr. *rdshyr* corresponds to the Old-Persian name Artashastra, translated into Greek as *Artaxérxes*.

<sup>118</sup> In fact, it is possible that the author of the *Acta Maris* calls the Sassanid Empire “that other reign of the Persians” because he thinks of the Achaemenid Empire as the “first reign of the Persians”.

<sup>119</sup> The Parthian Empire, in the corrupted text of the *Acta*, “ended [*shwlm*]’ through the action of Ardashîr”, but this is absurd, because, given the rest of the phrase, it would imply that in the apostolic age the Parthian kingdom did not yet exist. But if we read *shwmly*’ (“realization, institution”) we can easily explain the corruption by means of a metathesis and we can translate “that had realization through the action of Ardashîr”. This way, it would not be any longer the Parthian Empire, but the Sassanid one that did not yet exist in the time of Mari. And this is correct. The emendation seems to be accepted by the Julliens themselves (2001: 91; 2003a: *ad loc.*).



the first editor, Abbeloos<sup>120</sup>, and perfectly confirmed by the immediately following phrase: “Now, the cities and regions of Babylonia<sup>121</sup> and Persia were occupied by numerous kinglets<sup>122</sup>, and the region of Babylonia, in particular, was occupied by the Parthians [*Partwayê*], because they ruled it”. These *Partwayê* (*prtwy*’), so called in the *Chronicle of Arbela* too, are the Parthians of the Arsacid Empire: hence, it is clear that both here and in the preceding phrase the author is correctly referring to the Parthian Empire as existing in the time in which the events of the Mari story took place<sup>123</sup>. From this passage it results that our author probably wrote after A.D. 226 and before the fall of the Sassanid Empire; a very late date is highly improbable.

What is important is also that the *Acta Maris* rest on far more ancient traditions and information dating back to the first centuries of the Christian era, and in particular to the Parthian Mesopotamia and Persia of the I-III centuries. Notwithstanding some unlikely points obviously due to the late composition of the document and its hagiographic nature, its redactor had at his disposal precise documentation that was historically set in the pre-Sassanian time in which Mari’s action of evangelization took place<sup>124</sup>. It seems to be confirmed that the Mari tradition is particularly ancient, and that many of its aspects actually have a historical basis, even though inserted in a legendary frame. And it is probable that his tradition may really reflect the most ancient phases of the evangelization of Mesopotamia.

There are other elements that, as we have seen, point to a date in the V century for the redaction of our document. From the theological point of view, the *Acta* remain in an essentially Nicæan ambit, with positions that appear contrary to Arianism, Docetism, Marcionism, and above all Manichaeism. This last polemic was especially current among the Christians in fifth-century Persia, as seen in the synodic acts of the Syro-Oriental Church. The foundation of important Syro-Oriental schools such as those of Nisibis, Seleucia-Ctesiphon and Dorqônî (chapp. 7, 25, 34) also may refer to the

<sup>120</sup> Abbeloos 1885: *ad loc.*

<sup>121</sup> Or Babylon: here in Syriac *bbl*, like in the two following occurrences, just *infra* in the *Acta Maris*.

<sup>122</sup> Or rulers of small territories. the Parthian kingdom was subdivided into many satrapies, in some cases even tiny: Pliny, *N.H.* VI 29, mentions eighteen major satrapies, in addition to which there were many others, still smaller. This situation is also mirrored by the *Chronicle of Arbela* (see Ramelli 2002a: introductory essay).

<sup>123</sup> On Parthian history and the relationship between the Romans and the Parthians see Schippmann 1980; Wolski 1993; Winter 2001: 1-36; Ramelli 2000c. The Parthians are mentioned by Bardaisan in the *Liber Legum Regionum* perhaps written by his school (*PS* II 594), for their custom of polygamy.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Jullien 2001: 53.

situation of the V century, with the schools of Edessa and Nisibis, when the so-called “School of the Persians” of Edessa, which was inclined to Theodor of Mopsuestia’s theological views, was transferred to Nisibis after being closed in A.D. 489, at Zeno’s command: in Edessa, then, Monophysite tendencies asserted themselves, above all under Jacob Baradaeus’ influence in the VI century. As for the school of Dorqônî –founded by Mari according to our *Acta*, that evidently intend to glorify it with the attribution of an apostolic foundation–, it was destroyed in the time of King Pîrôz, who died in 484; this would suggest, again, the V century. It is interesting to observe that in his *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*<sup>125</sup> Barhadbêshabbâ ascribes the creation of the school of Edessa to Addai, and that the *Chronicle of Seert*, 60, confirmed by Amro<sup>126</sup>, records the biography of Rabban Mar ʿAbdâ of Dayr-Qônyê, considered the founder of the local school in the IV century, attesting that students were not allowed to go to the school of Edessa: evidently, there was a remarkable competition, and in this sense the attitude of the school of Dorqônî corresponded to the autonomistic trends of Seleucia from Edessa. It seems that, in the *Acta*, the claim that it was Mari who founded the school of Edessa could turn the prestige of the transmission of Christian orthodoxy to the benefit of the Persian Church<sup>127</sup>. The historical context of the redaction of the document would seem to explain such a position: at the beginning of the V century many Christians of the Persian Empire went to Edessa to study under Ibas’ headmastership. According to Simon of Bêt Arsham, Ibas’ best disciples became bishops in the main Persian dioceses<sup>128</sup>. The dating of the *Acta Maris* to the late V century also fits the knowledge of the *Doctrina Addai* on the part of the author of our *Acta*: since the *Doctrina* was composed very probably in the late IV or, at the latest, at the beginning of the V century, it is very likely that during the V century this document was inserted, in a very concise form, into the more ancient material concerning Mari that came into the *Acta*<sup>129</sup>. Thus, the dating

<sup>125</sup> Ed. Scher 1907a: 382 [68].

<sup>126</sup> Gismondi 1897: 12.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Jullien 2001: 180.

<sup>128</sup> Labourt 1904: 133; *Epistola Simeonis Beth-Arsamensis de Barsauma episcopo Nisibeno, deque haeresi Nestorianorum*, in Assemani 2002, I [1719]: 171; 350-353; 359; Duval 1970 [1907]: 345.

