

ment, in 616, of the schism between the Coptic and Syriac Miaphysites (Maspero, 'Histoire des Patriarches', chap. x), which dated from the time of Pope Damian (578–606) and the Patr. Peter of Kallinikos (581–91). The Enaton is not expressly mentioned, but no doubt this location brought together the leaders Anastasios (Apozygarios, 607–619) and Athanasios I Gamolo of Antioch (594–631) who both had no access to Alexandria. This reunion was based on extensive philological work on the Holy Scriptures, which took place in the Enaton in the monastery 'of the Antonines' (cf. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 238) and was favored by the vicinity of Alexandria with its philological traditions and resources. Pawlos of Tella provided a translation of the Septuagint ('Syro-Hexapla'), and Tumo of Harqel a translation of the NT (Harqlean version). According to the subscriptions of the Harqlean Gospels (Hatch, *The Subscription*), Acts, and Pauline epistles this translation was executed 'at the Enaton of (i.e. near) Alexandria, the great city, in the holy Convent of the Antonines (...) in the year 927 of Alexander, in the fourth indiction' (i. e., 615/16), while the subscriptions of the 'Syro-Hexapla' refer to the progress of the work between 615/17 (Vööbus, *The Hexapla*, 36–44). Shortly after the completion of the translation work the Persians invaded Egypt and sacked the Enaton in 619. A visit of Alexandria is reported for Ya'qub of Edessa, who thoroughly revised the OT. The Enaton is not mentioned, but the location 'Alexandria' does not necessarily exclude this monastic district.

F.-M. Abel, 'To Ennaton', *OC* ns 1 (1911), 77–82.

R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte). Les mois de Tubeh et d'Amchir* (PO 11.5; 1916), 764–7.

P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte* (1914).

J. Gascou, 'The Enaton', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 3 (1991), 954–8.

W.H.P. Hatch, 'The Subscription in the Chester Beatty Manuscript of the Harqlean Gospels', *HTR* 30 (1937), 141–155.

Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites*, 143–5, 238.

C.B. Horn and R.R. Phenix, Jr., *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the monk Romanus* (SBL Writings from the Greco-Roman World 24; 2008). (Syr. with ET)

J. Maspero, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie* (1923), 158–59.

R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts. Syrische Übersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfassten griechischen Biographie* (1895).

A. Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla* (1971).

A. Juckel

## Ephrem (d. 373)

Deacon, poet, and theologian. Born probably of Christian parents in the early years of the 4th cent. in the region of Nisibis, he spent most of his life in Nisibis, serving a series of bishops (beginning with Ya'qub of

Nisibis, d. 338). As part of the peace treaty between the Roman and Persian Empires in 363, Nisibis was handed over to the Persians and the Christian population had to leave. Ephrem may have gone first to Amid, but ended up settling in Edessa, where he spent the last ten years of his life. He probably died on 9 June 373. His biography, written perhaps 200 years after his death, is full of unreliable information (see Ephrem, *Life of*).

Ephrem's genuine writings fall into four main categories, prose, artistic prose, stanzaic poetry (*madrāšē*), and 7+7 syllable couplets (*memre*).

1. Prose: Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus (ed. R. M. Tonneau, CSCO 152–3); Commentary on the Diatessaron (ed. L. Leloir, 1963, 1990), whose final editing was probably after his death; Commentaries on Acts and the Pauline Letters which only survive in Armenian translation; various works against Bardaisan, Marcion, and Mani (ed. C. Mitchell and F. C. Burkitt, *Prose Refutations*, I–II [1912, 1921]).

2. Artistic prose: *memrā* on our Lord (ed. Beck, CSCO 270–1); Letter to Publius (ed. S.P. Brock, *LM* 89, 1976); *memrā* on the signs performed by Moses in Egypt (ed. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi ... Opera Selecta* [1865], 88–94).

