



3 1761 06835333 3



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
University of Toronto

349 (19)

TEXT AND TRANSLATION SOCIETY.

President

Professor F. C. BURKITT, Cambridge.

Vice-President

Mr. NORMAN McLEAN, University Lecturer in Aramaic, Cambridge.

Hon. Treasurer

Dr. C. D. GINSBURG.

Committee

The Rev. Professor W. E. BARNES, Cambridge.

Dr. J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, Joint Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

Mr. F. C. CONYBEARE, formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford.

Mr. S. A. COOK, Lecturer in Hebrew and in the Comparative Study of Religions, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Dr. A. COWLEY, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

The Rev. Professor S. R. DRIVER, Oxford.

Mr. A. G. ELLIS, India Office.

The Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, Dean of Wells.

Mr. J. F. STENNING, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

Mr. W. ALDIS WRIGHT, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Hon. Secretary

Miss CARTHEW, 6 Albert Place, Kensington, London, W.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION SOCIETY.

Established for the purpose of editing and translating Oriental Texts chiefly preserved in the British Museum.

Volumes already issued.

- THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE SELECT LETTERS OF SEVERUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH, *in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*. Edited and Translated by *E. W. Brooks*, M.A. Vol. I. Text, Parts I and II. Vol. II. Translation, Parts I and II. 1902—4.
- THE CANONS OF ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *in Arabic and Coptic*. Edited and Translated by *W. Riedel* and *W. E. Crum*. 1904.
- A RABBINIC COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB, *contained in a Unique MS. at Cambridge*. Edited by *W. Aldis Wright*, with English Translation by *Dr. S. A. Hirsch*. 1905.
- AN ANCIENT ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE APOCALYPSE OF S. JOHN; *also* THE ARMENIAN TEXTS OF CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA "SCHOLIA DE INCARNATIONE", *and* EPISTLE TO THEODOSIUS UPON EASTER. All Edited with English Versions, etc., by *F. C. Conybeare*, M.A. 1907.
- THE SYRO-HEXAPLAR FRAGMENTS OF CHRONICLES, EZRA AND NEHEMIAH; *also* THE NON-PESHITTO CATHOLIC EPISTLES. Edited with full critical apparatus, etc., by the Rev. *Dr. J. Gwynn*. 1909.
- COPTIC TEXTS ON S. THEODORE. Edited and Translated by *E. O. Winstedt*, B. Litt. 1910.
- S. EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS OF MANI, MARCION AND BARDAISAN. Edited and Translated from the Palimpsest in the British Museum by the Rev. *C. W. Mitchell*, M.A. Vol. I. The Discourses to Hypatius. 1912.
- EUPHEMIA AND THE GOTH, *with the Acts of the Confessors of Edessa*. Edited and examined by *F. C. Burkitt*. 1913.
- TWO COMMENTARIES ON THE JACOBITE LITURGY, BY GEORGE BISHOP OF THE ARAB TRIBES AND MOSES BĀR KĒPHĪĀ; TOGETHER WITH THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF ST JAMES, AND A DOCUMENT ENTITLED THE *Book of Life*, by *Dom R. H. Connolly*, M.A., and *H. W. Codrington*, B.A. 1913.

In Preparation.

S. EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS. Vol. II. The Book of Domnus: in the Press. Vol. III: In Preparation. Edited and Translated by the Rev. *C. W. Mitchell.*

A TRANSLATION OF THE HOMILIES OF APHRAATES. By *H. L. Pass*, M.A.

AN EDITION OF THE "BOOK OF HIEROTHEUS" OF BAR SUDAILI. By the Rev. *A. S. Duncan-Jones*, M.A.

AN ARABIC WORK BY ABU'L-HASSAN OF TYRE, ON SAMARITAN BELIEF AND PRACTICE. Edited by Dr. *Cowley* and the late Prof. *Hogg.*

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

MESSRS. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 14 HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W.C.

TWO COMMENTARIES
ON THE
JACOBITE LITURGY

TWO COMMENTARIES
ON THE
JACOBITE LITURGY

BY GEORGE BISHOP OF THE ARAB TRIBES
AND MOSES BĀR KĒPHĀ: TOGETHER WITH
THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF ST JAMES AND A
DOCUMENT ENTITLED *THE BOOK OF LIFE*

TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

DOM R. H. CONNOLLY, M.A.

AND

H. W. CODRINGTON, B.A.

277724
20. 9. 32

PUBLISHED FOR THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION SOCIETY

BY

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON
AND 7 BROAD STREET, OXFORD

1913

PRINTED BY E. J. BRILL, LEYDEN (HOLLAND).

P R E F A C E.

Before leaving England in the summer of 1911 to resume his post in the Ceylon Civil Service, Mr H. W. Codrington left in my keeping several manuscript books containing transcripts made by him of a number of Syriac liturgical documents, most of which are concerned with the rites of the Syrian Jacobites. Being unable himself to undertake an edition of any part of them, owing to enforced absence from England, and there being no time before his departure for us to arrange the preliminaries of a joint publication, Mr Codrington generously left his transcripts in my hands to make what use of them I pleased. In accepting this kind offer I made the request that, in the event of my publishing a selection of the documents, he would allow his name to appear on the title-page, as an acknowledgment of his really integral part in the work. To this Mr Codrington consented.

The extent to which I am indebted to Mr Codrington's transcripts in this volume will be stated more exactly in the Introduction. My own part in its production is, shortly, that of editor and translator. I alone am responsible for the accuracy of the edition of the Syriac texts, since I have had access to the original manuscripts of all the pieces except the last, and in the case of this I have procured the collation of a second manuscript. I am responsible also for the translations throughout, for all textual or other notes, and for the Introduction.

The pieces selected for publication are all of Jacobite origin, and all hitherto unedited. They comprise a couple of commentaries on the Liturgy, one of perhaps the seventh century, the other of the ninth; the four earliest (legible) manuscript fragments of the Syriac Anaphora of St James contained in the British Museum; and a seventeenth-century compilation which purports to be a copy of a certain form of diptychs called "The Book of Life". A more precise account of these documents will be found below in the Introduction.

As liturgical texts, the fragments of the Syriac Anaphora of St James are of special importance as being some centuries earlier than the manuscript used by Mr Brightman in the first volume of his *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. But the pieces of most general interest are perhaps the Jacobite commentaries on the whole Liturgy, which give a more lively picture of the manner in which the Holy Eucharist was celebrated by the Syrian Jacobites in the Middle Ages than the manuscripts, with their brief rubrics and limited scope, can afford. In these commentaries we have, moreover, the ideas and sentiments connected with the celebration of the Christian Mysteries in the minds of living men more than a thousand years ago.

My sincere thanks are due to Dom Mauro Inguanez of Monte Cassino for making a collation for me of Mr Codrington's copy of the *Book of Life* with the manuscript in the Vatican Library.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

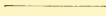
Downside Abbey

Near Bath

September 1913.

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION	I
TRANSLATIONS	
I. An Exposition of the Rites of Baptism, the Eucharist and the Consecration of the Chrism, by George Bishop of the Arab Tribes.	11
II. An Exposition of the Liturgy, by Moses Bār Kēphā	24
III. The Syriac Anaphora of St James, from Manuscripts in the British Museum.	91
IV. The "Book of Life".	112
SYRIAC TEXTS	
I. George of the Arab Tribes	1
II. Moses Bār Kēphā.	24
III. The Anaphora of St James	91
IV. The "Book of Life"	112



INTRODUCTION.

This volume contains:

I. A short Exposition of the rites of Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, and the consecration of the Chrism, by "a certain bishop named George." This work is taken from the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 12154. The MS is written in a good *esṯrangela*, and is assigned by Dr Wright (*Catalogue* p. 985) to the eighth or ninth century. Dr Wright with some probability identifies the author with George bishop of the Arab tribes, "the pupil and friend of Athanasius II and Jacob" of Edessa, who flourished about 687—724.¹ This identification is adopted provisionally throughout the present volume.

In each of his expositions the author has been influenced not a little by the *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia* of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and he has in his turn been used freely by Moses Bār Kēphā (see II below). Unfortunately he tells us little or nothing about the central portion of his anaphora, passing somewhat abruptly from the dismissal of the catechumens to the *Pater noster*. But at the end of his account of the liturgy he gives us what is, I believe, the earliest extant piece of information as to the reading of the *Book of Life* (see IV below).

The treatise of George of the Arabs was only partly copied by Mr Codrington. The text here printed is based on my

¹ Wright *Syriac Literature* p. 156.

own transcript; and I have corrected the proof-sheets on the MS itself.

In the translation I have placed in italics the few words which appear to be quoted from the text of the liturgy. Two rubricated sub-titles, to the comments on the Liturgy and those on the consecration of the Chrism, are represented by capitals.

II. An Exposition of the Jacobite Liturgy by Moses Bār Kēphā, taken from the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 21210. The MS is dated A. Gr. 1553, or A. D. 1242 (Wright *Catal.* p. 879).

Bār Kēphā was born about 813. "He was elected bishop of Bēth Remmān (Bārimmā), Bēth Kiyōnāyā, and Mosul, about 863, and took the name of Severus. He was also for ten years periodeutes or visitor of the diocese of Taghrīth. He died A. Gr. 1214 = 903 A. D."¹ Thus he was bishop for forty years, and his long life extended over nearly the whole of the ninth century. Though a comparatively late writer, he was master of a very easy and readable Syriac style.

As already stated, Bār Kēphā has copied freely from George of the Arabs, but doubtless from other writers as well; one of his sources appears to have been a document entitled *The Breaking of the Eucharist*². On the other hand, much of his own commentary has been incorporated in the later one of Dionysius Bār Ṣalībī (12th century)³, who often appropriates whole passages without acknowledgment. The liturgical text commented upon is, in the anaphoral part, the Syriac 'St James'.

With regard to the use of italics in the translation of this document, the following system has been adopted: the head-

¹ Wright, *Syriac Literature* p. 207—8.

² See the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. XIII pp. 580 foll.

³ Edited by M. J. Labourt in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Scriptores syri, series secunda, tom. XCIII).

ings (rubricated in the MS, and overlined in the printed Syriac text) which contain the various points or formulae proposed for comment, are italicised; likewise all words occurring in the comments themselves which appear as formal quotations from the text of the liturgy. But when liturgical phrases occur in the already italicised headings, they are further distinguished by double inverted commas. These headings are marked off from the comments which follow them by the insertion of a dash. The paragraphs into which I have divided both the Syriac text and the translation do not, of course, appear in the MS.

The printed text is based on a copy made by Mr Codrington; but I have corrected the proofs by the MS itself. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce quite completely the vocal punctuation of this comparatively late MS; so much as is given is, in the main, that which appears in Mr Codrington's transcript.

III. Four fragments of the Syriac Anaphora of St James, found in three MSS of the British Museum. The following table shews (1) the MS in which each fragment is found, (2) the approximate date assigned to each in Wright's *Catalogue*, and (3) the page of the *Catalogue* on which each is described.

<i>Fragm.</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>Saec.</i>	<i>Catal. p.</i>
A	Add. 14523	VIII—IX	204
A ²	" "	X	"
B	" 14518	IX—X	218
C	" 14494	IX—X	217

A², though bound up in the same volume with A, is in a different hand, and appears to me to be of about the same age as B and C. It consists of a single leaf. A and C are not continuous, leaves having dropped out in several places. B and C have been subjected to a process of revision

(escaped by A and A²), whereby in some places words have been wholly or partially erased from the text, and others substituted or placed in the margin. These alterations are recorded among the variant readings, with the necessary indication of their second-hand character.

Any one of these fragments is older, so far as I know, than any MS of the Syriac 'St James' yet published; and when they are all put together they give us (save for two not very extensive lacunae) a continuous text of the anaphora, from the title preceding the prayer before the Kiss of Peace to near the end of the so-called "Inclination" after the Lord's Prayer, — or covering p. 83 l. 20 to p. 101 l. 2 of Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*. The lacunae occur, (1) near the beginning of the Intercession, (2) towards the end of it.

The end of the anaphora, wanting in these fragments, is supplied from the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 17128, which is assigned by Wright (*Catal.* p. 226) to the tenth century. But as regards the two lacunae in the Intercession, I have not felt justified in filling them up in the same way from this MS, since the order of the prayers in the Intercession differs somewhat in different texts: thus in C (fol. 4 *a, b*)¹ there is no prayer for the kings at the place where such a prayer occurs both in Mr Brightman's text (p. 92, ll. 11—20) and in Add. 17128; while the two prayers for those in bondage, etc., and for the weather, which in Brightman (p. 90, ll. 26—35) come immediately after the priest's prayer

¹ At this point C evidently supplies the contents of a missing leaf of A also. This I gather from the fact that A and C are in substantial agreement just before and after the lacuna here in A, and that the words supplied by C are about the average number that go to a leaf of A. The missing leaf of A originally stood between the present fols. 6 and 7.

for himself¹, in Add. 17128 follow the prayer for the kings, at a later point in the Intercession. Any attempt to fill up the lacunae of our fragments here must involve the necessity of guessing at the order of the prayers. I have therefore thought it better to print the whole of the Intercession as it stands in Add. 17128 separately, after the rest of the anaphora.

In publishing these fragments no contention is here advanced that they represent a purer or earlier form of text than that found in some other MSS of later date. At first sight it seems reasonable to suppose that such is the case. But the question is complicated by the fact that in the seventh century Jacob of Edessa made a revision of the Syriac Anaphora of St James. For this he evidently used current texts of the corresponding Greek Anaphora; for in one of the several MSS in the British Museum which contain this revision it is definitely described as a "Greek correction". It is, of course, quite possible that some later MSS may preserve a text that is independent of this revision. This is a matter for subsequent enquiry. But the purpose for which these fragments are here edited is merely to supply a text of the Syriac 'St James' approximating to the date of the valuable commentary of Bār Kēphā, such as may serve as a basis of comparison with that commentary; and I think that in several cases these comparatively early texts will be found better to illustrate Bār Kēphā's remarks than others in current use.

Fitted on to the Anamnesis in A and B (the only pieces extant at this point) is a long prayer which does not occur in the Greek 'St James' or in the normal texts of the Syriac, but is found in an Anaphora bearing the name of John of Boşra (Renaudot *Litt. Orientt.* II p. 426—7). Apart

¹ A preserves the end of the prayer for the weather, apparently at the same point at which it occurs in Brightman.

from this one, all the prayers in our fragments may with confidence be referred to an original Greek text of the Anaphora of St James — due allowance made for modifications in both the Greek and Syriac texts since the time of translation. A comparison of the Syriac with those Greek texts which we now possess is enough to establish the general proposition, that the Syriac Anaphora of St James is a very close, even a pedantically literal, version of a corresponding Greek Anaphora¹. It is in the endeavour to make this apparent to the English reader that I have made my translation of the fragments as literal as possible, sometimes even at the expense of English idiom, and have here and there inserted from the Greek Anaphora one or more words of which the Syriac is plainly a translation.

The method adopted in editing the fragments is this: in the text, A is followed wherever it is extant, since it is both the oldest and the most extensive of the four pieces. Where A fails, its place is taken in the text by B, if extant, by C, if B is not extant. When A or B is in the text, the variants of BC, B, or C are recorded in the notes². A² covers a portion of the text not preserved in A, B, or C.