<sup>129</sup> The insertion may well have taken place even before the definitive redaction of the *Doctrina*, given that – as I said – it consists in the material that was also known to Eusebius in the first decades of the IV century, derived from the Edessan archives. So the *Acta Maris* too, already in the IV century or at the beginning of the V, may have derived this material from the same Edessan source, from which in the V century Moses of Chorene too derived the Abgar Legend for his *History of Armenia*.

proposed for the final redaction of the *Acta Maris* seems to be supported by a series of different elements; above all, this text seems to depend on a tradition that maintained ancient, historical traces, going back to the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABBELOOS, J.-B. (S.T.D.), 1885, "Acta Sancti Maris: Assyriae, Babyloniae ac Persidis saeculo primo apostoli, Aramaice et Latine edidit nunc primum, domus pontificalis praesul, archiepiscopi mechliniensis vicarius generalis", in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 4, pp. 43-138.
- ABRAMOWSKI, L., 1995, "The History of Research into Nestorius", in *La Tradition Syriaque. Colloque Pro Oriente, Vienne 24-29 juin 1994 = Istina* 40, 1, pp. 44-55.
- ALBRILE, E., 2003, "Sincretismo e identità religiosa nella Gnosi manichea, I", in *Teresianum* 54, pp. 165-195.
- ALENCERRY, G., 1993, "The Baptismal Doctrine of Aphraates the Persian Sage", in *Christian Orient* 14, pp. 91-99.
- Assemani, J.S., 2002 [1719-28], *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, I-IV*, Piscataway, New Jersey, Gorgias Press.
- ASSEMANI, J.S., 2004 [1775], *De Catholicis seu Patriarchis Chaldaeorum et Nestorianorum commentarius*, Piscataway, New Jersey, Gorgias Press.
- ASSFALG, J., 1962, s.v. "Mari", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, VIII, Freiburg i. B., p. 24.
- BAARDA, T., 1983, *Early transmission of words of Jesus. Thomas, Tatian and the text of New Testament*, J. Helderman - S. Noorda, eds., Amsterdam, Noord-Holl. Uitg. Maatschappij.
- BAARDA, T., 1986, "The flying Jesus. Luke 4: 29-30 in the Syriac *Diatessaron*", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 40, pp. 313-341.
- BAARDA, T., 1993, "John I : 5 in the *Oration* and *Diatessaron* of Tatian", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 47, pp. 209-225.
- BAARDA, T., 1994, *Essays on the Diatessaron*, Kampen, Kok Pharos.
- BAARDA, T., 1995, "The Syriac Versions of the New Testament", in B.D. Ehrman - M.V. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, Studies and Documents 46, Grand Rapids, Wipf and Stock, pp. 97-112.

- BAUM, W.- D. WINKLER, 2000, *Die apostolische Kirche des Ostens. Geschichte der sogenannten Nestorianer*, Einführung in das orientalisches Christentum, 1, Klagenfurt; Engl. transl. *The Church of the East. A Concise History*, London, Routledge 2003.
- BAUMSTARK, A., 1922, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, A. Marcus und E. Weber.
- BECK, E., 1979, "Das Bild vom Sauerteig bei Ephräm", in *Oriens Christianus* 53, pp. 1-19.
- BECK, E., 1992, "Der syrische Diatessaronkommentar zur Perikope vom reichen Jüngling", in *Oriens Christianus* 76, pp. 1-45.
- BECK, E., 1993, "Ephräm und der Diatessaronkommentar im Abschnitt über die Wunder beim Tode Jesu am Kreuz", in *Oriens Christianus* 77, pp. 104-119.
- BECKER, A.H. 2004, *Devotional Study: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Ph. D. Princeton University.
- BECKER, A.H., forthcoming, "Bringing the Heavenly Academy down to Earth: Approaches to the Imagery of Divine Pedagogy in the East Syrian Tradition", in R. Abusch - A.Y. Reed, eds., *Imagining Heaven in the Religions of Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- BEDJAN, P. ed., 1890, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum syriace*, I, Paris-Leipzig [repr. Hildesheim, Olms 1987].
- BEDJAN, P. ed., 1891, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum syriace*, II, Paris [repr. Hildesheim, Olms 1987].
- BEGLEY, V. - DE PUMA, R.D., eds., 1991, *Rome and India. The Ancient Sea Trade*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- BÖHLIG, A. - MARKSCHIES, C., eds., 1994, *Gnosis und Manichäismus. Forschungen und Studien zu Texten von Valentin und Mani sowie zu den Bibliotheken von Nag Hammadi und Medinat Madi*, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter.
- BOISMARD, M.-É., 1992, *Le Diatessaron: de Tatien à Justin*, avec la collab. de A. Lamouille, Paris, Gabalda.
- Boismard, M.-É., 1999, "Bethzatha ou Siloé?", in *Revue Biblique* 106, pp. 206-218.
- BOVON, F., - GÉOLTRAIN, P., 1997, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, Paris, Gabalda.
- BRAUN, O., 1898, *De Sancta Nycaena Synodo. Syrische Texte des Maruta von Maipherkat*, Kirchengeschichte Studien 4, Berlin.