3. *Madrāšē* ('Hymns'). Nearly 400 *madrāšē* survive, using some 50 different metrical patterns, designated by their melody titles (*qāle*). According to Ya'qub of Serugh, Ephrem instituted women's choirs to sing his *madrāšē*. These are transmitted in collections of various sizes, and are all edited by E. Beck: on the Church (CSCO 198–9); on the Crucifixion (CSCO 248–9); on Faith (CSCO 212–3); on the Fast (CSCO 246–7); against Heresies (CSCO 169–70); against Julian the Apostate (CSCO 174–5); on the Nativity (CSCO 186–7); of the Nisibenes (CSCO 218–9, 240–1); on Paradise (CSCO 174–5); on the Resurrection (CSCO 248–9); on Unleavened Bread (CSCO 248–9); and on Virginity (CSCO 222–3). Collections attributed to Ephrem, but which largely contain *madrāšē* that must be slightly later, are: on Abraham of Qidun and Yulyana Saba (ed. Beck, CSCO 322–3); on the Confessors (ed. Beck, CSCO 363–4); on Epiphany (ed. Beck, CSCO 186–7).

4. *Memre* ('Sermons'). Since the seven-syllable metre, used by Ephrem, became known as the 'meter of Mar Ephrem', a large number of *memre*, certainly not by Ephrem, came to be attributed to him. The six *memre* on Faith (ed. Beck, CSCO 212–3) are definitely genuine. Of the four further collections of *memre* edited by Beck (*Sermons* I–IV, CSCO 305–6, 311–2, 320–1, 334–5), only the following are considered by him to be genuine: I, 1–3; II, 1 (on Jonah and Nineveh) and the core of 4 (On the Sinful Woman, Luke 7); and IV, 2 (perhaps). All the rest in these volumes date from times later than Ephrem; this also applies to *memre* in Beck's further volumes, CSCO

363–4 (*Nachträge*) and 412–3 (on Holy Week). Only some excerpts from a collection of *memre* on Nicomedia survive in Syriac, but a complete Armenian translation preserves it (ed. C. Renoux, PO 37, 2–3).

The dating of Ephrem's writings, to before or after his move from Nisibis in 363, for the most part remains uncertain. Very probably composed before 363 are the *memre* on Faith, the *madraše* on Paradise, and at least most of the Nisibene collection (the first can be dated exactly, since it describes the flooding of the surroundings during the siege of Nisibis in 350). The *madraše* against Julian must date from shortly after the emperor's death in 363, during his Persian campaign. It would seem reasonable to date with confidence to his Edessan period those works which include references to Bardaisan (Prose Refutations, *madraše* against Heresies); likewise the *madraše* on Faith, many of which are concerned with the later developments of Arianism.

The *madraše* collections are preserved in 6th-cent. mss. (not always quite complete). This is fortunate since later mss. (almost all liturgical) provide only excerpts, often mixed in with later material; furthermore they attribute to Ephrem numerous poems which are certainly not by him (see *Studia Patristica* 33 [1997], 490–505). An important clue to the early transmission of the collections is provided by an early index of *qāle* (ed. A. de Halleux, *LM* 85 [1972], 171–99). Three of the six-volume Roman edition of Ephrem's works (1732–6) provided the first printed edition of his works in Syriac (the other volumes contain texts in Greek). In the 19th cent. editions of further works were published by Overbeck (1865), Bickell (1866), and especially Lamy (I–IV, 1882–1902). These older editions are now almost entirely replaced, as far as genuine works are concerned, by the 20th-century editions of Beck and others (a guide to all these editions is given in *The Harp* 3 [1990], 7–29; in *S. Ephrem, un poète pour notre temps*, 281–307; and in the Russian Theological Encyclopaedia [under Ephrem]).

Ephrem was already known outside Syriac circles to Epiphanius ('Panarion', 51.22.7: 'the sage among the Syrians') and to Jerome ('On Famous Men', 115, written in 392), and translations of some of his works into Greek were soon made. Ephrem's fame, however, led to a large number of Greek texts being attributed to him, only a few of which are really by him (and many are not even translations from Syriac); *CPG* 3905–4175 provides a guide to these. Translations were made from Greek into Latin, Slavonic, and other languages; those into Armenian, however, were directly from Syriac.