In the margin are placed references to the folios of each fragment, as they are numbered in the volume in which each is now bound up. When a letter occurs in the margin without brackets — A, B, etc. — it denotes that the fragment for which it stands supplies the text at this point. The bracketed letters (B) and (C) denote that these fragments

¹ A simple test is at hand in the quotations from the Old Testament. They regularly follow the LXX, even in the Intercession, which differs considerably from that of the present Greek 'St James'. The distribution of capitals (marking Scripture quotations) in Mr Brightman's translation suggests, on the other hand, that these quotations were assumed to have been made from the Peshiṭta.

² Certain merely constructional variants in the Syriac, which do not alter the sense, and which are difficult to represent in English, are ignored in the translation.

are extant but not followed in the text, and that their variants are to be sought in the notes. When words in the text are placed in square brackets, [], without remark, it is to be understood that they are illegible in the fragment which supplies the text, and have been inserted from another fragment¹. Naturally this remark does not apply to Greek words: these, as already stated, have occasionally been inserted in square brackets to indicate that the Syriac word or expression is obviously a translation; but sometimes also to explain and excuse an ugly English rendering: e. g. 'fair of mercies [= εὖσπλαγγυχτος].' Italics are employed only where words are rubricated in the MSS. Words not represented in the Syriac, but necessary to help out the meaning in English, are placed in round brackets throughout. For the reader's convenience the various prayers, responses, etc., are printed in separate paragraphs.

Of the four fragments, A B C were copied by Mr Codrington. I have collated his copies with the MSS, and have added A², the supplementary passage from MS Add. 17128, and the whole of the Intercession as it stands in this last-named MS.

IV. A document purporting to be a copy of the *Book of Life*. This was the name used to denote a form of diptychs of the dead, once in use among the Syrian Jacobites, and recited by them after the Kiss of Peace. The *Book of Life* was employed at one period as an alternative to the regular diptychs (or 'canons') for the departed. It was still in use in the time of Bār Kēphā (saec. IX); it was obsolete in the 12th century, when Bār Ṣalībī wrote².

¹ As this only occurs when A is in the text, and only in places where there is but *one* other authority (B or C) extant, no doubt can arise as to the source whence the bracketed words are supplied.

² For a discussion of the origin of the *Book of Life* the reader is referred to an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. XIII p. 580 foll.

A copy of this document is among the papers left with me by Mr Codrington. He informs me that his copy was taken from a MS in the library of Sharfeh in the Lebanon. On the outside of the brown-paper cover in which it is sewn is the following title: "The Book of Life, according to the custom of the church of the Mother of God which is in the city of Beroea [Aleppo]. The book was written by the command of Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch of Syria, who is Simon, in the year of the Greeks 1959" (= A. D. 1648).

A copy of the same document, contained in Cod. Vat. XXXIX, is described in the Catalogue of S. E. and J. S. Assemani, vol. II p. 275. Appended to it in this MS is a letter of the patriarch Simon Ignatius in which he gives orders for the Book to be written out for the church of Aleppo; and the date given is again A. Gr. 1959.

In the Vatican MS and that from which Mr Codrington copied at Sharfeh the folios correspond exactly; so that these two MSS were probably made from the same original, or copied one from the other. The Vatican text has very kindly been collated for me with Mr Codrington's copy by Dom Mauro Inguanez of Monte Cassino.

The few variants that seemed worth recording are given in the notes, where C = Mr Codrington's copy, and R = the Roman MS.

TRANSLATIONS.

- I. GEORGE OF THE ARAB TRIBES.
- II. MOSES BĀR KĒPHĀ.
- III. THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF ST JAMES.
- IV. THE BOOK OF LIFE.

I.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE MYSTERIES
OF THE CHURCH
MADE BY A CERTAIN BISHOP
NAMED GEORGE.

fol. 184a

Whereas doctors of the Church have made expositions of
the mysteries at length and minutely and in elevated style, fol. 184b
especially the holy Dionysius, the disciple of Paul the apostle,
one of the judges of the Areopagus, who was bishop of the
5 city of Athens: I also have made (one) in brief for the in-
struction of lovers of doctrine, especially of those who are
feeble like ourselves, and are unable constantly to read the
volumes of the holy fathers, either because they have them
not at hand¹, or else because it is not every one that is able
10 to comprehend the lofty meaning of the fathers. Wherefore,
that which has been done by the holy doctors, and said by
Dionysius himself and others in detail, I have done briefly,
in easy and simple language, according to the capacity of
every one who requires to know the power of the holy mysteries.
15 The beginning, then, of the mysteries of the Christians is
the true faith. And therefore the ecclesiastical canon com-
mands that he who draws near to Christianity should first
learn the faith, after he has been for a stated time a hearer
of the holy Scriptures at the hand of the deacons. Now the
20 hearing of the Scriptures which comes through the deacons,

¹ Lit. *they are not found by them.*

who are the cleansers ¹, cleanses them from old habits and forms them a new form and a new creature, as it were in the womb. But the faith is a way which leads to the accurate truth and to spiritual conversation, without which (way) no man is able to overtake the truth. For as a babe is formed ⁵ naturally in the womb of its mother, and then by birth comes to see the light of the sun; so here also, he who ^{fol. 185a} draws near to Christianity is formed by the deacons, and cleansed by the hearing of the holy Scriptures. But when he has taken hold of the way, which is faith, to come to ¹⁰ the one true God, then he is born by baptism at the hand of the priests; and he becomes a son of God by grace, and is accounted worthy of the vision of the divine light.

Our Father who art in heaven, which the baptized learn and repeat, makes known that they are now become sons of God, ¹⁵ and have gone forth from under the dominion of evil, and have been set free from being, as they were, sons of wrath.

He who draws near to baptism is stripped of his garments, and they loose his loins and take away his shoes, and he is turned to the West and renounces Satan. The stripping ²⁰ off of his former garments makes known that he has stripped off all the old and reprobate, godless conversation, and also the old man. But that he is turned to the West and renounces Satan, signifies that he has renounced and rejected all the darkness of error of the dark demons, and of the devil ²⁵ their chief.

The exorcism of the priest is a battle with Satan, and a supplication to the Judge that he who is being baptized may be set free from the captivity and subjection of the dominion of evil. 30

Afterwards he is turned to the East, to the quarter which

Cf. Dionys. Areop. *De Eccl. Hier.*, P. Gr. III 508 A; and for the whole of this exposition of Baptism compare Dionys. *op. cit.* cap. II.

is the mother of the luminaries: and by this he signifies that he has turned to the divine light. And then he makes confession of Christ. The confession of Christ makes known that he has renounced and withdrawn from Satan, and has
 5 drawn near to Him who is the true God, and to His heavenly good things.

Afterwards he is signed with oil three times in the form fol. 185b of a cross, the priest invoking over him the Holy Trinity. But first be it known to every one, that over all the mysteries
 10 of the Christians is signed the honoured cross, which signifies the death of our Lord; and without the cross not one of the mysteries of the Christians is performed. And although the Father and the Holy Spirit were not present at the incarnation or the sufferings or the death, save by will only,
 15 yet this we signify by the seal of the cross: that through the same cross — that is, through Him who was crucified upon it — we have acquired the knowledge of the Trinity, of the Father, and of the Son Himself, and of the Holy Spirit.

But that it is signed upon his face, upon the head which
 20 is the honourable and superior member, shews this: that by the sight of it he shall be terrible to the demons always: even as it was done in Egypt, where the destroyer feared to come near to the doors whereon was the type of the cross.

The sponsor — the same is the qarrībhā¹ — is a teacher
 25 of virtue, and one who presents to the things divine. He also signifies the modesty of him who is presented: that he has not dared of himself, without the intervention of others, to approach to that which is too high for him.

The writing of the name of him who is being baptized
 30 signifies that he has been written in the book of life; but that of the sponsor, whose name (also) is written, shews a

¹ This word means *neighbour* or *relation*; but here it evidently has a technical sense: one who stands by at baptism (cf. Bār Kēphā fol. 170a).

goodly record of his care for him who is being presented.

That his whole body is anointed, makes known that he is entering a contest against Satan. For he also who enters the
fol. 186a contest of a combat with men is anointed with oil, that the hands of him who contends with him may slip from him. So here also : the oil is an invincible armour against the demons.

The font represents the tomb of Christ; and the water that is in it, the womb that brings forth children, spiritual and immortal and incorruptible, as by a resurrection of the dead.

The baptism of him who is baptized is a re-birth. That he 10 is dipped three times, is a mystery of the three days our Lord was in the tomb. The right hand of the priest is a sign of the secret re-formation of him who is baptized.

That the priest says *Such a one is baptized*, and not "I baptize", he makes known by his humility that this awful 15 act¹ is not his, but by grace the gift has been bestowed upon him to administer these mysteries.

The coming up out of the font is a sign of his going up to heaven — like the going up of our Redeemer out of the grave to heaven. 20

That he is sealed after he has been baptized, makes known that by the seal he receives a sweet and spiritual savour. The seal itself, moreover, is that which completes the divine gifts.

The white garments which they put on after baptism signify that they are become sons of the heavenly light; and 25 the softness of the garments is a sign of the easefulness² of the spiritual birth.

fol. 186b The stoles (*orarium*), that is to say crowns, which are upon the heads of the baptized, declare the freedom which they have received through Christ. 30

Again, the incense which (goes) before the baptized is a

¹ Lit. *thing*, or *matter*.

² Or *repose*: Syr. *ra^cdūthā*, a rare word.

sign of the pleasantness which knows no pain ¹. The lights which (go) before them declare the lightsomeness of the divine knowledge which they have received through baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

5 Their entry in the service into the nave makes known their entry into the kingdom of heaven, and their return to Paradise, from whence they of the house of Adam went forth, and the joy of the angels on their account.

The entry of the males into the sanctuary signifies the 10 approach to the tree of life, from which in the beginning Adam was withheld by reason of the transgression of the commandment.

The reception of the holy mysteries signifies completion and perfection, and the entire union of will with the one God.

15 The washing of the priest before the holy mysteries teaches the whole people that they should wash their mind from all [worldly ²] cares; and again, that at the time of the mysteries they stand before God, the trier of heart and reins.

That the baptized do not wash their hands for seven 20 days ³, they declare the indelibility of the hidden power which they have received.

OF THE LITURGY ⁴. The service of the Psalm before the mysteries, which is rendered with one chant (*q̄intā*) ⁵, shews

¹ Lit. *not causing pains*.

² See Bār Kēphā (fol. 154^b) who appropriates this comment and supplies this word, here omitted.

³ Compare Tertullian, *de Corona*, cap. 3 'exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.'

⁴ Syr. *Qurrābhā*, lit. *Offering*.

⁵ I am not sure of the liturgical meaning of this term. It comes from the Hebrew *q̄ināh*, and means ordinarily a mournful hymn, or elegy; but in connection with the Syriac offices it seems to denote non-scriptural, or New Testament phrases introduced into the Psalms by way of farcing, with their accompanying chant.

the one will of the whole congregation ¹ of the Church, and (their) union with God.

Holy art Thou, God, which they cry three times, is a declaration of the conversion of the gentiles, and (of) the fulfilment which we now make of this mystery, the which ⁵ Isaiah foresaw.

fol. 187^a The hearing of the holy Scriptures and their meaning is the constant and spiritual food of the soul, (and is), as it were, instead of the bread and water with which the body is nourished. But that the Old Testament is read before the ¹ New, signifies that that which the Old said the New has shewn to have been fulfilled.

The censer, which the deacon takes about the whole nave, signifies the care of God for all, and the condescension and sweet savour of Christ. The return again of the censer to ¹ the sanctuary signifies the fixedness and unwaveringness of the divine care, which remains as it is, without diminution: even as a lamp, which is not diminished by the taking from ¹ it of many (lights).

The peace which the faithful give to one another puts ² away and quenches former enmity and wrath, and brings about peace and quietness, and love of one with another, and reconciliation with God and with the holy angels.

Now the deacons represent the former Levites; and for this reason they perform all offices of the Church: that is, ² the readings of the Scriptures, the proclamations (*kārōzūthā*), and the standing by the doors of the nave; and they at all times cry out (commanding) silence to all; and they set all classes each man in his place and order, according to his condition. 30

But the priest enacts three (parts): first, a likeness of our

¹ The Syr. word *mullāyā*, 'fulness', in this sense answers exactly to the Gk. πλήρωμα.

Redeemer and Lifegiver, who offered Himself for us an oblation to God His Father, so that He was reconciled to us; secondly, he is the tongue which is in the head of the ecclesiastical body; thirdly, he portrays spiritual images by a mystery ¹. fol. 187b

The altar signifies to us Emmanuel² Himself, who is the tree of life. The bread and wine which are upon it (signify) the body of God the Word, wherein was blood also; and they are the fruits of the tree of life.

That we mingle the lifegiving cup of wine and of water, is a symbol of the lifegiving blood and water which flowed from the side of our Redeemer on the cross.

The veil³ which is over the mysteries signifies the secret-ness and invisibleness of the power that is hidden in the mysteries. That it is removed by the deacons, signifies the coming down and manifestation of Christ to each one according as he is worthy.

The veils⁴, or curtains, of the sanctuary are a symbol of the screen which is between us and the hiddenness of that heavenly place.

That at the time of the celebration of the mysteries those go forth, and do not receive the oblation, who against their will are tempted by demons — for causes which we do not understand and which God alone knows — signifies this: first, that the holy mysteries may not be insulted by devils; again, because nothing pertaining to the kingdom is given to a man so long as there is any wrath against him on the part of the king. But the fathers say that he who is tempted, it is by his own will that he is tempted; for whether it be by reason of sin that he is tempted, by his own will he sinned, and was delivered over to the demons, according fol. 188a

¹ Possibly the plural should be read, *by the mysteries*. Cf. p. 35 below.

² Cf. Dionys. Areop. *De Eccles. Hier.* cap. IV; *P. Gr.* III 484 D.

³ Syr. *shōshepā*, a small head-veil.

⁴ Βῆλον, *velum*.

to that: "I delivered them over to Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme"¹; or whether it be for any other cause, through his own sloth and cowardice he is tempted. But if he be a child, he is sometimes tempted for the sins of his fathers; or because God foresees what is about to happen to him, He brings in chastening beforehand for a warning, and contrives a healing before the disease: even as was done by (a divine) dispensation with Nebuchadnezzar the barbarian, king of Babylon, to whom He shewed the dream of a tree², and revealed to him the interpretation thereof by Daniel, and counselled him to heal his stroke by almsgiving before it should come³. But sometimes through evil men and sorcerers this manner of delivering over (to demons) is brought about. And it is plain that there are many who are tempted by devils for divers sins — if indeed it be true that the source of everything evil is from Satan — and we all commit many sins, yet our sins do not appear: but the Church judges (only) those things that are open and visible; and those that are secret and invisible she leaves to God who sees them, that He may judge them.

To those again who are in penance the oblation is not given, because they have sinned after the communion of the mysteries; for he who sins after the communion of the mysteries is like a slave who has offended against the king, and has gone and given to the king's enemies the gift which he received from the house of the king: and what he did was known to the sons of the king's house, who are the priests, and they told of him to the king, and he was forbidden to see the king.

The deacons, again, are a likeness of those angels that were seen at the head and the feet of Jesus our Redeemer.

¹ I Tim. I 20.

² Lit. *shewed by means of the dream of a tree.*

³ Dan. chap. II.

The stoles (*orarium*) upon their left shoulders signify their subjection to the priests, like subordinates (*ταξιδιώτης*); for he who is in authority wears the stole upon both of his shoulders, or upon his head. The fans in their hands denote the wings of their mind, which fly aloft without drooping. Their bowing down to the ground is a likeness of those guards who fell upon the ground for fear at the time of our Lord's resurrection.