- BRINKMANN, A., 1989, *Alexandri Lycopolitani Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Stuttgart, Teubner.
- BRUNS, P., 1991-92, *Aphrahat, Demonstrationes. Unterweisungen I-II*, Fontes Christiani 5: 1-2, Freiburg.
- BRUNS, P., 1995a, *Theodor von Mopsuestia. Katechetische Homilien, I-II*, Fontes Christiani 17, Freiburg.
- BRUNS, P., 1995b, *Den Menschen mit dem Himmel Verbinden. Eine Studie zu den katechetischen Homilien des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 549, Subsidia 89, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- BUNDY, D.D., 1993, "Revising the *Diatessaron* against the Manichaeans: Ephrem of Syria on John 1:4", in *Aram* 5, pp. 65-74.
- CAMPLANI, A., 1993, "Padri siriaci: Afraate, Sant'Efrem", in G. Bosio *et alii*, eds., *Introduzione ai Padri della Chiesa, secoli II-IV*, Torino, SEI, pp. 436-477.
- CAMPLANI, A., 1997, "Note bardesanitiche", in *Miscellanea Marciana* 13, pp. 11-43.
- CAMPLANI, A., 1998, "Rivisitando Bardesane. Note sulle fonti siriache del Bardesanism e sulla sua collocazione storico-religiosa", in *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 19, pp. 519-596.
- CAMPLANI, A.-GNOLI, T., 2001, "Edessa e Roma: a proposito di un libro recente", in *Mediterraneo Antico* 4, pp. 41-68.
- CHABOT, J.B., ed., 1902, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris, Imprim. Nationale.
- CHABOT, J.B., 1934, *Littérature syriaque*, Paris, Imprim. Nationale.
- CHAUMONT, M.L., 1988, *La Christianisation de l'Empire iranien*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 499, Subsidia 80), Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- CHILTON, B., ed., 1999, *James the Just and Christian Origins*, in coll. with C.A. Evans, Leiden, Brill.
- CHILTON, B., 2001, "James in relation to Peter, Paul and the remembrance of Jesus", in B. Chilton - J. Neusner, eds., *The brother of Jesus: James the Just and his Mission*, Louisville, pp. 138-60.
- CIRILLO, L., ed., 1986, *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale. Rende-Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984*, in collaboration with A. Roselli, Cosenza, Marra.

- CIRILLO, L., ed., 1990, *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Secondo Simposio Internazionale. Cosenza 27-28 maggio 1988*, Studi e Ricerche 5, Cosenza, Marra.
- CIRILLO, L. - VAN TONGERLOO, A., eds., 1997, *Manicheismo e Oriente cristiano antico. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi, Arcavacata di Rende - Amantea , 31 agosto - 5 settembre 1993*, Lovanii-Neapoli, Brepols.
- COOMBS, S., 1991, "Multiformis. The Value of Peripheral Traditions of the Eucharistic Prayers", in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 40, pp. 176-209.
- CUMONT, F., 1893, "Notes sur un passage des Actes de S. Mari", in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* 36, pp. 373-378.
- CURETON, W., 1864, *Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa*, London [Piscataway, New Jersey, Gorgias Press 2002 and 2004 reprint].
- DAFFINÀ, P., 1977, "India e mondo classico: nuovi risultati e prospettive", in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata* 10, pp. 9-33.
- DAUVILLIER, J., 1942, s.v. "Chaldéen (droit)", in *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, III, Paris, Cerf, esp. pp. 302-305.
- DEBIE, M. - COUTOURIER, G. - MATURA, T., transl., 1996, *Théodore de Mopsueste. Homelies catéchétiques*, Paris, Migne.
- DEVRESSE, R., 1948, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- DE HALLEUX, A., 1982, "Die Genealogie des Nestorianismus nach der früh monophysitischen Theologie", in *Oriens Christianus* 66, pp. 1-14.
- DE HALLEUX, A., 1991, "L'adoration des mages dans le commentaire syriaque du *Diatessaron*", in *Le Muséon* 104, pp. 251-264; 399-412.
- DE HALLEUX, A., 1993a, "L'annonce à Zacharie dans le commentaire syriaque du *Diatessaron*", in *Le Muséon* 106, pp. 255-265.
- DE HALLEUX, A., 1993b, "L'annonciation à Marie dans le commentaire syriaque du *Diatessaron*", in *Aram* 5, pp. 131-145.
- DE HALLEUX, A., 1993c, "Nestorius, Histoire et Doctrine", in *Irenikon* 66, pp. 38-5; 163-177.
- DESREUMAUX, A., 1983, "La Doctrine d'Addaï: essai de classement des témoins syriaques et grecs", in *Augustinianum* 23, pp. 181-86.

- DESREUMAUX, A., 1987, "La doctrine d'Addaï, l'image du Christ, et les monophysites", in S. Boefslug - N. Lossky, éd., *Nicée II, 787-1987. Douze siècles d'images religieuses, Actes du Colloque International, Collège de France (2-4 octobre 1986)*, Paris, Cerf, pp. 73-79.
- DESREUMAUX, A., 1993, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus*, tr. du syriaque de la *Doctrina d'Addaï* par A.D.; tr. d'une vers. grecque par A. Palmer; tr. d'une vers. éthiopienne par R. Beylot, Apocryphes 3, Turnhout, Brepols.
- DESREUMAUX, A., 1997, "Abgar, le roi converti à nouveau. Les chrétiens d'Édesse selon la *Doctrina d'Addaï*", in J.-C. Attias, ed., *De la conversion*, Paris, Cerf.
- DE VRIES, W., 1964, "Antiochia und Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Patriarch und Katholikos", in *Mélanges Tisserant*, III, 2, Studi e Testi 223, esp. pp. 437-449.
- DIHLE, A., 1992, "Indien und die hellenistisch-römische Welt in der neueren Forschung", in *Geographia Antiqua* 1, pp. 151-159.
- DOBSCHÜTZ, E. VON, 1899, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, I, Texte und Untersuchungen 18, Leipzig, Hinrichs.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1966, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen, Van Gorcum.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1982, "Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity", in *Second Century* 2, pp. 157-175.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1983, "Addai und Mani. Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien", in R. Lavenant, ed., *III Symposium Syriacum 1980: les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures, Goslar 7-11 sept. 1980*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Studi Orientali, pp. 171-185.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1987, "Abgarsage", in W. Schneemelcher, Hrsg., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I, *Evangelien*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, pp. 389-95.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1991, "The Abgar Legend", in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, revised edition, transl. R. McL. Wilson, Louisville, John Knox Press, pp. 492-99.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1992, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden, Brill.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1996a, "The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor", in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4, pp. 235-248.

- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1996b, "The Protonike Legend and the *Doctrina Addai*", in *Studia Patristica* 33, pp. 517-523.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1997a, "The Protonike Legend, the *Doctrina Addai*, and Bishop Rabbula of Edessa", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 51, pp. 288-315.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1997b, *The Finding of the True Cross; the Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syria*, in collaboration with J.W. Drijvers, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 565, Subsidia 93, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1998, "The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition", in H.L. Kessler - G. Wolf, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6, Bologna, Nuova Alfa, pp. 13-31.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1999a, "Promoting Jerusalem: Cyril and the True Cross", in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium, and the Christian Orient*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 79-95.
- DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 1999b, "Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa: Spiritual Authority and Secular Power", *ibid.*, pp. 130-154.
- DUPUY, B., 1995, "The Christology of Nestorius", in *La Tradition Syriaque. Colloque Pro Oriente, Vienne 24-29 juin 1994*, *Istina* 40, 1, pp. 56-64.
- DUVAL, R., 1970 [1907], *La littérature syriaque*, *Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes* 2, Paris [repr. Amsterdam, Philo Press].
- EDWARDS, M.J., 1989, "A Christian addition to Alexander of Lycopolis", in *Mnemosyne* 42, pp. 483-487.
- EDWARDS, O.C., 1985, "*Diatessaron* or *Diatessara*?", in *Studia Patristica* 16, pp. 88-92.
- FIEY, J.M., 1967, "Topography of al-Mada'in", in *Sumer* 23, pp. 3-38.
- FIEY, J.M., 1969, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe persique", in *Mémorial Mgr. Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis*, Louvain, Imprimerie Orientaliste, pp. 184-194.
- FIEY, J.M., 1970a, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 310, Subsidia 36, Louvain, Secretariat CSO.
- FIEY, J.M., 1970b, "Les marcionites dans les textes historiques de l'église de Perse", in *Le Muséon* 8, pp. 183-188.
- FIEY, J.M., 1977, *Nisibe: métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 388, Louvain, Secretariat CSO.



- GELSTON, A., 1991, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- GELSTON, A., 1995, "The Relationship of the Anaphoras of Theodore and Nestorius to that of Addai and Mari", in G. Karukaparampil, G., ed., *Tuvaik. Studies in Honor of Rev. Jacob Vellian*, Syrian Churches Series 16, Kottayam, Oriental Institute for Religious Studies, pp. 20-26.
- GERBER, S., 2000, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und das Nicänum. Studien zu den katechetischen Homilien*, Vigiliae Christianae Suppl. 51, Leiden, Brill.
- GISMONDI, H., 1897, *Amri et Slibae. De patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria*, pars altera, Romae, C. De Luigi.
- GISMONDI, H., 1899, *Maris ibn Suleiman. De patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria*, pars prior, Romae, C. De Luigi.
- GIVERSEN, S.-VAN TONGERLOO, A., eds., 1991, *Manichaica Selecta. Studies Presented to Prof. Julien Ries*, Lovanii, International Association of Manichaean Studies and the Centre of the History of Religions.
- GONZÁLEZ NÚÑEZ, J., 1995, *La leyenda del rey Abgar y Jesús. Orígenes del Cristianismo en Edesa*, Madrid, Ciudad Nueva.
- GRIFFITH, S.H., 2003, "The *Doctrina Addai* as a Paradigm of Christian Thought in Edessa in the Fifth Century", in *Hugoye* 6, 2, §§ 1-46.
- GUENTHER, R., 1978, *Bardesanes und die griechische Philosophie*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25, pp. 15-20.
- HAASE, F., 1925, *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen*, Stuttgart, Dieterich.
- HEID, S., 1991, "Zur frühen Protonike- und Kyriakoslegenden", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 109, pp. 73-108.
- HENGEL, M., 1985, "Jakobus der Herrenbruder – der este "Papst"?", in E. Grässer-O. Merk, Hrsg., *Glaube und Eschatologie. Festschrift für W.G. Kümmel zum 80. Geburtstag*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, pp. 71-104.
- HENGEL, M., 2002, *Paulus und Jakobus. Kleine Schriften III*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck.
- HENRICH, A.-KOENEN, L., 1988, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, Düsseldorf, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- HILL, R.C., 2001, "Theodore of Mopsuestia", in *Sacris Erudiri* 40, pp. 107-129.
- HILL, R.C., forthcoming, "His Master's Voice: Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Psalms", in *Proceedings of the North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting at Loyola University (Chicago) May 23-25, 2002*.

- HOFRICHTER, P., 1995, "The Anaphora of Addai and Mari in the Church of the East. Eucharist without Institution Narrative", in *La Tradition Syriacque. Colloque Pro Oriente, Vienne 24-29 juin 1994, Istina* 40, 1, pp. 95-105.
- HOGAN, M., 1999, *The Sermon of the Mount in St. Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron*, Bern, P. Lang.
- HOWARD, G., 1981, transl., *The Teaching of Addai*, The Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 16, Chico, CA, Scholars Press.
- INGLISIAN, V., 1963, "Die armenische Literatur", in G. Deeters - G.R. Soltan, Hrsg., *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 7, *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen* - V.I., Leiden-Köln, Brill, pp. 156-250.
- JAMMO, S., 1995, "The *Quddasia* of the Apostles Addai and Mari", in *La Tradition Syriacque. Colloque Pro Oriente, Vienne 24-29 juin 1994, Istina* 40, 1, pp. 106-120.
- JANSMA, T., 1969, *Natuur, lot en vrijheid. Bardesanes, de filosof der Arameer en zijn images*, Wageningen, Veenman & Zonen.
- JOOSTEN, J., 2000, "Jésus et l'aveugle-né (Jn 9, 1-34) dans l'évangile de Barnabas et dans le *Diatessaron*", in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 80, pp. 359-69.
- JUGIE, M., 1935, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, V, *De theologia dogmatica Nestorianorum et Monophysitarum*, Paris, Firmin - Didot.
- JOSSA, G., 2004, *Giudei o Cristiani? I seguaci di Gesù in cerca di una propria identità*, Studi Biblici 142, Brescia, Paideia.
- JULLIEN, C. & F., 1999, "Les Actes de Mar Mari: une figure apocryphe au service de l'unité communautaire", in *Apocrypha* 10, pp. 177-194.
- JULLIEN, C. & F., transl., 2001, *Les Actes de Mar-Mari, l'Apôtre de la Mésopotamie*, Apocryphes 11, Turnhout, Brepols.
- JULLIEN, C. & F., 2002, *Apôtres des confins. Processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien*, Res Orientales 15, Bures-sur-Yvette - Leuven, Peeters.
- JULLIEN, C. & F., eds., 2003a, *Les Actes de Mâr Mâri*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 602, Syri 234-235, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- JULLIEN, C. & F., 2003b, "Édesse dans les Actes de Mar Mari ou la bénédiction détournée", in S.C. Mimouni, éd., *Apocryphité: histoire d'un concept*

*transversal aux religions du Livre. En hommage à Pierre Geoltrain*, Paris-Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 167-182.