Ephrem was also a profound thinker, preferring to express his theological vision through poetry, rather than prose. Though his importance for the Christian tradition as a whole was recognised by Pope Benedict XV in 1920, when he proclaimed Ephrem to be a Doctor of

the Universal Church, it is only in fairly recent years that his significance as a theologian has begun to be properly appreciated.

The iconographical tradition either depicts him as a deacon (thus on a 10th-cent. icon at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai), or (more frequently) as a monk, following the misleading 6th-century Life. A popular theme in Late Byzantine art was the Death of St. Ephrem.

The dates of his liturgical commemorations vary in the different Churches. Syr. Orth., Saturday of the 1st week of Lent (with St. Theodore); also 28 Jan. and 19 Feb.; Maron., 27 Jan.; Ch. of E., Friday of 5th week after Epiphany (Syriac Doctors). Greek and Russian Orthodox, 28 Jan. Roman Catholic, 9 June.

See Fig. 49c.

### Bibliography

K. den Biesen, *Bibliography of St Ephrem* (2002) provides very full coverage; subsequent studies can be located in 'Syriac studies: a classified bibliography (2001–2005)', *ParOr* 33 (2008), 325–331.

### Primary Sources

For Syr. editions, see above. There are bilingual editions of On the Nativity (Syr. with AT by J. Khoury 1994), and of 20 selected poems (Syr. with ET by S. P. Brock and G. A. Kiraz 2006). Beck's editions are all accompanied by GT; a GT of the Commentary on the Diatessaron recently appeared as C. Lange, *Ephraem der Syrer. Kommentar zum Diatessaron* (FC 54.1–2; 2008). For French, Italian, and other translations, see *S. Ephrem, Un poète pour notre temps* (2007), 294–307. ET are as follows:

S. P. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: 18 Poems of St Ephrem* (2nd ed. 1983).

idem, *St Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns on Paradise* (1990).

M. Hansbury, *Hymns [on the Table] of St Ephrem the Syrian* (2006).

E. G. Mathews and J. P. Amar, *St Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works* (1994).

C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron* (1993).

K. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns* (1989).

### Secondary Sources

E. Beck, *Ephraem des Syrerers Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre* (CSCO 419; 1980).

T. Bou Mansour, *La théologie symbolique de Saint Éphrem* (1988).

S. P. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: the Spiritual World Vision of St Ephrem* (2nd ed. 1992; there are French, Italian, Malayalam, Romanian, Russian, and Swedish translations).

Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales (CERO), *Saint Éphrem, un poète pour notre temps* (Patrimoine syriaque, Colloque XI; 2007).

K. den Biesen, *Simple and bold. Ephrem's art of symbolic thought* (2006).

S. H. Griffith, 'Ephrem the exegete', in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (2004), vol. 2, 1395–448.

C. Lange, *The Portrayal of Christ in the Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron* (CSCO 616; 2005).

Murray, *Symbols*.

- U. Possekkel, *Evidence of Greek philosophical concepts in the writings of Ephrem the Syrian* (CSCO 580; 1999).  
 A. Shemunkasho, *Healing in the theology of St Ephrem* (2002).  
 P. Yousif, *L'Eucharistie chez s. Éphrem de Nisibe* (OCA 224; 1984).

S. P. Brock

## Ephrem, Life of

**Ephrem** (d. 373) is universally acknowledged as the greatest writer in Syriac literary culture. However, the earliest biographical notices of Ephrem did not emerge from the Syriac-speaking world, but were the work of Greek ecclesiastical historians (Palladius, Sozomen, Theodoret) who created an image intended to conform to their own monastic-inspired ascetical values. The accounts they produced preserve practically no reliable information about Ephrem; rather, they are constructed from a stereotypical repertoire of anecdotes and stories intended to depict an ideal monk. Monasticism had not entered Syria in Ephrem's time. His dedication to an evangelical life of chastity and service was based on the native Syriac institution of the *Bnay qyāmā* 'Sons of the Covenant' which flourished in the pre-monastic period of Syriac asceticism.