The bending of the knee is a sign of our fall through the transgression of Adam. Our rising up from the genuflexion is a sign of our resurrection through the resurrection of our Lord. But on Sunday, and again during the seven weeks of Pentecost, we do not bend the knee, because they are the days of Christ's resurrection, by which our resurrection came about.

Our Father who art in heaven is a prayer of confidence¹, which shews us to be sons of God by grace; and there is in it a confession of the Creator, and love of things good, and rejection of things evil, and hope, and forgiveness of sins, and a request for what is needful.

Holy things to the holy signifies that holy things are given to pure and holy men, and not to the defiled and the unclean.

One holy Father, one holy Son, one holy Spirit, shews the equality of essence of the Holy Trinity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and (it is) a confession of the divine and blessed nature (of Him) who has made the mortal nature of men worthy of the holiness of His name. fol. 189a

The dividing of the holy mysteries to the faithful signifies the gathering together of the faithful themselves, and their union with one another and with Christ, even as the prophet said concerning Him: "I will divide Him among many; and

¹ Or *free access* (*παρηγορία*).

to many He shall divide the inheritance"¹: which is the bestowal of forgiveness of sins.

The reception of the mysteries brings about for us a union with God the Word, the Son of God. The right hand which is stretched out, the left bearing it to receive the mysteries, is a sign of the honour of the gift that is given, which is a pledge of immortal life.

That the priest who offers the oblation receives first, and then gives to the others, makes known his goodly testimony concerning the mysteries.

The prayer after the reception of the mysteries is the thanksgiving and confession that every one renders after the receiving of the gift.

The Book of Life, which is read upon the altar before the consecration of the mysteries, shews forth a memorial of the saints, and their fellowship with Christ, and that their names have been written in the book of life which is in heaven.

fol. 189^v That the priests wash their hands before the altar, signifies that they stand before Christ, the trier of heart and reins, and to Him commit all their faculties. It also teaches all the people to wash their minds from all worldly cares and thoughts².

CONCERNING THE CONSECRATION OF THE CHRISM³. The chrim, that is the oil of anointing, is consecrated once every year, on the Thursday of the Mystery, either immediately after the morning office or at the third hour of the same day. And the bishop alone consecrates it; for a presbyter is not permitted to consecrate it. And he consecrates it thus:

The bishop assembles the whole church to the holy nave; and the lesson of the holy Scriptures is (read) which is

¹ Cf. Is. LIII 12.

² See above, p. 15.

³ Μύρον.

assigned for this matter; and after the lesson of the Scriptures, the deacon's proclamation¹ is made, and the hearers, who are unbaptized, go out, and those who are tempted by devils and those who are in penance; and straightway the doors are closed as usual, and the subdeacons stand by them.

Now that oil which is put into the chrism² is seasoned beforehand and spiced³ by the perfumers' art, or with Egyptian balm⁴. But oil pressed from the olive alone is consecrated, as the law of the ecclesiastical canon commands; for the canon does not allow any other kind of oil to be consecrated or to be employed in any of the ecclesiastical rites — neither in (the preparation of?) the eucharistic bread (*qəṣāthā*) nor in any other (rite) — except only olive oil. For all other oils — I mean that of sesame, and that made from Egyptian radishes, or that which physicians make from eggs for use in sicknesses, or any other oils whatsoever, such as that of sheep, or that of cows, or of nuts and of almonds, and the rest — are a symbol of false doctrines and of corrupt heresies, such as have the name only of Christ upon them, but are far from His truth. But the oil of the olive is a symbol of the pure doctrine of the Church; and it alone is the true oil, both in name and in fact. And even as we are not allowed to mingle strange doctrines with the doctrine of the Church, so neither are we allowed to mingle any of these oils with any of the mysteries of the Church; and he who does so is rejected of the doctrine of the truth.

fol. 190a

The bishop takes that oil which he wishes to consecrate,

¹ Syr. *kārōzūthā*, which may also mean *litany*; but here it evidently describes the formulæ for the dismissal of catechumens. See fol. 191a, where it is said that in this service also, as in that of the Mysteries, the catechumens "go forth at the word of the deacon".

² Lit. *that chrism*. The text is altered by a second hand into *that of the chrism*.

³ Cf. Dionys. Areop. *op. cit.* cap. IV; *P. Gr.* III 477 C.

⁴ Ὁποβάλαμον.

placed in a vessel of gold or of silver or of glass, and goes forth from the diaconicum with a procession, twelve deacons carrying twelve fans and covering the oil and the bishop at once. And censers and lights go before him (*or it*), and the whole brotherhood of the people singing hymns. And thus he brings it in and sets it on the holy altar. And he consecrates it with the prayers appointed for it. But it is not covered with a veil, but by the fans only. And henceforth he uses it in all the services of the Church, in the consecration of the nave, and in the consecration of the altar; and those who are being baptized are signed with it; and some of it the priest pours upon the waters of the font in the form of a cross three times, when he consecrates it, giving fol. 190b praise¹. And with it also the baptized are sealed after they have been baptized. And without it not one of the ministries of the Church is completed.

That the bishop sets it upon the altar covered by the wings of the fans, shews that all the works of the Church, and all her rites, she performs with meekness and modesty and in secret, and not with vain glory and ostentation. 20

But this holy chrism, by the materials of its preparation, portrays and shews to us Emmanuel Himself. For Emmanuel also is compounded of divers elements², even as the chrism is compounded and spiced with divers materials; and it is the perfecter and completer, and the sweet savour of all the services of the Church: even as the apostle Paul explains 25 to us, saying: "We are a sweet savour in Christ unto God"³. And the chrism, if it be duly seasoned with those roots which are added to it, its odour does not grow faint, nor does it lack (the scent of) anything that is put into it. And 30 our Lord also has said: "Whoso eateth my body and drinketh

¹ The verb *hallel* sometimes means to utter a doxology, and here it doubtless refers to the mention of the Trinity.

² Lit. *materials*.

³ 2 Cor. II 15.

my blood, he abideth in me, and I in him; and I will raise him up on the last day”¹.

But the twelve wings of the fans signify the wings of the seraphim, who stand by the appointed place² of Jesus. The altar also depicts Jesus to us: and as the altar is consecrated with the chrism, and it (the chrism), again, is always consecrated upon it; so Christ also, — He it is that consecrates as God, and He it is that has been consecrated for us as man, as He said: “I consecrate myself for them”³.

fol. 191a

10 But that the priest pours some of it upon the waters of the font, making a cross, signifies this: that Jesus Christ, God over all, condescended even to the death of the cross and to the three-days burial.

That when the chrism is being consecrated all those classes 15 who are not fully initiated⁴ go forth at the word of the deacon, makes known that the service of the chrism is one that fully initiates⁵ and perfects like that of the Oblation, and that none are permitted to see these mysteries of the Christians, save only those who are fully initiated.

20 These things we have composed briefly, for the understanding of those who may fall in with them, such as will not encounter our words with hostile prejudice.

The end of this Exposition of the Mysteries of the Church.

¹ John VI 56, 54.

² The Syriac word *wa'dā* is nearly equivalent to “rendezvous”.

³ John XVII 19. We might put *sanctify* for *consecrate* throughout this paragraph: Syriac cannot make the distinction.

⁴ Lit. *complete*.

⁵ Lit. *completes*.

II.

fol. 146b THE EXPOSITION OF MOSES BĀR KĒPHĀ
 THAT IS THE
 EXPLANATION OF THE MYSTERIES
 OF THE OBLATION.

Shewing by how many names this rite is called. — We say that it has six names. It is called “Assembly”, “Communion”, “Access”, “Oblation”, “Mysteries”, “Perfection of Perfections”. It is called “Assembly”, because it assembles the scattered faculties that are in us into the unity of the one God¹; “Communion”, because we communicate in the body of Christ, and become one body with Him, according to that: “Whoso eateth my body and drinketh my blood, he abideth in me, and I in him”²; and according to that which the apostle said: “We are the members of Christ”³. (It is called) “Access”⁴, because by it they that were far off and they that were near, and they of heaven and they of earth, have been brought near to one another; as Paul has said: “In him we both have access”⁵; that is, the People and the peoples, heavenly and earthly beings. (It is called)

¹ Cf. Dionys. Areop. *De Eccles. Hier.* cap. III; *P. Gr.* III 424 C.

² John VI 56.

³ Eph. V 30; I Cor. VI 15.

⁴ *Qurṛābhā*: applied to the Eucharist this word really means “bringing near”, “offering”.

⁵ Eph. II 18.

“Oblation” (*Qurbānā*), because He was made an oblation to God the Father for our sins, as the apostle said: “He who offered himself for us”¹, etc. And in the law of Moses also they used to call “qurbānā” those sacrifices which were offered
 5 for sins. (It is called) “Mysteries”, because Christ delivered them secretly to the company of His disciples in the upper chamber. Secondly, because that after He had delivered them to the disciples, He revealed to them the mystery concerning His passion. (It is called) “Perfection of Perfec-
 10 tions”, because without it not one of the divine mysteries is perfected; for he who is baptized is not perfected except he receive the mysteries; so also he who is blessed (to be) a deacon or a presbyter, with it he is perfected and completed².

fol. 147a

15 *Again, a mystical interpretation*³ of the *semantron*⁴. — The *semantron* is struck for the following reasons. First: that when we hear its voice we may understand that by wood we transgressed the commandment and were driven away from Paradise, and by the wood of the cross came our
 20 redemption from the sin of the transgression. And so, when we hear its voice, we sign ourselves with the cross [? saying,] *Bless, my Lord*: that is, Permit me, Lord, to praise Thee for Thy redemption; according to that: “Lord, open thou my lips”⁵. Secondly: as a trumpet assembles the forces of a king for
 25 the extolling and praising of the king, so the *semantron* assembles us for the praising of our King, Christ. Thirdly: as the trumpet, or the herald, assembles the king’s forces to battle and combat with the enemies, so the *semantron* assembles us to battle with Satan, the enemy of our human
 30 race. Fourthly: as the trumpet, or the herald, assembles the

¹ Hebr. IX 14.

² Cf. Dionys. Areop. *op. cit.*; *P. Gr.* III 424 D.

³ Θεωρία.

⁴ Syr. *nāqōshā*, i. e. “knocker”. ⁵ Ps. LI 15.

king's forces that he may give them gifts, so also the semantron assembles us to Christ, our King, who gives us these gifts: forgiveness of sins, the granting of our reasonable requests, and likewise spiritual gifts.

Concerning the reading of the Scriptures, what it signifies; 5
fol. 147b *and concerning "Holy art Thou, God".* — It is right that we should make these enquiries concerning *Holy art Thou, God*. First: who taught us to say it. Secondly: why we say it. Thirdly: to which of the Persons of the Trinity it is addressed. Fourthly: what we signify by saying *Holy art* 10
*Thou, God; holy art Thou, Almighty*¹; *holy art Thou, Im-*
mortal: who wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us.

As to (the question), who taught it us: some say that it is taken and introduced from Isaiah the prophet; for he saw a marvellous vision, and was vouchsafed a revelation 15
from God, and heard the seraphim sanctifying the Lord of glory and saying: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of sabaoth"²; and from him certain holy men adapted it and appointed it in the Church. But others say that at the time of the crucifixion, after Christ had given up His spirit into the 20
hands of His Father, the holy seraphim came together round about the body of Christ, and sang this hymn as far as *who wast crucified for us*; and they left out this clause, and very rightly, since it was not for them that He was crucified, but for the whole race of men. At that time, they say, 25
Joseph the Councillor was present, he who begged the body of Christ from Pilate the judge and embalmed it; and they say that when he heard them saying *Holy art Thou, God; holy art Thou, Almighty; holy art Thou, Immortal*, his own mind was enlightened, and he added (thereto) *who wast cru-* 30
cified for us, have mercy upon us. A councillor³ is one who carries the king's ring and seals (his) letters. Others say that

¹ Or *Mighty One*.

² Is. VI 3.

³ Βουλευτής.

by Ignatius the Fiery¹, the disciple of Paul the apostle, it fol. 148a
 was fixed in the Church, both it and the present manner of
 singing the service in two choirs: for in former times one
 choir used to sing, like the Jews, with whom this is main-
 5 tained to the present day: for they say that he was rapt
 in his mind even to heaven, and saw the choirs of angels,
 one singing praise and the other answering to it; and he
 heard this hymn there, and fixed it in the Church. But
 10 that is ever singing this song of praise². But however this
 may be, it was by this holy man (Ignatius) that it was fixed
 in the Church.

*The second (question): to which of the Persons of the Tri-
 nity it is addressed.* — And we say, to the Son, who became
 15 incarnate and was made man for us. For we do not say as
 the heretics say: now they say thus: “Holy art Thou, God
 the Father; holy art Thou, Almighty Son; holy art Thou,
 Immortal Holy Spirit”. Now if it be so as these say, He
 who was crucified is found to be other than these three,
 20 being a fourth. And so they confess a Quaternity and not,
 as the Christians do, a Trinity. But we say that it is ad-
 dressed to the Son; and so to the self-same Son, who be-
 cause of us and for us became man and was crucified, we
 say *Holy art Thou, God; holy art Thou, Almighty; holy art*
 25 *Thou, Immortal: who wast crucified for us, have mercy*
upon us.

The third question: why we say “Holy art Thou, God”. —
 We say: that we may render thanks to the Word, who for
 us became incarnate and was crucified and died and redeemed fol. 148b
 30 us: and for this reason we sanctify and praise Him.

¹ I. e. St Ignatius of Antioch.

² Isaac of Antioch (5th century) wrote an immensely long poem on a
 parrot which repeated the Trisagion in the marketplace at Antioch: ed. Bedjan
 p. 737—788.

The fourth question: what we signify by saying "Holy art Thou, God". — And we say that, understanding God the Word, who when He was rich became poor for us, and was made man without being changed from being God, but shewed the more that He is God by becoming man for us 5 without being changed: we render Him thanks, saying *Holy art Thou, God.*

What we signify by saying "Holy art Thou, Almighty". — And we say that, understanding God the Word, who for us was made flesh and received sufferings and stripes and buffets 10 and the cross, and by this weakness appeared mighty in two ways — by remaining impassible; and by binding Satan the accursed, and rescuing us from the dominion of the tyrant, as Paul says: "He stripped bare by the putting off of his flesh the principalities and powers of the air"¹ — we render Him 15 thanks, sanctifying and saying: *Holy art Thou, Almighty.* And again, He is almighty in that He was able to become incarnate without being changed, and to suffer and be crucified and die while He remained impassible and immortal.

What we signify by saying "Holy art Thou, Immortal". — 20 And we say that, thinking of the same God the Word, who was implicated with death through the medium of the flesh, and yet remained immortal — since He went down to Sheol and brought out the souls that were there held captive, and rose the third day, and thereby gave us a great pledge of 25 (our) resurrection and of immortality — we thank Him, saying: *Holy art Thou, Immortal.*

fol. 149a *What we signify by saying "Who wast crucified for us, have mercy on us".* — And we say that, understanding that He bore all things for us, so as to give Himself even to the 30 death of the cross for us, we render Him thanks, saying:

¹ Cf. Col. II 11, 15.

Who wast crucified for us, have mercy on us now also, even as at all times Thou hast had mercy upon us.