- JULLIEN, C. & F., 2003c, *Aux Origines de l'Église de Perse: les Actes de Mar Mari*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 604, Subsidia 114, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- KARTTUNEN, K., 1986, "Graeco-Indica. A Survey of Recent Work", in *Arctos* 20, pp. 73-86.
- KARTTUNEN, K., 1993, "Graeco-Indica (2)", in *Topoi* 3, pp. 391-400.
- KARTTUNEN, K., 1995, "Early Roman Trade with South India", in *Arctos* 29, pp. 81-91.
- KARTTUNEN, K., 2001, *In India e oltre: Greci, Indiani, Indo-greci*, in *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, a c. di S. Settis, III, *I Greci oltre la Grecia*, Torino, Einaudi, pp. 167-202.
- KAWERAU, P., 1981, *Il Cristianesimo d'Oriente*, Milano, Jaca Book.
- KAWERAU, P., 1983, *Ostkirchengeschichte*, I, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 451, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- KAWERAU, P., ed., 1985, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Syri 468 t. 200, 1 [testo sir. fotostatico]; 2 [versione tedesca], Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- KAWERAU, P., 1992 s.v. "Chronicle of Arbela", in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, Costa Mesa, Ca., pp. 548-549.
- KIM, A.Y., forthcoming, "The Exegetical Origins of the Sanctus in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari", in *Proceedings of the North American Patristic Society Annual Meeting, Loyola University, Chicago, May 24-26 2001*.
- KMOSKO, M., 1907, s.v. "S. Simeon Bar Sabba'ê", in *Patrologia Syriaca*, I, 2, Turnhout, Brepols, coll. 823-824.
- KOENEN, L.-RÖMER, C., Hrsg., 1985, *Der Kölner Mani-Codex. Abbildungen und Diplomatischer Text*, Bonn, R.Habelt.
- KOROLEVSKII, C., 1932, "Classification et valeur des sources connues de la discipline chaldéenne", in A.G. Cicognani, ed., *Studi storici sulle fonti del diritto canonico orientale*, Roma, Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, esp. pp. 668-669.
- KRÜGER, P., 1962, *Moses von Choren*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, VII, Freiburg i.B., pp. 654-55.

- KUMAR SINGH, A., 1988, *Indo-Roman Trade. An Archaeological Perspective*, New Delhi, Janaki Prakashan.
- LABOURT, J., 1904, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*, Paris, Lecoffre.
- LELOIR, L., 1987, "Le commentaire d'Ephrem sur le *Diatessaron*. Quarante et un folios retrouvés", in *Revue Biblique* 94, pp. 481-518.
- LELOIR, L., 1992, "Le Commentaire d'Éphrem sur le *Diatessaron*", in *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift F. Neyrinck*, III, Louvain, pp. 2359-2367.
- LEMAIRE, A., 2002, "Burial Box of James the Brother of Jesus. Earliest Archaeological Evidence of Jesus Found in Jerusalem", in *Biblical Archaeology Review*, novembre-décembre, pp. 26-70.
- LENZI, G., 2000, "I Vangeli siriaci", in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. I Vangeli dei Popoli: la Parola e l'immagine di Cristo nella cultura e nella storia*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, pp. 37-45.
- LIEU, S., 1992, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 63.
- LIPSIUS, R.A., 1880, *Die edessenische Abgarsage, kritisch untersucht*, Brunschwig, Limbach.
- LITURGY, 2002 [1893], *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Addai and Mari*, Piscataway, New Jersey, Gorgias Press.
- LUKE, K., 1990, "Tatian's *Diatessaron*", in *Indian Journal of Theology* 27, pp. 175-191.
- LUTHER, A., 1999, "Elias von Nisibis und die Chronologie der edessenischen Könige", in *Klio* 81, pp. 180-198.
- MAGRIS, A., a cura di, 2000, *Il Manicheismo. Antologia dei testi*, Brescia, Morcelliana.
- MAI, A., 1838, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, X, 1, Romae, Typis Vaticanis.
- MANSFELD, J., 1983, "Resurrection added. The *interpretatio christiana* of a Stoic doctrine", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, pp. 218-233.
- MATHEWS, E., 2003, review of I. Ramelli, *Il Chronicon di Arbela*, Madrid 2002: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 01.XI.
- MCCANE, B.R., forthcoming, "Ya'akob bar Yosef ahui diYeshua", in *Proceedings of the 2003 Annual Meeting of the AAR & SBL, Atlanta, Georgia, November 22-25 2003*.