It is clear that the purpose of the early Greek biographical sketches of Ephrem was to confer legitimacy on him from the point of view of the Great Church of the Byzantine Empire, for example, by fictitiously associating him with Basil the Great, Father of Byzantine monasticism, and with monastic foundations in Egypt. These fictional encounters tactlessly depict Ephrem as a social inferior and an unlettered country-bumpkin whose fondest desire is to be able to speak Greek. It is during Ephrem's fictitious visit to Basil that his purported ordination to the diaconate takes place. By conferring clerical status on Ephrem, his teaching authority is legitimized and sanctioned. As a provincial, non-Greek-speaking culture with a history of independent thought and practice, Syriac-speaking Christianity represented a deviation from Byzantine imperial hegemony. By authorizing Ephrem, the Byzantine ecclesiastics who produced the Life brought him into the fold and legitimized the authority he possessed in native Syriac culture.

A historically and culturally accurate depiction of Ephrem is found in a *memrā* by Ya'qub of Serugh dedicated to Ephrem. The homily knows nothing of the severe ascetic depicted in the Life who shuns everyday life and disparages women as inferiors. On the contrary, it celebrates Ephrem for his moderation (*puršānā*) and simplicity (*šapyrūtā*), and remembers him precisely for his work among the *Bnāt qyāmā* 'Daughters of the Covenant'.

The several ms. traditions of the Life of Ephrem are all based on three Syriac recensions which, in order

of length are: ms. Vat. Syr. 117; ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Syr. 235; and ms. London, Brit. Libr. Add. 9384.

## Primary Sources

- J. P. Amar, *A Metrical Homily on Holy Mar Ephrem by Mar Jacob of Serugh* (PO 47,1; 1995). (Syr. and ET)  
 idem, *The Syriac Vita Tradition of Ephrem the Syrian* (CSCO 629–630; 2011).  
 P. Benedictus and S. E. Assemanus, *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, vol. 3 (1743), XXIII–LXIII.  
 N. Kavvadas, *Ho Bios tou Ephraim tou Syrou* (2007). (Modern Greek translation)

## Secondary Sources

- J. P. Amar, 'Byzantine ascetic monachism and Greek bias in the vita tradition of Ephrem the Syrian', *OCP* 58 (1992), 123–56.  
 idem, 'An unpublished Karshuni Arabic Life of Ephrem the Syrian', *LM* 106 (1993), 119–44.  
 O. Rousseau, 'La rencontre de Saint Ephrem et de Saint Basile', *OS* 2 (1957), 261–84; 3 (1958), 73–90.

J. P. Amar

## Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403)

Bp. of Salamis (Cyprus) and Greek author. His work 'On Weights and Measures' (in the Bible), which only partly survives in Greek (*CPG* 3746), is preserved complete in Syriac translation. Of his large work against heresies, the 'Panarion' (*CPG* 3745), only the 'Anakephaliosis' (*CPG* 3765) is known in Syriac. Syriac also preserves excerpts of a Letter to the Egyptian clergy (*CPG* 3757), the Greek original of which is lost. Among works falsely attributed to Epiphanius are the 'Physiologus' (*CPG* 3766) and the influential Lives of the Prophets (*CPG* 3777), of which a number of different Syriac forms are known.

The Greek Life of Epiphanius (ed. C. Rapp, forthcoming) was translated into Syriac and comes down in two forms (this Life is the source of the notice in the Chronicle of Siirt, 56).

## Primary Sources

- CPG* 3744–3807.  
 J. E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures. The Syriac Version* (1935).

## Secondary Sources

- L. Abramowski, 'Die Anakephaliosis zum Panarion des Epiphanius in der Hs. Brit. Mus. Add. 12156', *LM* 96 (1983), 217–30.  
 S. P. Brock, 'Some Syriac accounts of the Jewish sects [in the Anakephaliosis]', in *A Tribute to A. Voobus*, ed. R. H. Fischer, (1977), 265–76.  
 idem, 'Two Syriac translations of the Life of Epiphanius', in *Mosais. Festschrift für A. H. S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. Mullett, and C. Otten-Froux (2001), 19–25.  
 idem, 'The Lives of the Prophets in Syriac: some soundings', in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*, ed. C. Hempel and J. M. Lieu (2006), 21–37.

S. P. Brock