Concerning the reading of the Scriptures. — The Scriptures are read for these reasons. First: that they may give
5 spiritual food to the soul and may nourish it, even as bread and water nourish the body¹. Secondly: they are a doctrine of life, and a sure tidings of the kingdom of heaven.

*Concerning the zummārē and hullālē*². — The zummārē and hullālē before the holy Scriptures, like a horn or trumpet,
10 summon the people of the faithful to hear the divine words, (which are) as spiritual food to their souls.

Why the Old (Testament) is read before the New. — And we say, for this reason the Old Testament is read first: that it may be as a witness to testify to the New that it is true.
15 Again, the New is read afterwards, that the New may declare that what the Old said has been fulfilled and accomplished.

What signifies "Stand we well", which the deacon says [before] the Gospel. — And we say that this is its meaning:
20 Be silent, and hear. He urges the people to do three things: to stand well; to be silent and not to speak; to hear with understanding the things that are read, and not to allow their thoughts to wander.

fol. 149b

*Concerning "Peace to you all", which the priest says before
25 the Gospel.* — We say that by *Peace to you all* he signifies this: This that I read is the good tidings of the peace of Christ, who set the heavenly beings at peace with them of earth, and the People with the peoples: even as the angel said to the shepherds: "Lo, I bring you this day good tidings of great
30 joy"³, etc.; and according to that: "How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of them that bring good tidings of

¹ Cf. George of the Arabs fol. 187a.

² I. e. "hymns and praises": but with technical connotation here.

³ Luke II 10.

peace”¹, etc.; for “gospel” (εὐαγγέλιον) is interpreted “good tidings”.

*On the proclamation*² *of the deacon after the Gospel.* — It

¹ Is. LII 7; Rom. X 15.

² Syr. *kārōzūthā*. There is nothing whatever in Bār Kēphā’s comments to lead us to suppose that he is here speaking of a diaconal “litany” after the Gospel, such as is found in the Greek ‘St James’. Such litanies are not met with in texts of the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites. His words imply only an exhortation to the people, containing some sort of allusion to the Gospel just read, and to the “dispensation” of Christ with which it is concerned. It is true that (1) the words “to offer petition and supplication” may at first sight appear to refer to the people’s responses to a litany; and similarly, (2) the words “*all these things* that the deacon says have regard . . . to the people”, may be thought to point to the deacon’s part in a litany. But as to (1), the expression to “urge to make supplication” occurs again in connection with the “Proclamation of the step” (fol. 153*a*, below), which is clearly not a litany, being followed by no response, or even prayer, of the people; it comes again (fol. 154*b*) in the comment on the deacon’s admonition “Let us bow our heads”. The expression then is colourless, and implies only that the effect of these diaconal addresses is to urge the people to good dispositions and private prayer. As regards (2): I have translated “*all these things*”, etc., that I may not appear to be reading my own interpretation into the text; but the Syriac may, and evidently does here, mean only “*all such diaconal remarks*”. What Bār Kēphā means to say is that all diaconal remarks throughout the service are addressed to the people. Bār Ṣalībī, who appropriates this comment of Bār Kēphā, makes this quite clear; he writes: “And it is right to know that *all things* that the deacon says *during the liturgy* have regard to the people, and convey commands to them” (*Corpus Script. christ. orient., scriptores syri*, series 2, tom. XCIII p. 21; versio latina p. 47).

Further, in his commentary Bār Kēphā pays particular attention to the people’s responses. In 22 cases he quotes and comments on their answers to priest or deacon; and the saying by them of *Kyrie eleison* is duly noticed before the Invocation and at the end of the diptychs. If then he had been speaking of a litany here, he could hardly have failed to speak of the people’s very important part in it.

There is yet another point to consider: Bār Kēphā says that this proclamation urges the people “to offer petition to *God the Word*”; and we can feel sure that he means this to be taken quite literally, since he elsewhere carefully distinguishes between prayers addressed to the Father and those addressed to the Son. But what reason could he have for asserting that here *Kyrie eleison*, and the like, were addressed to the Son rather than to the Father?

I believe that the proclamation here referred to was a formula (probably variable) of the kind found in Renaudot vol. II p. 9, that it was merely a

urges the people to offer petition and supplication to God the Word, who for us fulfilled the dispensation. And it is right to know that all these things that the deacon says have regard, for the most part, to the people.

5 *Concerning those things that the deacon says: "Go, ye that have been dismissed"; and concerning those who go forth from the church at that time.* — It is right to know that at one time these five classes used to go forth from the church when the deacon said *Go, ye that have been dismissed*: cate-
 10 chumens, energumens, (another class of) energumens, lesser penitents and greater penitents. The catechumens were those who were not yet baptized, but were being instructed for a short time before they were to be baptized. The energumens were those who were possessed with¹ demons. The other
 15 energumens were those who were possessed with passions of sin. And both these kinds of energumens were those who were possessed after they had been baptized and had partaken of the holy mysteries. The greater penitents were those who had begun their penance a considerable time before, and
 20 were now coming to the end of it. The lesser penitents were those who had recently begun their penance. And both kinds of penitents, whether the greater or the lesser, fol. 150a
 were those who had sinned after they had been baptized and had partaken of the holy mysteries. These five classes,
 25 then, were left in church to hear the reading of the Scriptures, that they might be cleansed by the living words which they heard. But after the reading of the Scriptures the

substitute for a sermon on the Gospel, and that it corresponds to the *turgāmā* (i.e. "interpretation") after the Gospel mentioned by mediaeval Nestorian commentators. It is to be noticed that the passage in which Bār Šalībī (12th cent.) uses the Greek word *λιτανεία* in speaking of this *kārōzūthā*, is inserted into this very comment of Bār Kēphā. I hope to deal with Bār Šalībī on some future occasion; and I need only say here that, so far as I can understand the case, he is not speaking of a "litany", in the ordinary sense, at all.

¹ Lit. "exercised by".

deacon used to cleanse them¹ and send them out: with each word sending out one or two of these five classes. In saying *Go, ye (masc.) that have been dismissed*, and *Go, ye (fem.) that have been dismissed*: this he said in general to those five classes whom he was about to send out severally with one word for each. By saying *Let no one of the catechumens*, he used to send out those who were not yet baptized. Again, by saying *Let no one of the energumens*, he used to send out those who were possessed with demons, and those who were possessed with disgraceful passions. Again, by saying *Let no one of those who are not able to make supplication with us*, he used to send out both classes of penitents. But by that other thing which he said, *Take knowledge of one another*, he would strictly charge them that none of those five classes should remain among them; since they were not worthy to tarry for the seeing and partaking of the secret and holy mysteries. But by saying *Shut the doors*, and *Stand ye well*: — *Shut the doors*, he used to command his fellow deacons: Give heed to the doors, lest any person of those five classes should enter: since they used to stand by the doors. But by that, *Stand ye well*, he used to command the holy people, that they should stand well² at the divine mysteries.

Here it is necessary to say why those five classes were driven out and did not partake of the holy mysteries. And we say: the catechumens, because they were not yet baptized; and it is not right for those who are not yet baptized to partake of the holy mysteries, since their sins have not yet been pardoned and sanctified by baptism; (and) it is

¹ This comes from George of the Arabs (fol. 184^b), who calls the deacons "cleansers" because they cleanse the minds of the people by the reading of the Scriptures. The idea is borrowed from Dionys. Areop. *De Eccles. Hier.* (P. Gr. III 508 A).

² Lit. *that there should be to them a fair standing.*

not seemly that one defiled should come in contact with the mysteries. As for those who are possessed with devils: those who are (thus) tempted are either grown-up or children; and why they are tempted the God of all knows after His unsearchable judgments. However, what we can understand is this: grown-up persons are tempted by Satan for these three reasons: either for their sin, according to that: "I delivered them over to Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme"¹; or because they are cowardly and slothful; or because they become obedient to demons; or because they resist them they are tempted by them, as it befel the martyr Cyprian. But children are tempted, either for the sins of their parents, or (because) God foresees what is about to happen to them, and contrives for them a healing before the disease: as He did with Nebuchadnezzar, to whom He shewed the dream of a tree, and interpreted it by Daniel, and counselled him to heal his stroke by almsgiving before it should come².

Those, then, who were possessed they used to drive out, and they did not allow them to partake of the mysteries, for three reasons: first, that the mysteries might not be insulted by devils; again, because the King, Christ, is wroth against them, and nothing of the mysteries of the King's house is given to them; again, because the Holy Spirit and an unclean spirit cannot dwell together. Again, they used to drive out both (kinds of) penitents from the church, and the mysteries were not given to them, because they had sinned after they had partaken of the mysteries: like slaves who have offended against the king, and have gone and given the gift which they received from him to the king's

¹ 1 Tim. I 20.

² Cf. George of the Arabs fol. 188a.

enemies; and when the king knew it he deprived them of any further gift ¹.

Concerning the going forth of the mysteries from the altar, and their going about the nave and their return to the altar. —

fol. 151^a That the mysteries go forth from the altar, and go about the nave in seemly order, and return to the altar, makes known that God the Word came down and was made man, and went about in the world and fulfilled the dispensation for us, and then ascended the cross, and afterwards ascended to His Father.

What the altar signifies. — Saint Dionysius says that the altar signifies Emmanuel ², who is the tree of life. But others say that the altar represents the cross, upon which the Lord was sacrificed and offered as an oblation. The holy Mār Joannes ³ says that the altar represents the tomb of Christ. But we say that we know that the altar is called Christ, and is called the tree of life, and is called the cross, and other similar (names); but here the altar signifies the tomb of Christ, and is in place of His tomb, in which He was laid when He had been fastened to the cross. And hence it is right that when we build an altar we should make it long from north to south, in the likeness of a tomb. Again, if the altar signifies Emmanuel, and the body and blood are Emmanuel Himself, there are found to be two Emmamuels here. And if the altar signifies the cross, as others say, and we offer upon it the body and blood of Christ, it follows that we make a commemoration of His crucifixion and His being sacrificed; and (so) we become as it were crucifiers ⁴. But Paul says: "He was sacrificed once" ⁵. It remains

¹ The whole of this discussion of the phenomenon of possession, etc., is closely imitated from George of the Arabs fol. 187^b—188^a.

² Cf. *De Eccles. Hier.* cap. IV; *P. Gr.* III 484 D.

³ I. e. St Chrysostom, whose name is regularly spelt in the Greek manner by Syriac writers: "John" being otherwise *Yuhannān* in Syriac.

⁴ Or *like the crucifiers.*

⁵ Cf. Heb. IX 28; and cp. 1 Pet. III 18.

then that the altar be instead of the tomb of Christ; and this is evident from that: "Thus be ye making a commemoration of my death"¹, etc.; now His death and His resurrection were in the tomb and from the tomb.

⁵ *What the bread and wine which are upon the altar signify.* — The bread is the body of the Word of God, and the wine His blood.

fol. 151b

¹⁰ *Why we mingle the cup of wine and of water, and not of wine only.* — Because blood and water flowed from the side of our Lord when He was pierced with a spear, and not blood only; for with that blood water also was mingled, as John the evangelist has said: "There flowed from Him blood and water"².

¹⁵ *What rank the priest holds.* — And we say that the priest is in the place of Christ, who broke His body before Him that begat Him, and distributed to His disciples. So He also said: "This is my body, which for you", etc. Secondly: the priest is moreover the tongue which is in the head of the body of the faithful, which makes supplication ²⁰ to God for the whole Church. Thirdly: he is also a painter, who portrays spiritual things by the mysteries³. Fourthly: again, he is a mediator between God and men.

²⁵ *Concerning the deacons.* — The rank of deacons is the order of angels; for they perform the service of the cherubim, and of the seraphim which with their wings cover the altar: not that they may drive away flies, but that they may not suffer anything to approach it which is not permitted (to do so). For it is said⁴: "The likeness of what is above

¹ Cf. Luke XXII 19; I Cor. XI 24—26. But cf. also the Syriac Liturgy of St James after the words of institution.

² John XIX 34.

³ Cf. George of the Arabs fol. 187 a, b.

⁴ Lit. *they say*. This looks like a memory quotation from the thirty-fourth Ode of Solomon: "the likeness of that which is below is that which is above". Bār Kēphā is not always accurate in his quotations.

are the things which are below". The deacons (also) fill the place of the former levites. The deacons are a likeness of those angels that were seen at the head and the feet of Jesus our Redeemer. And as the priestly Psalmist says: "He made his angels spirit, his ministers (*or* deacons) burning fire"¹; and: "The ministers that do his will"². Wherefore they perform all offices of the Church. "Holy", which they cry three times, is a declaration of the conversion of the gentiles, and a fulfilment, which we (now) make, of this mystery which Isaiah foresaw³: that is to say⁴, the reading fol. 152a of the Scriptures, the proclamations, and the standing by the doors of the nave; and they cry out at all times (commanding) silence to all; and they set all classes each man in his place and in his order, according to his condition. But the stoles (*orarium*) which are upon their left shoulders declare their subjection, like subordinates who are in subjection; for he who is in authority wears the stole upon his head or upon both of his shoulders⁵.

Concerning "Bless, my lord", which the deacon says to the priest. — Many untrained and ill-instructed priests, after the deacon says *Bless, my lord*, themselves also say *Bless, my lord*. Now it is not right for the priest to say *Bless, my lord*, for these reasons. First: because *Bless, my lord* has been said by the deacon. Secondly: because the deacon, by saying *Bless, my lord*, really asks the priest to bless and pray. If then the priest turns and says *Bless, my lord*, he shews that

¹ Ps. CIV 4.

² Ps. CIII 21.

³ This sentence is taken from George of the Arabs fol. 186b. But there it refers to the Trisagion, and has nothing to do with the deacons. Here it is clumsily inserted in the middle of another passage of George, in which he does speak of the deacons (fol. 187a).

⁴ To get sense out of this, it must be read immediately after the words *offices of the Church*, above (as in George 187a).

⁵ Cf. George fol. 188b. The word for *subordinates* (ταξιώτης) is spelt incorrectly in the MS of Bār Kēphā.

he asks the deacon to bless. Wherefore it is not right that the priest should say *Bless, my lord*.

Concerning the incense. — The incense which goes forth from the altar, and goes about the whole nave, and then
 5 returns to the altar, signifies these things. First: the goodness of the Holy Trinity; for although it goes forth to all the saints by its care, yet it does not leave its own fixedness, and it is not changed or diminished ¹. Secondly: it signifies God the Word, who came down from heaven, and was made
 0 a sweet savour and an incense of reconciliation, and offered Himself for us to God the Father, and made an atonement for all the world and turned it back to His Father, without being changed or losing His Godhead. Thirdly: again, in that the thurible of incense goes forth from the altar, which
 15 represents Emmanuel, and goes about the whole nave among the faithful, it takes their assent and their good will towards fol. 152b Him, and returns and brings it in to Emmanuel, which is the altar.