- MC CARTHY, C., 1993, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 2, Oxford.
- MCLAREN, J.S., 2001, "Ananus, James, and Earliest Christianity. Josephus' Account of the Death of James", in *Journal of Theological Studies* 52, pp. 1-25.
- MILLAR, F., 1993, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C. - A.D. 337*, Cambridge, Ma. - London, Harvard University Press.
- MIRKOVIC, A., 2004. *Prelude to Constantine*, Bern-Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang.
- MIRKOVIC, A., forthcoming, "Political Rhetoric of Labubna", in *Proceedings of the AAR & SBL International Meetings, Atlanta, GA November 22-25, 2003*.
- MOBERG, M., 1992, "The Patriarchal See of Antiochia and Seleucia-Ktesiphon: Pattern of a Development that Frightens and Inspires Today", in *Harp* 5, pp. 99-109.
- MOLITOR, J., 1969, "Tatians *Diatessaron* und sein Verhältnis zur altsyrischen und altgeorgischen Überlieferung, I", in *Oriens Christianus* 53, pp. 1-88.
- MOLITOR, J., 1970, "Tatians *Diatessaron* und sein Verhältnis zur altsyrischen und altgeorgischen Überlieferung, II", in *Oriens Christianus* 54, pp. 1-75.
- MOLITOR, J., 1971, "Tatians *Diatessaron* und sein Verhältnis zur altsyrischen und altgeorgischen Überlieferung, III", in *Oriens Christianus* 55, pp. 1-61.
- MOOKEN MAR APREM, G., 1995, "Was Nestorius a Nestorian?", in *La Tradition Syriaque. Colloque Pro Oriente, Vienne 24-29 juin 1994, Istina* 40, 1, pp. 73-82.
- NÖLDEKE, TH., 1885, "Acta Sancti Maris ed. J.-B. Abbeloos", in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 11, p. 221.
- OÑATIBIA, I.-JANERAS, S., 2000, *Teodor de Mopsuèstia. Homilies Catequètiques*, introduction and translation, Clàssics del Cristianisme 79, Barcelona, Centro de Pastoral Litúrgica.
- PAINTER, J., 1999, *James the Just and Christian origins*, Leiden, Brill.
- PAINTER, J., 2001, "Who was James?", in B. Chilton-J. Neusner, eds., *The brother of Jesus: James the Just and his Mission*, Louisville, Westminster, John Knox Press, pp. 32-46.
- PERICOLI RIDOLFINI F., 1994, "La VI *Dimostrazione* del Sapiante Persiano", in *Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano* 17, pp. 103-128.

- PETERSEN W.L., 1984, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem as sources of Romanos the Melodist*, Diss. Utrecht, Universit.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1989, "Some remarks on the integrity of Ephrem's Commentary on the *Diatessaron*", in *Studia Patristica* 20, pp. 197-202.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1990, "Textual evidence of Tatian's dependence upon Justin's 'Apomnhmoneumata'", in *New Testament Studies* 36, pp. 512-534.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1992a, s.v. "Diatessaron", in *The Anchor Dictionary of the Bible*, 2, New York, Doubleday, pp. 189-90.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1992b, "The Christology of Aphraat, the Persian Sage: an Excursus on the 17th *Demonstration*", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 46, pp. 241-256.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1994, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance and History in Scholarship*, Leiden, Brill.
- PETERSEN, W.L., 1995, "The *Diatessaron* of Tatian", in B.D. Ehrman - M.W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New in Contemporary Research*, Studies and Documents 46, Grand Rapids, Wipf and Stock, pp. 77-96.
- PIERRE, M.J., 1988-89, *Aphraate le Sage Persan: Les Exposés*, translation, introduction, and notes, I: *Exposés I-X*; II: *Exposés XI-XXIII*, Sources Chrétiennes 349 & 359, Paris, Cerf.
- PIERRE, M.J., 1993, "La parole du sage, écho du Verbe de Dieu chez Aphraate le Sage persan", in R. Lebrun, ed., *Sagesses de l'Orient ancien et chrétien*, Paris, Beauchesne, pp. 139-168.
- PLOOIJ, D. - PHILLIPS, C.A. - BAKKER, A.H.A., 1963-70, *Tatianus. The Liège Diatessaron. Part VI-VIII*, edition with a textual apparatus; Engl. transl. by A.J. Barnouw, Amsterdam, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- PORTER, S.E.-CROSS, A.R., eds., 2003, *Dimensions of Baptism. Biblical and Theological Studies*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement, Sheffield, Academic Press.
- POSSEKEL, U., 1999, *Evidence of Greek Philosophical Concepts in the Writings of Ephrem the Syrian*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 580, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- POSSEKEL, U., forthcoming, "Formative Christianity in Edessa: The Communal Structure of the Early Bardaisanites", in *Proceedings of the AAR & SBL International Meetings, Atlanta, GA November 22-25, 2003*.

- QUISPEL, G., 1971, "Some remarks on the *Diatessaron Haarense*", in *Vigiliae Christianae* 25, pp. 131-139.
- RAABE, R., 1893, *Die Geschichte des Dominus Mari, eines Apostels des Orients*, Leipzig, JC Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- RAMELLI, I., 1998a, "Alcune osservazioni sulle origini del Cristianesimo nelle regioni ad Est dell'Eufrate", in R.B. Finazzi-A. Valvo, eds., *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il Romanzo di Alessandro e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi, Roma-Napoli 25-27 settembre 1997*, Alessandria, Dell'Orso, pp. 209-225.
- RAMELLI, I., 1998b, "Alcune osservazioni sulle origini del Cristianesimo in Spagna: la tradizione patristica", in *Vetera Christianorum* 35, pp. 245-256.
- RAMELLI, I., 1999a, "Edessa e i Romani tra Augusto e i Severi: aspetti del regno di Abgar V e di Abgar IX", in *Aevum* 73, pp. 107-143.
- RAMELLI, I., 1999b, "Linee generali per una presentazione e per un commento del *Liber legum regionum*, con traduzione italiana del testo siriano e dei frammenti greci", in *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 133, pp. 311-355.
- RAMELLI, I., 1999c, "Dal *mandylion* di Edessa alla Sindone. Alcune note sulle testimonianze antiche", in *Ilu* 4, pp. 173-193.
- RAMELLI, I., 1999d, "Stoicismo e Cristianesimo in area siriana nella seconda metà del I sec. d.C.", in *Sileno* 25, pp. 197-212.
- RAMELLI, I., 2000a, "La missione di Panteno in India: alcune osservazioni", in C. Baffioni, ed., *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Filologia, Storia, Dottrina, Atti del Seminario Nazionale di Studio, Napoli-Sorrento 29-31 ottobre 1998*, Alessandria, Dell'Orso, pp. 95-106.
- RAMELLI, I., 2000b, "Note sulle origini del Cristianesimo in India", in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 47, pp. 363-378.
- RAMELLI, I., 2000c, "Un tributo dei Parti a Roma agli inizi del I sec. a.C.?", in *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 134, pp. 321-330.
- RAMELLI, I., 2001a, *Gli Apostoli in India nella tradizione patristica e nella letteratura sanscrita*, in collaboration with C. Dognini, Milano, Medusa.
- RAMELLI, I., 2001b, "Bardesane e la sua scuola tra la cultura occidentale e quella orientale: il lessico della libertà nel *Liber Legum Regionum* (testo siriano e versione greca)", in R.B. Finazzi- A. Valvo, eds., *Pensiero e istituzioni del mondo classico nelle culture del Vicino*

*Oriente, Atti del Seminario Nazionale di Studio, Brescia, 14-16 ottobre 1999*, Alessandria, Dell'Orso, pp. 237-255.