Concerning "We believe in one God". — It is right to
 20 know that from the holy apostles until (the time of) Constantine the believing king, after the thurible of incense nothing was said, but the priest used to begin the Offering (*Qurrābhā*). But after the same king had assembled the Synod of the three hundred and eighteen, and it had set
 25 forth this orthodox faith which we both believe and confess, the Synod also commanded that the faithful should recite it first, before the *Qurrābhā*, and then the priest should begin the *Qurrābhā*. The faithful therefore recite it for these reasons. First: that they may let it be known that they believe and
 30 confess aright. Secondly (to shew) that their faith and their confession are one. Thirdly: that by it minds and hearts and mouths may be hallowed. And it is right that he who offers

¹ Cf. George fol. 187a.

should begin it, since he is the tongue of the whole body of the Church

Again, it is right to know that the Synod set down "I believe", and not "We believe". And it set down "I believe", because it is not a prayer or a petition — for that we should pray and make petition each for other and each with other, (this) we are commanded, and this is fitting — but it is a faith and a confession; and that we should believe or confess for or with each other we are not commanded, nor is it becoming; but let each one confess by himself and for himself. Therefore it is right that each person¹ should say "I believe", as the holy Synod set down, and not "We believe".

fol. 153^a Again, it is right to know that this faith is divided into five heads: the first, the theology; the second, the incarnation; the third, concerning baptism; the fourth, concerning the general resurrection; the fifth, concerning the future judgment and recompense.

Concerning the proclamation² upon the step. — The deacon urges the people by this proclamation to *stand well*, and purge their minds again from distractions and worldly cares,² and to listen to those things which are said by the priest, and to make supplication to God that they (themselves) may be accepted and answered, and to answer the words which they are commanded to answer³.

*Concerning the prayer of the Peace; and concerning "Pardon,"*²

¹ Syr. *parṣōpā*, i. e. *πρόσωπον*.

² Syr. *kārōzūthā*. Bār Ṣalībī (*op. cit.* vers. lat. p. 60) says this proclamation was not in use in the 12th century among the "westerns", but that the "easterns" always employed it. It may be well here to correct a slip in M. Labourt's translation: "Post fidem, Catholicam, seu generalem proclamationem diaconus super gradum praedicat", should be: "Post fidem catholicam, seu generalem, diaconus proclamationem super gradum praedicat". The word "catholicam" cannot in the Syriac construction go with "proclamationem"; and it is not the *name* of this proclamation.

³ These are obviously the people's answers to the priest, the Amens, etc.

my Lord, our debts by Thy grace"; and concerning "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit": whether it is right that these be said before the prayer which is before the Peace, or not. — We say that Pardon, my Lord, our debts, and Thou art good, who art not angered, and the like, ought not to be said before that prayer which is before the Peace; because although they are good (in themselves), yet it is not their place and not their time. And first: the Gospel is good (in itself); yet it ought not to be said in the place¹ of the Hullālā, and out of its time. So neither should these other two things, prayers namely, (be said here); for pardon and cleansing and forgiveness, and all such like, should come before the Offering (*Qurrābhā*), and not before the prayer of the Peace². Similarly, it is not right that *Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit* be said before the prayer of the Peace: not because it is not right that the Son and the Spirit should be glorified with the Father, from whom they have their essential glory, but that the priest may not be supposed to address the three Persons in the *Qurrābhā*. And this appears from the fact that the people also answer to the Father: *Have mercy on us, God the Father*, etc. Now the prayer *Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit* does not belong to the *Qurrābhā*, but has been introduced by the presbyters. This appears from the fact that the service-books³ of the presbyters are written according to the pleasure of each one, and there is no agreement among

¹ The MS has *ought not to be said not* (sic) *in the place*, etc.

² Various prayers ending with *Gloria Patri*, etc., and directed to be said secretly by the officiating "presbyter" (see what Bār Kēphā says below) earlier in the service, are to be found in the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 17128 (Saec. X—XI) fol. 1a (cf. Wright's *Catalogue* p. 226 col. 1). These were private prayers, to accompany certain ritual acts. It would seem that Bār Kēphā alludes to prayers of a similar nature.

³ Syr. *penqīthā*, a volume, tome.

them: for whereas the lectionaries¹ of the Old and New (Testaments) do not vary in a single place, thou seest that the service-books of the presbyters contain frequent and considerable variations.

Concerning the prayer before the Peace. — It is right to know that the *Qurrābhā* is divided into five sections². From hence begins the first section; and this first prayer is a supplication to God the Father that He would grant us that with cleanness of heart and with divine love we may give the peace one to another.

Concerning "Peace (be) with you all", which the priest says. — (By) *Peace (be) with you all*, which the priest says, he urges them to give the peace one to another in peacefulness and love, the clergy and the people alike: the clergy, according to that which our Lord said to His disciples: "By this shall every man know that ye are my disciples, when ye shall love one another"³; but the people, (according to that): "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"⁴.

Concerning that which the people answer, "And with thy spirit". — They make answer to the priest as it were to Christ, and say: *And with Thy spirit*, even that which Thou didst bestow upon us in baptism, may we have that peace and concord of Thine which Thou gavest us when Thou saidst: "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you"⁵. Again, they answer the priest: *With thee also be peace*; as Saint Gregory Theologus said: "That peace which thou givest and receivest", etc.

Concerning the peace which we give to one another within the Qurrābhā. — By the peace which we give to one another at this time we signify the following. First: since we are making ready to communicate with God through His

¹ Lit. *books*.

² Κεφάλαιον.

³ John XIII 35.

⁴ Math. XIX 19; Lev. XIX 18.

⁵ John XIV 27.

body, and this cannot be so long as we are divided in ourselves and in regard to each other; accordingly we give the peace, that we may shew that, as we embrace outwardly, so inwardly we have love and concord. Secondly: by being
 5 made at peace with one another we are made at peace with God. Thirdly: the peace which we give one to another quenches and does away mutual enmity. Fourthly: by the peace which we give we signify that Christ has made an
 0 end of the enmity which was between [God] and men, and between the People and the peoples, [and between the soul and]¹ the body, and has caused peace and love to reign among us. Fifthly: again, by the peace which we give at this time we fulfil the word of the Lord, who said: "If thou offer thine offering upon the altar", etc., "leave thine offering,
 5 and go, be reconciled with thy brother"².

*Concerning the Book of Life*³ which is read upon the altar. —

The Book of Life is read upon the altar for these reasons. First: because it proclaims before us those who have piously and holily arrived at a holy end. Secondly: that it may
 20 shew that they are living and not dead. And this is evident from the fact that they are proclaimed with Jesus, according to that: "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God"⁴. Thirdly: because in their life they cleaved to the holy things, it is right that after their death also they should
 25 be proclaimed over the holy things. Fourthly: again, whereas they are read upon the altar, which represents Jesus, (this) makes known that they are with Jesus always, according to that: "Where I am, there shall my minister also be"⁵; and according to that: ["May they be one in us"]⁶. Fifthly: it fol. 154b

¹ See below, fol. 156b.

² Matth. V 23, 24.

³ *Səphar hayyē*, which might also be rendered *Book of the Living*.

⁴ Wisd. III 1.

⁵ John XII 26.

⁶ John XVII 21. I venture to supply the quotation, here illegible, from Bār Šalibī (*op. cit.* p. 41), who copies this passage.

shews also by this that there is a holy remembrance of them. Sixthly: by proclaiming them it¹ urges us to imitate their holy conversation, and also their right faith, that we too may be worthy of their blessed end, and after our decease be proclaimed upon the altar, as they are proclaimed².

Concerning the washing of the high priest and the priests before³ the mysteries. — We say that in the first place the washing of the priests before the altar at the time of the mysteries teaches all the people that they also should wash their hearts from all worldly cares. Secondly: whereas the priest washes [the tips of his fingers]⁴, he makes known that he cleanses his conscience before the [Lord. Thirdly:] again, he makes known that to Christ, the trier of [heart and reins] and the prover of things hidden, he commits his thoughts and all the faculties of his mind. Fourthly: in that he washes the tips of his fingers only, he shews that he is clean of all sin, and that there is in him only a certain small shortcoming and a shadow of imperfections⁵. Fifthly: the washing of the priests who were under the Law foreshadowed this washing.

Concerning that which the deacon says: "Before the Lord let us bow our heads". — By this also he urges the people to bow their bodily and their spiritual⁶ heads before the Lord, and to make supplication to Him, and to receive from Him this blessing, which the priest asks of Him for them in this second prayer. For in the whole of the Qur-2

¹ Or *he* (the reader): there is some uncertainty as to the subject throughout this passage; but it appears to be the Book of Life itself.

² Much of the above will be seen to have been copied from Dionys. Areop. *De Eccl. Hier.* cap. III (*P. Gr.* III 437 B, C), on the diptychs.

³ I. e. in the presence of: cf. George of the Arabs fol. 186b; also the Areopagite *op. cit.* col. 437D—440B.

⁴ There is a slight tear here at the edge of the leaf, affecting the beginnings of two or three lines; but the text can be restored with practical certainty by the aid of the context and George of the Arabs fol. 186b.

⁵ Lit. *and imperfect phantasms*.

⁶ Lit. *sensible and reasonable*: corresponding to *αἰσθητός* and *νοητός*.

rābhā there are three prayers that are said over the people in particular¹: this second one, and that before *Holy things to the holy*, and that which is said last and at the end of the whole Qurrābhā. And it is clear that they are (said) 5 over the people in particular from the fact that before each fol. 155a of the three the deacon says *Before the Lord let us bow our heads*. And these three prayers are called "of the imposition of the hand", and "over the people". It is right to know that wherever the deacon says *Before the Lord let us bow our heads*, the high priest, or priest, prays a prayer 10 over the people. Again, it is right to know that here, in the Qurrābhā, it is not right for the people to bend the knee, for two reasons: first, because the genuflexion is a sign of our fall, and the Qurrābhā is a shewing forth of our 15 resurrection; again, because the deacon commands thus: *Before the Lord let us bow our heads*, and not: "Before the Lord let us bend the knee". Wherefore it is right that the people should do so as the deacon commands, and bow their heads only. And the priest also says thus: *To those who* 20 *have bowed their necks*. And hence we do not reject genuflexion: for if we [say "Glory be", etc.]² at all times we bend the knee before God; but in the Qurrābhā we say that it is not right for any one to bend the knee, nor yet in like manner on Sunday.

25 *Concerning the third prayer, which is that over the veil*³. — fol. 155b

In this prayer the priest makes supplication to God the Father, that He will receive of him, and of the people ranged behind him, this sacrifice; confessing that it is *not trusting on our own righteousness* that we have come so far

¹ *Proprie* is the exact meaning.

² Lit. *if we glorify*; i.e. say the *Gloria Patri*. The word is only partly legible; but the restoration is, I think, certain. See p. 39 note 2. At the end of the prayers there referred to the presbyter is directed to say *Gloria*, and genuflect three times.

³ Syr. *ḡērāsā*.

as to offer ¹ (it) to Thee, (for) we are all sinners: but *trusting on Thy many mercies*, that Thou wilt receive it of us.

Concerning "*Let us stand well*", and the rest, which the deacon says. — By this that the deacon says, *Let us stand well, let us stand in fear*, etc., he urges and admonishes the people that their standing be in orderly fashion, and in fear and in modesty and in holiness: for two reasons. First: because the holy and divine mysteries are about to be revealed (and stripped) of the covering that is placed over them. Again: because in this hour the doors of heaven are opened, and the heavenly hosts and "the spirits of the righteous made perfect"² come down to meet and honour the holy mysteries. Now it is evident that at this time the angels come down, from the fact that at this point the deacons take hold of the fans, which are a figure of the wings of the holy seraphim.

Concerning the *veil*³ or *anaphora*. — [It is right] that we should enquire concerning these four things: what is the interpretation of the name "anaphora"; why it is spread over the mysteries; why it is removed; why they lift it ^{fol. 156a} up and let it down three times. And we say⁴ that the anaphora is spread over the mysteries for these reasons. First: because it signifies the secretness and invisibleness of the Godhead which is hidden in the mysteries. Secondly: it is a symbol of the stone which was placed over the tomb of

¹ Lit. *come to this, that we should offer*.

² Heb. XII 23.

³ Syr. *kellēthā*. This word here denotes the same thing as *ḡērāsā*, p. 43 above; *shōshepā* is also commonly used: cf. p. 17 note 3.

⁴ We expect an explanation of the word *anaphora* here, but the MS does not contain one. Possibly its omission is accidental, and it is perhaps supplied in substance by Bār Ṣalībī, who gives the following explanation (followed immediately by Bār Kēphā's next comment): "Anaphoram superius interpretati sumus vestimentum, alii scalam interpretantur anaphoram, alii edictum; sicut enim edictum *ascendit* ad regem, ita anaphora *ascendit* ad regem caelestem" (*op. cit.*, versio latina p. 65).

our Redeemer. Thirdly: it makes known that Emmanuel Himself was covered over and hidden in the sacrifices of the Law and in that figurative service. But it is removed from the mysteries, first: because the Godhead, which is
 5 hidden in the mysteries and is not known to the uninitiated and unbelievers, is revealed so as to be known to the initiated and believers; secondly: it signifies the stone which was placed over the tomb of our Redeemer, which the angel rolled away and removed; thirdly: again, it declares that
 10 Emmanuel, who was covered over in the sacrifices of the Law, revealed Himself to us by His dispensation. But they lift it up and let it down for this reason: when the apostle Peter supposed that the grace of baptism and forgiveness was given to the Jews alone, there appeared to him
 15 the vision of a vessel coming down from heaven, wherein were four-footed beasts and reptiles and fowls and birds; and some of these were clean and some unclean. And God signified to him by this, that it was not only to the People fol. 156b
 of the Jews, whom the Law used to cleanse, that this grace
 20 of holy baptism was given, but to the peoples also, who aforetime were defiled. Wherefore the anaphora also they lift up and let down, that they may signify that this grace of the holy mysteries has been given for pardon to all those who have believed in Christ, whether they be of
 25 the People or of the peoples.

Concerning that which the people answer and say: "Mercies and peace and sacrifice and confession". — The *mercies* of God which have been poured out upon us, they are this *sacrifice* which has been offered for our race, and it has been par-
 30 doned. But (they say) *peace*, because it (the sacrifice) made peace between heavenly and earthly beings, and between the People and the peoples, and between the soul and the body. Again, *confession*: for when Christ confessed (*or* gave thanks) and gave it to His disciples in the upper room, He

confessed to His Father on our behalf, as Paul has said: "The bread of blessing which we receive, and the cup of confession",¹ etc.

Here ends the first section of the Qurrābhā; and the priest commences the second section, saying thus: *The love of God the Father, the grace of the onlybegotten Son, the lighting down and communion of the living and holy Spirit be with you all.* He commits them to the Holy Trinity, sealing them with three crosses, that their standing may be pure and blameless. By saying *the love of God the Father*, he shews that in His love God gave His Son to death for us, as the fol. 157a apostle has said. By saying *and the grace of the onlybegotten Son*, he signifies that it was by His grace that the Son tasted death for all, and not as though they were worthy of this. Again, by saying *and the lighting down and communion of the Holy Spirit*, he declares that by the lighting down of the Holy Spirit the sacrifices are accomplished and accepted. And it is not right for the priest to pause after² *the love of God*, and give occasion to the people to say "Amen": for it is not a prayer, but (declares that) by reason² of His love God gave His Son for us, etc.

Concerning that which the priest says: "On high be the minds and thoughts and hearts of us all". — That is: now that the holy mysteries have been revealed, and the doors of heaven have been opened, and the holy hosts and the spirits of the² righteous have come down for the honouring of the mysteries, *on high be our minds and thoughts*, and not below in earthly things.

Concerning that which the people answer. — There are some who answer: "We have (them) unto [? the Lord] our³ God"; and there are others who answer: "We are unto the Lord God". And these two answers have nothing at all

¹ 1 Cor. X 16.

² Lit. *to cut short.*

about them that is correct. The first is not correct, because the priest does not say to them thus: "We have (them) unto the Lord our God", or, "Let us have (them) unto the Lord God", that they should answer him: "We have (them) unto the Lord". For if he were to say: "We have (them) unto the Lord", or, "Let us have", they would correctly answer him: "We have (them) unto the Lord our God"¹. The second again is not correct, because the priest does not say to them: "Let us be unto the Lord". For if he were to say: "Let us be unto the Lord", they would correctly answer him: "We are unto the Lord our God". So then these two answers are not correct. The priest says thus: *On high be the minds and thoughts and hearts of us all.* It is right (then) that they answer him thus: *They are unto the Lord our God*, according as thou hast said. This then is the correct answer: *They are unto the Lord our God*².

But let us explain what is the meaning of that which some answer: "We have (them) unto the Lord our God". That is: "We have with"³ the Father, our God, His mercies which are upon us. Secondly: again, "we have with" Him the incarnation of the Son, whereby He redeemed us. Thirdly: "we have with" Him the writing of the Holy Spirit, whereby we have been written in the adoption of sons through baptism, according to that: "Rejoice that your names are written in heaven"⁴.

¹ Or *the Lord God*: the MS is ambiguous. Throughout this passage there is considerable uncertainty as to whether the original was *the Lord our God*, *the Lord God*, or *the Lord*.

² Or *the Lord God*: the MS is again ambiguous.

³ The Syriac word hitherto rendered "unto" corresponds nearly to the Greek *πρός*. But in the present phrase Bār Kēphā understands the Syriac equivalent for *ἔχομεν πρὸς Κύριον* to mean "we have *with* (*apud*) the Lord". Syriac has no verb "to have", and says "there is to us": hence an ambiguity which probably led to the formula being changed to "they are unto", etc. The Fragments B and C, published in this volume, still have the formula which Bār Kēphā rejects, viz. "we have (them) unto the Lord".

⁴ Luke X 20.

Concerning that which the priest says: "In fear let us confess¹ to the Lord". — And why does he command them to confess to the Lord in fear? We say, for three reasons. First: because the mysteries which were hidden have been revealed. Secondly: because the angels have come down and stood round about the mysteries. Thirdly: on account of this great gift which He has given us.

And so the people answer him: "It is meet and right". — That is: *It is meet and right* that we should confess to Him in fear, as thou hast said. And because the priest sees that¹ he and all the people are become one body, he takes their (expression of) assent and bows down to offer for them this sacrifice; and he confesses to his Lord secretly, saying: *Truly meet and right is it that Thee we should glorify², Thee we should bless*, etc. This is the beginning of the Offering³, and from here the priest begins to offer.

Concerning this, that the priest stands erect and lifts up his voice and says: "Whom the heavens of heaven praise", etc. — That is: Him to whom glory (or praise) belongs and is due, Him to whom all this creation, bodily and visible,² and all that bodiless and invisible creation sends up glory.

fol. 158a Concerning that which he says about the seraphim, that each one of them has six wings, and "with two they cover their face, and with two they hide their feet, and with two they fly", crying to Him (a hymn of) praise, which is "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord (of) Sabaoth". — By covering their faces they signify that God is eternal, and without beginning. By hiding their feet they shew that God is without end and

¹ Or *give thanks*: and so frequently where the word "confess" occurs; the Syriac verb has the same varieties of meaning as ἑμολογεῖν.

² Or *praise*.

³ Syr. *Qurrābhā*. The word must be used here in a different sense from that which it has been given hitherto. We were told above (fol. 153b) that the *Qurrābhā* began with the prayer before the kiss of peace.

without limit. By flying with two wings and praising, they signify that to Him who is without beginning and without end praise is due from all. By singing three times *Holy, Holy, Holy*, they signify that this God, who had no beginning and has no end, is three Persons. By saying *Lord*, they shew that these three Persons are one nature and one Lord. By saying *Almighty*, they signify that His exalted power brought the universe into being, and that He holds and preserves it by His care. By saying *Sabaoth*, they signify that He is Lord of hosts: for so the Hebrews interpret *sabaoth*, that is, "hosts". And hence the seraphim sing thus: "Lord Almighty of hosts".

Again, another manner of interpretation. — Isaiah aforetime saw one of the Holy Trinity, to wit the Son, who was to become man, sitting upon a high throne, and the seraphim standing about Him¹, etc. And by covering their faces they signify that they do not comprehend His eternity. By hiding their feet, they shew they do not comprehend His becoming man. That they fly with two (wings): that is, fol. 158b they praise and sanctify Him continually. But by the three times that they cry to Him, *Holy*, they declare that He is one of the three holy Persons. Again, by saying to Him, *Lord*, they make known that He is equal in essence to the Father and to the Spirit. By saying to Him, *Almighty*, they make known that He became man without being changed from being God, and conquered Satan and Death, and redeemed the human race. All these things He did by His divine power.

Again, after another manner. — By covering their faces they make known that although the seraphim are thus greatly exalted, yet they do not dare to search out beyond that which is permitted to them; according to that which is said by the wise man: "Seek not things that are too high

¹ Is. VI 1, 2.

for thee”¹. But by hiding their feet they signify that they neither explore the inexorable depth of God’s judgments; according to that which is written again: “That which is too deep for thee examine not”². But that they fly with the two middle wings, they make known that they hold themselves within measure³ in regard to those things which are given them by God, since they do not pass from under the law which God their Creator has appointed to them, as the devil did and despised the law.

But the people answer and say: “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord Almighty, of whose praises⁴ heaven and earth are full. Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is He that has come and is to come in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest”. — That is, — according as I have said that the seraphim sanctify and praise Him⁵ — He is Lord Almighty for these reasons. First: because He brought the universe into being. Secondly: because He holds and preserves it, that it may
 fol. 159a *not perish, by His care for it. Thirdly: because He became incarnate without being changed from being God. Fourthly: because He conquered sin and death and Satan, and redeemed² us from them. Fifthly: because, even though He became incarnate with the flesh of our weakness, yet He is almighty in His Godhead. Of whose praises heaven and earth are full: that is, whom all the heavenly beings praise, and all the earthly. Hosanna in the highest. Hosanna is in the² Hebrew tongue, and the Greeks and Syrians took it from the Hebrews. The Hebrews pronounce it Hōsh’ānā, but the Greeks pronounce it ’Ossannā, and the Syrians ’Osha’nā. And in the Hebrew tongue Hosanna is interpreted “redemption”, but in the Greek tongue “glory”: and with truth, for³ Jesus is Redeemer, and He is Lord of glory. That He is*

¹ Cf. Eccli. III 22.

² *Ibid.*

³ Or *act with moderation*: the phrase is somewhat curious.

⁴ Or *glories*.

⁵ See above, p. 49.

Redeemer the angel Gabriel bears witness, who said to Joseph: "He shall redeem His people from their sins"¹: for He redeemed us from sin and from Satan and from death. That He is Lord of glory Paul bears witness, who said:
 5 "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"². Now on the subject of "Hosanna" we have spoken more fully in the Exposition of the Gospel of Blessed Matthew, and in the discourse which we composed on The Hosannas³. The people then answer and say thus: Glory to
 10 the Son, who became incarnate for us and redeemed us.

Blessed (is He) that came and cometh in the name of the Lord. — That is: *He came*, in that His first coming, and redeemed us; *He cometh* again, in that second coming, for the judging and rewarding of all. *In the name of the Lord:* fol. 159b
 15 in the name of the Lord His Father He came in that first coming, as He Himself said; so also in that second coming He will come in the name of His Father: not as being less, or foreign in nature, but as full and equal in essence to the Father; as He said: "I and my Father, we are one"⁴, and,
 20 "Everything that the Father hath is mine"⁵, and, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"⁶.

Concerning this, that the priest bows down and says: "Even as in truth Thou art holy", etc. — That is: he affirms that which the seraphim say sanctifying the Trinity. And the
 25 priest answers again and says: Holy art Thou, Father; holy art Thou, Son; holy art Thou, Holy Spirit⁷. But that he addresses⁸ the Person of the Father, and speaks of the dispensation of the Son which was for us, (this is) after the

¹ Matth. I 21.² I Cor. II 8.³ I. e. Palm Sunday.⁴ John X 30.⁵ *Ibid.* XVI 15.⁶ *Ibid.* XIV 9.⁷ This seems to be only an epitome of the actual formula.⁸ I think we should correct the text here so as to read *Then he addresses*, with omission of two words bracketed in the next line. I failed to make this suggestion below the Syriac text.

manner of a narrative; and going forward in the same discourse, he stands erect and speaks of those things which took place secretly at the supper in the upper room: *But when He was about to receive a voluntary death, etc., when He had taken bread upon His holy hands; and when He had given thanks, He blessed, hallowed, brake.* That is: by that, *He took bread*, He declared to us that He had taken flesh of the Virgin. But by that, *He shewed it* to the Father, He declared two things to us: first, (that) He speaks as it were to His own Cause; secondly, that He is not in opposition to the Father, as the Jews were falsely asserting concerning Him. But by that, *He gave thanks* He declared two things to us: first, that He gave thanks to the Father as it were in our person for the dispensation of His Son, as Paul has said; secondly, that He assents to the will of the Father — for thanksgiving¹ is assent — as though He said: “I assent to Thy will, O Father, that I receive suffering and death for the human race”. By that, again, *He blessed*, He declared these things: first, that He had removed the curse of the transgression from our race and blessed it: as Elisabeth² said to the Virgin: “Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb”²; secondly, He shews that He is not less in nature than the Father who blesses, but He (also) is one that blesses. By that, *He hallowed*, He again declared two things: first, that He has sanctified us from sin, according to that: “Behold the lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world”³; secondly, that He sanctified Himself for us, as He said: “For their sake I sanctify myself”⁴. But by that, *He brake*, He taught us His

¹ Or *confession*. The Syriac verb rendered above “gave thanks” has, as already noticed, the same varieties of meaning as *ὁμολογεῖν*: it usually approaches to the meaning “confess” rather than “thank”, for which latter Syriac has another, unambiguous, expression.

² Luke I 42.

³ John I 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* XVII 19.

passion and His cross, and His being slain, and His being pierced with a spear, and His death. And it is right further to know this also, that whereas the priest here takes the eucharistic bread (*p̄rīstā*) and breaks it a little, without
 5 separating the halves one from the another, he declares and signifies that although Christ Himself was broken upon the cross and died, and His soul was separated from His body, yet His Godhead did not depart or withdraw either from His soul or from His body, but remained in a natural and hypostatic
 10 union with His soul and His body. Wherefore at this point it behoves the priest to be careful, and when he breaks the *p̄rīstā* to break it but a little, in the prescribed manner, and not separate the halves one from another; for by breaking it he signifies and makes known that His soul was separated
 15 from His body; but by not separating the halves from one another he signifies and declares that the Godhead was not separated either from the soul or from the body.

And gave to His disciples and said: Take, eat of it. — That is, the disciples without hesitation ate of that body.
 20 But it is right that we enquire whether the Lord Himself ate of it or not. And we say that He ate of His body and drank of His blood. And this is known from that which He fol. 160b Himself said: "I will not drink of this offspring of the vine until I drink it with you new in the kingdom of God"¹.
 25 And moreover Mār Joannes² has said that when He had tasted He gave to His disciples; and the patriarch Cyriacus also has said that He ate and drank of His body and His blood. And the holy Mār Ephraim has said: "He eateth His body, and causeth them to eat: and He drinketh His
 30 blood, and giveth them to drink"³.

¹ Matth. XXVI 29, Mark XIV 25.

² I. e. St John Chrysostom: see note 3, p. 34.

³ This quotation falls into two seven-syllable verses. I have not identified it

For this is my body. — It is right that we enquire here whether that bread which Christ took and blessed and hallowed and called His body is itself the body which was (taken) from the Virgin, or another beside it; and whether that wine is itself the blood which was (taken) from the Virgin, or other beside it. And we say that it is His body and His blood which was from the Virgin. But perhaps someone will answer and say: How is this possible to be? And we say, even to such a one, that that Right Hand which in the beginning took dust from the earth and changed it and made it the body of Adam, the same has changed this bread and made it the body of the Word, which was from the Virgin; and the same has changed the wine and made it that blood which was from the Virgin. Again, the Holy Spirit which took the flesh of the lamb in Egypt and changed it and made it to be for the redemption of the Hebrews in Egypt, the same has changed this bread and made it that body which was from the holy Virgin, and has changed the wine also and made it that blood which was from the holy Virgin. So understand to-day also touching the bread and wine which the priest offers: the Holy Spirit who came down into the womb of the Virgin and made that flesh which was from her the body and blood of God the Word, He, the same, comes down upon the altar and makes the bread and wine which are set upon it that body and blood of God the Word which He took from Mary, by the hands of the priest who does the priest's office and offers.

Again, it is right to know that from Egypt and until the upper chamber this mystery was performed with body and blood typically, according to the legal and Mosaic ordinance; but from the upper chamber even unto the end of the world, with the body and blood of God the Word, our Master and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and truly and not typically. But

again, understand also the great miracle which (was done) in that (*sc.* body and blood) of the upper chamber. He was reclining at table with the apostles, and He was alive; and He was eating His body and causing them to eat, and He was drinking His blood and giving them to drink¹. A miracle is it in truth which passes all human wits, and they cannot comprehend it; but if they could comprehend it, it would not be a miracle.

But again it is right that we enquire here, whether we eat and drink the body and blood of God the Word, or of the "Man who was from Mary", as the heretics say. And we say, the body and blood of God the Word. And to this the divine Paul bears witness saying: "Whoso eateth the body and drinketh the blood of the Lord", etc.; and again he said: "Because he hath not discerned the body and blood of the Lord"²; for see, he called it the body and blood of the Lord, and not of a man. Wherefore it is the body and blood of God the Word that we receive, and not of a man.

Which for you and for many is broken. — That is: Not for you yourselves (only), O ye twelve disciples, is this body broken, but also for all the many who believe in me. And that, *which is broken*, He said (meaning) which is sacrificed on the cross. *And is given for the forgiveness of sins and for life everlasting.* For two reasons He said that His holy body *is given* to the faithful. First: that it may pardon their sins. Secondly: that it may bestow upon them life everlasting in the kingdom of heaven; as He said in another

¹ Cf. the quotation from St Ephraim above. There is a passage very like this one in a metrical Homily of Jacob of Sarūgh (ed. Bedjan II p. 485): "They eat His body, and He is reclining with them at table; and they drink His blood, and hear the voice of His teaching. And they affirm that He is slain, while they see Him alive and speaking". But Jacob's metre is the twelve-syllable, and the idea that our Lord Himself partook of the Eucharist is absent.

² 1 Cor. XI 27, 29.

place: "Whoso eateth my body shall live for ever"¹. But in addition to these things we must know that when the priest says here *and for life everlasting*, it is not right that he should give occasion to the people to answer, "Amen"; for this is not a prayer, or a request, but this place is a narrative; and it is on account of a prayer that the people ought to answer, "Amen"; but not on account of a narrative. And so the priest ought to carry it on and say it continuously, until he comes to that: *My resurrection ye confess until I come.*

Having mingled of wine and of water, and said to them: Take, drink of it, all of you; this is my blood of the new testament. — It is right that we enquire here, what a testament is, and when it is ratified and when not. And we say that a testament is a mandate; and if he that made it die, it is ratified², and nothing in it is changed. But if he die not, it is not ratified, because he has authority to make any change in it that he chooses and pleases. And what does it make known? We say that it makes known two things: first, the death of him that made it; secondly, the inheritance which he has bequeathed, or will bequeath, to those to whom he has wished. The new testament Christ ratified for us in His blood, as the apostle Paul has said: "Without the pouring out of blood there is no forgiveness"³; after the manner of that old testament, which was ratified by the blood of buck goats and lambs and calves. But what did Christ bequeath to us by this testament, or mandate? And we say, these things. First: that He made us sons of His Father from baptism. Secondly: that He pardoned our debts and our sins by His body and His blood. Thirdly, again: that He summoned us to the kingdom of heaven. Fourthly: the holy and unspeakable enjoyment that is in keeping for

¹ Cf. John VI 54, 58.