- RAMELLI, I., 2001c, "L'Europa e i Cristiani", in *Studi sull'Europa antica*, a c. di M. Sordi, II, Alessandria, Dell'Orso, pp. 263-283.
- RAMELLI, I., 2001d, "Osservazioni sul concetto di "giorno natalizio" nel mondo greco e romano e sull'espressione di Seneca *dies aeterni natalis*", in *'Ilu 6*, pp. 169-181.
- RAMELLI, I., 2002a, *Il Chronicon di Arbela. Presentazione, traduzione, note essenziali*, in *Anejos de 'Ilu 8*, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Complutense.
- RAMELLI, I., 2002b, "Il concetto di 'mondo' nella Bibbia dall'Antico al Nuovo Testamento: osservazioni lessicografiche sul testo ebraico, greco e latino", in C. Dognini, ed., *Kosmos. La concezione del mondo nelle civiltà antiche*, Studi di Storia Greca e Romana 7, Alessandria, Dell'Orso, pp. 109-123.
- RAMELLI, I., 2002c, "*Protector Christianorum* (Tert. *Apol.* V 4): il 'miracolo della pioggia' e la lettera di Marco Aurelio al Senato", in *Aevum 76*, pp. 101-112.
- RAMELLI, I., 2003a, "Un'iscrizione cristiana edessena del III sec. d.C.: contestualizzazione storica e tematiche", in *'Ilu 8*, pp. 119-126.
- RAMELLI, I., 2003b, "I parenti terreni di Gesù: note in margine a una recente scoperta epigrafica", in *Vetera Christianorum 40*, pp. 339-355.
- RAMELLI, I., 2004a, "Abgar Ukkâmâ e Abgar il Grande alla luce di recenti apporti storiografici", in *Aevum 78*, pp. 103-108.
- RAMELLI, I., 2004b, "Conference Report: Papers on Syriac Topics", in *Hugoye 7*, 1, §§ 1-5. [<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/temp/HV7N1CRRamelli.html>].
- RAMELLI, I., 2004c, "La lettera di Mara Bar Serapion: introduzione, traduzione, note essenziali", in *Stylos 13*, pp. 77-104.
- RAMELLI, I., 2004d, "Linee introduttive a Barhadb'shabbâ, "La causa della fondazione delle scuole": filosofia e storia della filosofia greca e cristiana in Barhadb'shabbâ", in *'Ilu 9*, pp. 127-181.
- RAMELLI, I., 2005a, rec. di C.P. Thiede, *Jesus. Der Glaube, die Fakten*, Augsburg 2003, in *Aevum 79*, pp. 181-186.
- RAMELLI, I., 2005b, *Gli Atti di Mari*, introductory essay, translation, commentary, Brescia, Paideia forthcoming.



- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming a, s.v. *Barhadb<sup>s</sup>shabba*, in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, dir. A. Di Berardino, 2nd ed., Casale, Marietti.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming b, “Giovanni Crisostomo e l’esegesi scritturale: le scuole di Alessandria e di Antiochia e le polemiche con gli allegoristi pagani”, in *Giovanni Crisostomo. Incontro annuale degli studiosi dell’antichità cristiana, 6-8 maggio 2004*, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Pontificia Università Lateranense.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming c, “Origen and the Stoic Allegorical Tradition: Continuity and Innovation”, paper presented at the *Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature*, San Antonio, Tx, November 20-23 2004. Forthcoming in *Invigilata Lucernis*.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming d, s.v. “Papa Bar Aggai”, in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, dir. A. Di Berardino, 2nd ed., Casale, Marietti.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming e, “Possible Historical Traces in the *Doctrina Addai?*”, in *International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Groningen, July 25-28 2004*. Forthcoming in *Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies*.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming f, s.v. “Shapur, I e II”, in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, dir. A. Di Berardino, 2nd ed., Casale, Marietti.
- RAMELLI, I., forthcoming g, s.vv. “Tolomeo gnostico” and “Gnosi, gnosticismo”, in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, dir. A. Di Berardino, 2<sup>a</sup> ed., Casale, Marietti.
- RASCHKE, M.G., 1978, “New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East”, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 9, 2, Berlin-New York, pp. 604-1341.
- RAY, W.D., 1993, “The Chiastic Structure of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari”, in *Studia Liturgica* 23, pp. 187-193.
- RECK, C. et al., Hrsg., 2001, *Manichaica Iranica*, Roma, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- RIGATO, M.L., 2003, ““Giacobbe figlio di Giuseppe fratello di Gesù” o piuttosto “Giacobbe figlio di Giuseppe fratello e mano di Gesù”? Quale “Giuseppe”?”, in *Rivista Biblica* 2, pp. 203-218.
- RIGGI, C., 1969, “Una testimonianza del *kerygma* cristiano in Alessandro di Licopoli”, in *Salesianum* 31, pp. 561-628.
- RIZK, K., 1992, “Aphraate”, in *Encyclopédie Maronite*, I, Kaslik, Université Saint-Esprit, pp. 371-374.

- ROSS, S.K., 2001, *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture in the Eastern Fringe of the Roman Empire (114-242 C.E.)*, London-New York, Routledge.
- SARKISYAN, G.X., 1980, *The History of Armenia by Movses*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- SCHEDINGER, R.F., 2001, *Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures. A Textual and Philological Analysis of the Old Testament Citations in Tatian's Diatessaron*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 591, Subsidia 108, Louvain, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- SCHER, A., ed., 1907a, "Barhadbshabbâ", in *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV, Paris, Firmin-Didot, esp. p. 382.
- SCHER, A., ed., 1907b, "Histoire nestorienne inédite (*Chronique de Séert*) I/1", in *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV, Paris; I/2, *ibid.* V, 2, Paris, Firmin-Didot.
- SCHIPPMMANN, K., 1980, *Grundzüge der parthischen Geschichte*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- SEGAL, B., 1970, *Edessa, the Blessed City*, Oxford [2nd ed. Piscataway, New Jersey, Gorgias Press 2001].
- SIDEBOTHAM, S.E., 1986, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa, 30 B.C. - A.D. 217*, Leiden, Brill.
- SIMONETTI, M., 1977, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia", in *Vetera Christianorum* 14, pp. 96-102.
- SPINKS, B.D., 1993, *Worship. Prayers from the East*, Washington DC, The Catholic University of America Press.
- SPINKS, B.D., 1999, *Mar Nestorius and Mar Theodor the Interpreter: The Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers of East Syria*, Grove Liturgical Studies 45, Cambridge.
- STROUMSA, G.G., 1992, "Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis", in R.T. Wallis - J. Bregman, eds., *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, Studies in Neoplatonism 6, Albany, N.Y., pp. 337-349.
- SUNDERMANN, W., 1981, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtliches Inhalts*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
- SUNDERMANN, W., 1992, *Der Sermon von Licht-Noûs. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
- TARDIEU, M., 1988, *Il Manicheismo*, Ital. transl. Cosenza, Giordano Editore [introd. & bibliogr. by G. Sfameni Gasparro, Cosenza, Giordano Editore 1996].
- TEIXIDOR, J., 1992, *Bardesane d'Édesse. La première philosophie syriaque*, Paris, Cerf.

- TEIXIDOR, J., 1994, s.v. "Bardesane de Syrie", in *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques*, II, Paris, pp. 54-63.
- THOMSON, R.W., ed., 1978, *Moses Khorenat'sis. History of the Armenians*, Cambridge, Ma. -London, Harvard University Press.
- TISSERANT, E., 1931, "Nestorienne (Église)", in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XII, 1, Paris, p. 161.
- TONGERLOO, A. van, ed., 1995, *The Manichaeen NOYC. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized in Louvain 31 July-3 August 1991*, Manichaeen Studies 2, Louvain.
- TOUMANOFF, K., 1961, "On the Date of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene", in *Andes Amsoria* 10-12, pp. 467-76.
- TRAINA, G., 1991, *Il complesso di Trimalcione. Movsês Xorenac'i e le origini del pensiero storico armeno*, Venezia, Casa Editrice Armena.
- TRAINA, G., 1995, "Materiali per un commento a Movsês Xorenac'i, *Patmu'iwñ Hayoc'*, I", in *Le Muséon* 108, pp. 179-333.
- TRAINA, G., 1998, "Materiali per un commento a Movsês Xorenac'i, *Patmu'iwñ Hayoc'*, II", in *Le Muséon* 111, pp. 95-138.
- VAN DER HORST, P.W., 1974, *An Alexandrian platonist against dualism. Alexander of Lycopolis' treatise "Critique of the doctrines of Manichaeus"*, translation, introduction, notes in collaboration with J. Mansfeld, Leiden, Brill.
- VAN DER HORST, P.W., 1996, *A simple philosophy*, in K.A. Algra - P.W. Van der Horst - D.T. Runia, eds., *Polyhistor: studies in the history and historiography of ancient philosophy presented to Jaap Mansfeld on his sixtieth birthday*, edd., Leiden, Brill, pp. 313-329.
- VAN ESBROECK, M., 1987, "Who is Mari the Addressee of Ibas' Letter?", in *Journal of Theological Studies* 38, pp. 129-135.
- VILLEY, A., ed., 1985, *Contre la doctrine de Mani*, Paris, Cerf.
- VILLEY, A., 1986, "Controverses philosophiques à Assiout à la fin du III siècle", in *Deuxième journée d'études coptes, Strasbourg 25 mai 1984*, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 3, Louvain-Paris, pp. 23-28.
- VAN ROMPAY, L., 1982, *Théodore de Mopsueste. Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaume (Psaume 118 et Psaumes 138-48)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 435-36, Lovanii, Secretariat Corpus SCO.
- VAN ROMPAY, L., 1987, "Quelques remarques sur la tradition syriaque de l'oeuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste", in H.J.W. Drijvers -

- R. Lavenant - G.J. Reinink, eds., *Literary Genres in Syriac Literature: IV Symposium Syriacum 1984, Groningen-Oosterhess 10-12 September*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 229, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Studi Orientali, pp. 33-43.
- VAN ROMPAY, L., forthcoming, "Syrian Christianity in the Age of Justinian: Continuity and Redefinition", in *Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the SBL, Atlanta, Nov. 22-25 2003*.
- VOICU, S., 1983, s.v. "Movsês Xorenac'i", in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, II, Casale Monferrato, Marietti, pp. 2324-25.
- YOUSIF, P., 1990, "Traduzioni siriane di Teodoro di Mopsuestia", in G. Fiaccadori - M. Pavan, eds., *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, p.157sgg.
- WALDMANN, H., 1992, "Mani, das Christentum, und der Iran", in N. El-Khoury - H. Crouzel - R. Reinhardt, eds., *Lebendige Überlieferung. Festschrift für H.J. Vogt*, Beirut, Friedrich-Rückert-Verlag/Ostfildern, Schwabenverlag, pp. 356-364.
- WALLACE, R.S., 2001, *The Story of Joseph and the Family of Jacob*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans.
- WIDENGREN, G., 1964, *Il Manicheismo*, Milano, Il Saggiatore.
- WINTER, F., 1999, *Bardesanes von Edessa über Indien. Ein früher syrischer Theologe schreibt über ein fremdes Land*, Innsbruck, Thaur.
- WINTER, F., 2001, *Rom und das Perserreich, Zwei Weltmächte zwischen Konfrontation und Koexistenz*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag.
- WOLSKI, J., 1993, *L'empire des Arsacides*, Acta Iranica, Louvain.
- WRIGHT, W., 1870, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, I, London, The British Museum.
- ZUURMOND, R., 1988, "The Pentateuch Quotations of Aphrahat", in M.G.D. Harbers et alii, eds., *Tussen Nijl en Herengracht. Festschrift M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss*, Amsterdam, Noort-Holl. Mansch. Uitg., pp. 33-39.