² Heb. IX 17.

³ Heb. IX 22.

us there. But why did our Lord say to His disciples, when He broke His body, *Take, eat of it*, and did not say "all of you"¹; but from the cup, — He said, *Take, drink of it, all of you?* And we say, that all the disciples used to take
 5 food for the sustenance of the body; but wine not all of them were drinking; for there were certain among them that were nazirites; and He said, *Take, drink*, even you nazirites.

Thus be ye doing for a commemoration of me. — That is:
 10 as ye have seen that I do.

For whensoever ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, my death ye commemorate and my resurrection ye confess. — That is: in addition to the fact that it pardons your sins, when ye perform this mystery ye do two things: first, ye
 15 commemorate my death; secondly, ye confess my resurrection.

Until I come. — It is right to know that from Egypt and until the upper room this mystery was performed typically, with the body and blood of a lamb; but from the upper
 20 room and until the end of the world, with the body of Christ our Lord is it performed.

fol. 162b

But the people answer and say: "Thy death, our Lord, we commemorate, and Thy resurrection we confess, and Thy coming we expect". — That is: according to Thy command
 25 *Thy death we commemorate*, because that by it Thou didst cause our death to die; and *Thy resurrection we confess*, because it was made for us a pledge of our resurrection, and a firstfruits of new life; and again, *Thy coming we expect*, that we may drink with Thee the spiritual offspring of the
 30 spiritual vine in the kingdom of Thy Father, even as Thou hast said. For the wine that we shall drink with Him there

¹ These words originally stood in both the British Museum fragments A and B (printed below); but in B they have been erased.

is the new and spiritual teaching concerning those things which here we know not.

The priest: "Remembering, Lord, Thy death", etc. — Here the priest recites a commemoration of the dispensation, adding thereto the supplication: May Thy mysteries intercede with Thee, O Son, and with Thy Father, *that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins*, but spare and have mercy upon us in the day of that Thy second coming.

For these things yet more. — That is, for all the dispensation. *Thy Church and Thine inheritance*: that is, Thy people, upon whom Thy name has been called — "Christians", from "Christos", that is "Messians" from "Messiah" — *and Thine inheritance*, which Thy Father bequeathed to Thee, according to that: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the peoples for thine inheritance"¹; and according to that: "All authority is given to me in heaven and in earth"². Again, *Thine inheritance*: that to which Thou didst promise that it should inherit the kingdom of heaven. *Entreateth Thee*: that is, that Thou wouldst not impute to her her sins, but spare her in the day of Thy coming. *And through Thee*: that is, as an effect in relation to the cause. Again, *and through Thee*: as a mediator between us and the Father. *And with Thee*: that is, as equal in essence and in nature to the Father.

But the people answer and say: "Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty". That is: We entreat Thee, God the Father, through Thy Son who became a mediator, that Thou wouldst pardon our sins, and that Thy mercies may be poured out upon us in the second coming of Thine only-begotten Son.

The priest: "And we also, Lord, thanking³ Thee and con-

¹ Ps. II 8.

² Matth. XXVIII 18.

³ The translation "receiving Thy grace" in Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* p. 88 l. 10 is incorrect, though literal: this Syriac expression always means "thank".

fessing to Thee for all things": — That is, he has said this: We thank Thee for all those things which Thou hast done towards us, from the beginning and even unto the incarnation of Thine onlybegotten Son: whether it be that Thou
 5 hast created us, according to that, Thou madest us in Thine image; or that Thou hast adorned us with the bestowing of reason, according to that, Thou wast careful of us, etc. *And because of all things*: that is, because of all those things which Thou didst bestow upon us by the incarnation of Thy
 10 Son: whether forgiveness of sins, or the adoption of sons, or the kingdom of heaven and the enjoyment that is therein: and the rest that are like to these.

*But the people answer and say: "Thee we praise, Thee we bless, Thee we confess; and we beg of Thee, O Lord our
 15 God"*. — That is: *Thee we praise*, for all that the priest says, first and last; and *Thee we bless*, in the likeness of the cherubim, because Thou hast blessed our race (so as to set it free) from the curse of the transgression of the commandment; and *Thee we confess*, that Thou art our God and our
 20 benefactor; *and we beg of Thee* that Thou wouldst answer our reasonable petitions.

The deacon says: "In silence and in fear be ye standing". — That is: he summons the people for the lighting down of the Holy Spirit, that their standing may be such that they
 25 have these two things: first, silence, because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are given in silence; secondly, fear, lest any outcry be made by them, and that happen to them which happened to the Israelites in Mount Sinai, who said to Moses: "Speak with us thou, and let not God speak with
 30 us, lest we die" ¹.

Concerning the calling of the Holy Spirit. — It is right fol. 163b that we enquire here concerning the Holy Spirit, why He

¹ Ex. XX 19.

comes down upon the bread and wine which are set upon the altar. Lo, we know that the Son comes down upon the bread and wine and is united to them hypostatically¹: but the Holy Spirit, why does He come down? We say, for this reason: as He came down into the womb of the holy 5 Virgin Mary — according as the angel said: “The Holy Spirit shall come”², etc. — and made the body which was from the Virgin the body of God the Word, so He comes down upon the bread and wine which are upon the altar, and makes them that body and blood of God the Word 10 which was from the Virgin. Again, we say thus: just as in the case of the holy Virgin Mary the Father willed that the Son should become incarnate, but the Son came down into the womb of the Virgin and became incarnate, and the Spirit also came down to the Virgin and caused the Son 15 to be incarnate of her: so here also in the case of the altar: the Father wills that the Son be united hypostatically to the bread and wine, and that they become His body and His blood; but the Son comes down that He may be hypostatically united to them; and the Spirit also comes 20 down that He may unite them to Him, even as He caused Him to be incarnate of the Virgin. And for this cause the priest bows down in fear and cries with groaning of heart secretly to God the Father, and asks of Him, as of the timeless Cause of the Son and the Spirit, and (Him) from 25 whom every good gift comes down³, that He will send upon him and upon all the believing people which stands behind him, and upon the mysteries which are set upon the altar, His Holy Spirit. And because there are many spirits, in distinction from them he describes Him as the “Holy 30

¹ Syr. *q̄nōmāīth*, an adverb formed from *q̄noma*, which is the nearest Syriac equivalent for *ὑπόστασις*.

² Luke I 35.

³ James I 17.

Spirit", saying thus: (*Thy*) *Holy Spirit*. And since there are other holy spirits, who are the angels, in distinction from them he adds and says: *the Lord, the Lifegiver*. That is: this Spirit is Lord; and moreover He bestows life on all fol. 164a
 5 the angels, and on all that live. *Equal in essence*: that is, He has also another (property) which distinguishes Him from all (other) holy [spirits]. And what is this? And we say, that He is equal in essence and in Godhead to the Father and to the Son, and is complete (*lit.* full) also as
 10 they are. And after these he introduces other descriptions also: *Who spake in the law*, and such and such; by each of these expressions distinguishing Him from something else.

The priest lifts up his voice: "Answer us, O Lord, and have mercy on us".

15 *Then the people cry "Kyrie eleison"*. — And why? Because they have perceived by faith that the Holy Spirit has come down and perfected and completed the mysteries, they cry to the Father with a cry of groaning, "Lord have mercy on us", for *Kyrie eleison* is interpreted "Lord have mercy
 20 on us". He (the priest) utters aloud his voice that he may incite the people that they also say "Lord have mercy on us". But by saying *Kyrie eleison* three times they signify the instancy of the entreaty.

Now many uninstructed priests here strike their hands
 25 upon their foreheads, not knowing that this has here no sort of appropriateness — unless it be perhaps that they are sorry for what they have done! Now it is not right for the priest to strike his hand upon his forehead, because the gifts of the Spirit are given in silence and not with noises.
 30 Secondly, again: because God the Word came down silently and quietly upon Mary, and was incarnate of her, and not with noises and disturbances. And so here also does He come down and unite Himself hypostatically to the bread and wine that are on the altar. Thirdly, again: because "we

fol. 164b have not received the spirit of slavery unto fear”¹; so that we ought not to make a tumult, as did the Israelites when the gifts came down upon them. For they were in the condition of slaves, but “we have not received the spirit of slavery, but the Spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry 5 Abba, our Father”¹, as the apostle said. Wherefore we are sons; and it is not right that we should make a tumult. But if any one say: How did He light down upon Mount Sinai with noises and voices? we say: They were in the condition of slaves; therefore He came down there as upon 10 the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart: but here quietly, as upon sons, according to that which the apostle said.

That lighting down He may make this bread. — That is, the Holy Spirit whom I have entreated the Father to send.

The people answer “Amen”. — That is: Be it as thou hast 15 said. It is right to know that *Amen* is used² in two ways: in place of “(so) be it”, and in place of “truth”. And here it is used in place of “(so) be it”. But it is used as “truth” where our Lord said in the Gospel, “Amen, I say unto you”: that is, “Truth I say unto you”. 20

But that prayer which the priest standing erect says: “That they may be to all those who communicate”: — at the end of it let him not say “to the ages”; but let him say *unto the end of the age, by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of Thine onlybegotten Son: with whom to Thee 25 is fitting glory and honour*, and the rest: for after the end of the world (*or age*) there is no wickedness, nor any heresies.

Here ends the second section (of the Qurrābhā), and the third section begins. — And it is right to know that in all gēhāntās³ and pēshāṭtās⁴ the priest follows the same rule, 30

¹ Rom. VIII 15.

² Lit. *goes out*: the Syriac verb has several idiomatic uses in which it cannot be translated literally.

³ I. e. prayers said bowing.

⁴ I. e. prayers said standing erect.

(viz.) that he ask, for those for whom he is asking, secretly and aloud¹. And when he says a gēhāntā, the deacon makes known to the people for whom it is that the priest whilst bowing down is asking secretly; and he urges them also to entreat for those for whom the priest is entreating. And afterwards the priest stands erect (and) asks of God aloud; and he also makes known to the people for whom it was he was asking whilst bowing down. fol. 165a

Again, concerning the diptychs which the deacon proclaims. —

It is right to know that the diptychs which the deacon proclaims are six, three of the living and three of the dead. And whenever the Book of Life is not read upon the altar it is not right for him to omit anything from them, for two reasons. First, because of the mystery which is contained in them, I mean three and three. Secondly: whereas the one which the deacons are accustomed to omit in the Qur-rābhā of Mar Jacob² is that of the kings; and whereas there are (still) believing kings, I mean of the Ethiopians and the Iberians, and others; and whereas it makes request for peace between kingdoms, and also for the peace of the four quarters (of the world): it is right that it should be proclaimed.

It is right further to know this also, that whereas the people answer after the deacon who proclaims each several diptych³: "For all and because of all", or: "Amen: Lord have mercy on us": these answers are corrupt; for the deacon does not speak in each several diptych on behalf of all orders of the Church, or on behalf of all classes of the world, so as to command the people to intercede for them,

¹ Sc. secretly in the gēhāntās, and aloud in the pēshāttās. What is here said refers directly to the Intercession prayers, said by the priest alternately bowing and standing erect.

² The Anaphora of St James.

³ The meaning intended doubtless is *after the deacon has proclaimed each diptych*; i. e. they answer after every diptych.

and (so that) they may answer and say appropriately: "For all and because of all"; nor yet does he in each several diptych speak of those faithful who are present and praying, that he should command the people to intercede for themselves, and answer and say fittingly: "Amen: Lord have mercy on us". But in each several diptych he commands the people to intercede for those whom he mentions in the same diptych. Wherefore it is fitting and right that the people should answer and say *Kyrie eleison*, which is interpreted "Lord have mercy on us". And it is evident that this is fitting and correct for them to answer, from the fact that those believers who are in western parts, which are fol. 165b near to the Greeks, make answer thus unto this day¹. Thus then it is right for the faithful to answer after the diptychs which the deacon says: *Kyrie eleison*, which is "Lord have mercy on me" (*sic*); that is: Lord have mercy on those whom the deacon has mentioned in this diptych; for so does the deacon command them to intercede with God for those whom he mentions and enumerates in each one of the diptychs. Wherefore appropriately they answer *Kyrie eleison*, that is, "Lord have mercy on me" (*sic*). If however the Book of Life is read, in which he who reads reckons and recites all the diptychs, appropriately and fittingly the people answer *For all and because of all*.

Concerning the gēhāntās and pēshāṭṭās of the priest. — There are six gēhāntās and six pēshāṭṭās; while in each gēhāntā and pēshāṭṭā it is evident and clear for what classes the priest asks and entreats.

And at the end of the prayer for the departed the priest says: "For there is no man that is clear of sins, except only our Lord Jesus Christ". And so he says: "Through whom we

¹ This argument probably had more weight with Bār Kēphā than the preceding one, the force of which it is difficult to see.

also have hoped to find mercies; for whose sake both to us and to them". — That is: *through* Christ Himself, to wit by His being sacrificed, and for His sake, we hope and expect to find mercies with the Father and forgiveness of sins, —
 5 we and the departed whom we have commemorated: I mean, all the faithful.

But the people answer and say: *Give rest, and remit and forgive and put away, O God, our offences, voluntary and involuntary, witting and unwitting.* — That is: *give rest, O*
 10 *God, to the faithful departed in bosoms of Abraham*¹, [and to us also] after our departure; and *remit and forgive and put away* their sins and offences and ours, whether voluntary or involuntary, and whether with knowledge we have
 15 committed (them) or without knowledge. And hence we know that God punishes involuntary and unwitting sins: for if He does not punish them, the Church would not entreat for them. fol. 166a

That in this also, as in all things. — That is: in addition to all Thy graces towards us, *in this also*, that Thou grantest
 20 us a *Christian and pious end*. And because of all these things yet more we glorify and praise Thy name, O Father, and that of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ and of Thy Holy Spirit.

The people answer and say thus: "*As it was, and is, and continueth unto the generation of generations, and unto all generations and to the ages of ages: Amen*". — That is: *it was*
 25 indicates the time that is past and gone; *it is* indicates the present time; but *unto the generation of generations and generations*, the future time. Again, *to the ages of ages* signifies both worlds (*or ages*). But *Amen* means "truth". And
 30 this is the meaning of these (words): As Thy name, O Father, and that of Thy onlybegotten Son and of Thy Holy Spirit was glorified and praised in the time that is past, so

¹ Lit. *in Abrahamic bosoms*.

is it also in the present time, and so also does it continue in the future time. And not only in these three times is Thy name glorified and praised, and that of Thy Son and of Thy Spirit, but also in both worlds, in this, and in that which is to come. And hence it is not right to leave out the *and*, as some are accustomed to say: "As it was, is", etc.; for the priest says thus: Because of all Thy graces towards us, and also because of this, that Thou grantest us a Christian and pious end, we glorify and praise Thy name, O Father, and that of Thy Son and of Thy Holy Spirit ¹. And so the ^{fol. 166b} people answer: *As it was* glorified and praised in the time that is past, *and is* in this present time, so shall it also be in the time to come, etc. But some say that this is (to be) taken of the Son only; wherefore, say they, it is right that we should say thus: "As He was, is, and continueth to the ¹ generation of generations", that is, for ever: — as He was God before He became incarnate, He is God after that He has become incarnate, and He continues God in the flesh, and unto the age of ages. But this interpretation which these persons give is not correct; and this is evident from the ² fact that the priest says thus: *That also in this, as in all things, Thine all-honoured and blessed name may be glorified and praised, with that of our Lord Jesus Christ and Thy Holy Spirit*. Wherefore it is right that the people should answer according as the priest says. ²

The priest: "May the mercies of God, our Master and Redeemer Jesus Christ, be with you all". — This sacrifice which was sacrificed once upon the cross is itself *the mercies*; and it is about to be with you now also, even as He said: "He abideth in me, and I in him" ². ³

Then the deacon folds back the veil of the door-curtain of

¹ This is a paraphrase of the actual formula on the lines of the explanation given just before. The text is quoted literally a little further on.

² John VI 56.

the holy of holies. — That is: the veil of the door-curtain of the holy of holies is a symbol of the [screen]¹ which is between us and the hiddenness of the place of heaven; as it is said: "Where even the angels desire to look"².

5 *Concerning the things that the priest does at this time.* — That is: he takes some of pērīstā³ in his hands. And whereas he breaks it in two, he shews that God the Word truly suffered in the flesh and was sacrificed and broken on the cross. Whereas he takes some of the body and dips it in
10 the blood, and brings some of it (the blood) and signs over the body, he shews that this Slain One was besprinkled with His blood in the upper room when He said, "This is my blood", and on the cross when His side was pierced with a spear and there came forth from it blood and water, and fol. 167a
15 He was besprinkled therewith. Again, whereas he brings some of the blood and signs the body, he makes a union of the soul with the body; and he shews that after the soul of the Word was separated from His body, His soul returned and was united to His body: howbeit His Godhead was in
20 no wise separated either from His body or from His soul, neither can it be separated. And that bread is the body of God the Word, but the wine is His soul; for the blood is a symbol of the soul, as it is written: "The soul of all flesh is the blood"⁴. But again, whereas, after he has signed (with) some
25 of the blood over the body, he unites and fits together these two halves of the pērīstā one with another, he symbolizes and shews by this that Emmanuel is one, and is not divided into two natures after the union. Again, he shews that after He was sacrificed on the cross He made all to be at peace
30 by the blood of His cross⁵, and united and joined together heavenly with earthly beings, and the People with the

¹ The word is illegible, but can be restored from George of the Arabs fol. 187b, whence this comment is borrowed.

² 1 Pet. I 12.

³ I. e. the eucharistic bread.

⁴ Lev. XVII 11, 14.

⁵ Col. I 20.

peoples, and the soul with the body. Again by fetching the p̄rīstā about in a circle, he declares and signifies that He was sacrificed on the cross for the sin of the circle of the world¹. Why does he bring some of the blood to the body and sign, and not bring some of the body to the blood and sign? And we say, because the blood is the soul; and it was the soul that came and was united to the body when He rose from the dead, and the body did not go and be united to the soul.

Why does he take a coal² from the body and cast it into the cup? — And we say, that it may be known that this blood belongs to that body, and not to another. Again, he casts the coal into the blood, that it may be known that the blood is from the body, and not the body from the blood: and this is according to the nature of things. Again, he casts the coal into the blood, that he may declare that He whose body this is, and whose blood this is, sacrificed Himself on the cross for us. Again, he casts the coal into the blood, because although the body and the blood are put into two vessels, yet it is the one quickening body of God the Word. Again, in breaking the body into many coals, after he has cast the coal of the body into the blood, in this also he does as our Lord did, who broke His body and divided it to His disciples in the upper chamber. Again, he breaks it into many coals, that it may suffice for all the faithful who are present. And it behoves all intelligent and discerning priests that when they cause the faithful to partake of the body of our Lord, whether they be boys who

¹ It will be observed that this comment on the fraction and signing is very like the priest's prayer given in Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* p. 97. As neither Bār Kēphā nor the earlier MSS mention any formula to be said during the fraction, it seems probable that the prayer in question was actually built up from the present comment.

² The 'coal' which touched Isaiah's lips is interpreted of the Eucharist: hence this technical use of word to signify a small particle of the eucharistic bread.

partake, or men, or girls, or women, they break not one of the coals into two or three, but give each coal entire to one (man) or to one (woman); that thus the cross may be given whole on each coal to each one of the receivers, and the
 5 figure of the cross which is on the coal may not be defaced by breaking the coal: [as some] priests break it, who are uninstructed and ignorant of the mysteries of the Christians, and niggardly.

And this further it is right to know, that among the
 10 former orthodox the priests used not to remove those coals which were in the cup — I mean those of the body which was cast into the blood in the cups — they used not to take out the coals; but in the cups themselves they used to take forth the coals to the faithful, and they would see
 15 them, that by them they might recognise and understand that this that was in the cups belonged to that body which they had already received, — with the two other meanings which we have already mentioned. And after the cups of fol. 168a
 the blood had returned to the holy of holies, those who
 20 administered the cups would receive these coals. And so, for my part, I say that this custom was a good and mystical one; and although the orthodox of to-day have given it up, yet this practice and custom is observed among the Chaldeonians to this day. But the Nestorians do not even cast
 25 the coals of the body into the blood which is in the cups, since they are cut off from the mysteries, and the meaning of the mysteries, of Christianity; for not only this do they not do, but there are many other things which they leave and do them not.

30 *Again it is asked, why he signs the body [and the blood] with crosses.* — And we say, that they may be sanctified. For everything that is sanctified in the Church, is sanctified and completed and perfected by the cross, whether the chrism, or the baptismal font, or the body and the blood,

or the laying on of hands, or altars, or churches, or houses of prayer, etc.; as the holy Mār Severus has said in the anthem¹ of the cross concerning the cross, thus: "It is this that sanctifies the second birth of baptism, and completes and perfects that reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, and the whole ministry of the priesthood, and of the holy service". It is necessary further to know this also, why everything that is sanctified in the Church is sanctified and completed by the cross. And we say that the cross depicts Christ, and He it is that sanctifies and is not sanctified in the Church. And although there be other rites in the Church which portray Him, yet it was by the cross that the whole dispensation was consummated.

Again it is enquired, how many crosses are signed over the body and the blood, and how many times and (in how many) places they are signed. — And we say that the crosses are fol. 168b eighteen: nine are signed over the body, and nine over the blood; and three times and in three places they are signed: first, where the priest says *Having taken bread upon His hands*; secondly, where the priest says *That lighting down He may make this bread the body of Christ*; thirdly, where he breaks and signs.

Again it is enquired, why the priest signs these crosses in three places and three times. — And we say, for the honour of the Holy Trinity. Again, three times and in three places he signs them, that he may make known that this body and blood is that of one of the Trinity, who is the Word of God and the Son of the Father. Again we say, that he may symbolize the burial and the resurrection of the third day. Again, we say that three times and in three places the priest signs crosses over the body and blood, that by the first time — where he says *Having taken bread upon*

¹ *Ma'nīthā.*

His hands — he may make known that the Father indeed wills, but the Son consents, and the Spirit sanctifies. By the second time — where he says *That lighting down He may make the bread* — He makes known that the Father wills, the Son consents, and the Spirit completes. By the third time again — where he breaks and signs — he shews that the Father wills, the Son consents, and the Spirit perfects.

It is right also that we speak here of the crosses which the priest signs upon himself and over the clergy and over the people. And we say, in the first place, that within the Qurrābhā it is not right for any one of the clergy or of the people to sign a cross upon his face at all; but the priest who offers, he signs crosses upon his face and over the mysteries and over the clergy and over the people: first, where he says *The love of God the Father*, etc.; secondly, where he says *May the mercies of God be*; thirdly, where he says *May the grace of the Holy Trinity, increate and equal in essence, be*; fourthly again, after the reception of the mysteries, where he commits the people (to God) and says *Turn to us in mercies and in lovingkindness, and bless Thy people and keep Thine inheritance*. And in each of these places which we have mentioned he signs one cross upon his face, and one over the clergy who are on his left, and another also over the clergy who are on his right, and three over the people who are behind him. If, however, there are no deacons or clergy either on his right or his left, it is not necessary that he sign crosses to his left or to his right, but upon himself and over the people only. And if there are no people behind him, not so much as one person, but he offers alone, it is not required that he sign crosses in any direction, but upon his face only.

In addition to all these things it is right to know this also, that some say that the Katholike which the deacon proclaims after the diptychs did not exist in the time of

the apostles, but the holy fathers added it after them, in most seemly and priestly wise, that it should be proclaimed after the diptychs, so that the mind of the people may not wander in silence now that the priest is completing¹ the service of the mysteries. And indeed there are many Katholikes; and some of them are correct and suitable, and some of them are incorrect and unsuitable. And that Katholike which says *Again and again, for this also, that without condemnation and without shame we may be accounted worthy of the reception of the all-pure mystery*, and that other which says *Again and again, now that the divine sacrifice has been completed, in purity*, etc., are correct and suitable, even at the end; but that little one needs to be corrected: and see thou correct it, and the rest of the others, wherein are some things incorrect and others unsuitable. Further, it is right to know that that which the deacon says before he fol. 169b proclaims the Katholike, *Again let us ask mercies of the Lord*, is superfluous.

And here ends the third section, and the fourth begins. — Now the content² of the whole of this fourth section is addressed to the Father; for after the priest breaks and signs he says this prayer: *God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. That is, in this prayer he makes a supplication to the Father that He would cleanse our souls and our bodies, that with purity we may pray that prayer which our Lord taught His disciples. *And with face unshamed*: that is, unshamed by the sin of the transgression of the commandment³, and unshamed by (any) sin of its own⁴ which it has committed. *We may presume to call Thee*: that is: Even though while we are pure we pray this prayer, nevertheless it is presumption that we should pray this prayer. Again, it is

¹ The correct sense may possibly be *as soon as the priest completes*, etc.

² Lit. *the theme*.

³ I. e. the sin of Adam.

⁴ *Proprio peccato* is the literal translation.

presumption that we, being of the dust and slaves, should call the heavenly God *our Father*.

It is right to know that God the Father became a father to us from (*or* by) baptism; for He said to the Son when
 5 He was baptized: "This is my son"¹. And by saying "This is my son", He did not make Him a son, as the heretics say, for He is His Son by nature, and essentially and eternally, since He begat Him beyond (all) time and beginning; but whereas He was hidden and concealed, when He became
 10 incarnate and was baptized He revealed Him and shewed Him, that "this is my beloved son". Wherefore by saying "This is my son", He verily shewed that He is His Son by nature, who was hidden but was revealed in the flesh. And when He said "This is my son", through Him He called
 15 His "sons" all the faithful who are baptized. And for this cause we also, as soon as we are baptized, cry "Our Father who art in heaven".

But after the priest has finished this prayer the people cry out and say: "Our Father who art in heaven". — That
 20 is: *Our Father who art in heaven* is a prayer of confidence, which shews us to be sons of God by grace. And there is in it a confession of the Maker, and love of things good, and also a complete deliverance from things evil, and hope and forgiveness of sins².

25 *Our Father who art in heaven.* — It is right for us to fol. 170a investigate several questions (*lit.* causes) here. First: in how many senses "father" is spoken. Secondly: and in what sense God is called our Father, and we His sons. Thirdly: why Christ taught us to call God our Father. Fourthly:
 30 why He said to us, Say "our Father", and not "my Father". Fifthly: who are they to whom this name of "father" attaches,

¹ Matth. III 17.

² This comment is taken from George of the Arabs fol. 188b.

and whose Father God is, and who not. Sixthly: why, when He said *Our Father*, He added *who art in heaven*: is He not in the earth also and in the air and in the sea and in the universe, infinitely?

The first question: in how many ways "father" is spoken. — And we say that "father" is spoken in two senses, the natural and the relative¹, and in like manner also "son". And a natural father is of two kinds, a remote father and a near father. And a remote father is like Adam who is father of Abraham; but a near father is like Abraham who is father of Isaac. Similarly a natural son is of two kinds, and is said to be remote or near. But a relative father is (so) in many and various ways; for a teacher of the faith is also called a father, as the apostle said: "In Jesus Christ I begat you by the gospel"². Moreover the three hundred and eighteen bishops are called our fathers. And "father" is spoken in respect of conversation and habits, whether good or evil, as Christ said to the Jews: "Ye are sons of Satan"³: because there appeared in them the evil habits and conversation and workings of Satan. Again, he who receives any one from baptism is called a father; for they say that the qarribhā⁴ of So-and-So is his father. Again a man's teacher is called father, for we say that the master is father of the disciple. Again, "father" is said by way of honour; as when we see an old and venerable man and call him "father", thereby shewing him honour. And in other ways also one may be called a relative father.

The second question: in which of these senses which have been mentioned is God said to be our Father. — And we say, in none of these; but God is said to be our Father by reason of baptism. For because we and Christ have been

¹ Lit. *accidental*

² 1 Cor. IV 15.

³ Cf. John VIII 44.

⁴ I. e. sponsor; cf. George of the Arabs fol. 185b, and the note there.

born from the one womb of legitimate¹ baptism, we have hereby become His brethren, and sons of His heavenly Father. For this is the rule (κανών) touching those who are born from the same womb, that they are called brothers

5 one of another, and sons of him who begot them. Hence God is called our Father, because He begot us from baptism by His Holy Spirit. And to this John the evangelist bears witness saying: "To them he gave authority to become the

0 sons of God, who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God"². So also blessed Paul says: "Ye have not received the spirit of slavery unto fear"³; and again he said: "Ye are brethren of Christ and joint heirs with Christ"⁴; and David also said with Paul: "I will declare thy name to my brethren"⁵.

5 Wherefore we are brethren of Christ, and we are also sons of the heavenly Father. But Christ is son by nature of the Father: we are sons by grace; and Christ did not receive the Spirit as being in need of the Holy Spirit — for He is of the same nature, and equal to Him in essence, and is

0 also He that gives Him — but for our sakes He received Him, that through His own mediation He might give Him to us. But we as being in need have received the lighting fol. 171a
down of the Holy Spirit, as we have shewn in *The Higher Contemplation*⁶.

5 *The third question: why He taught us to call God our Father.* — And we say, first: that He might put us in mind of the good things we have received: I mean, that we have been made His brethren and sons of His Father. Secondly:

¹ An adj. formed from *māryā* 'lord', in imitation of Gk. *κύριος*; there is also a corresponding adv. for *κυρίως*.

² John I 12, 13. ³ Rom. VIII 15. ⁴ Rom. VIII 17.

⁵ Ps. XXII 23; Heb. II 12.

⁶ Evidently the title of an ascetical work by Bār Kēphā. The word for "contemplation" is the Gk. *θεωρία*.

because the devil fights against those who draw near to prayer and wishes to hinder them — and this is evident from the fact that when Jesus the Son of Jozedek was standing up to pray, he drew near to hurt him¹ — and when he hears us calling God our Father, when we draw near to pray, he loses courage and flies: — like a child that some one comes to fight with, and he has a strong father, and as soon as he calls “Father!” the other flies and goes away from before him. Thirdly: that He might incite us to love God and do His will and keep His commandments by means of the name “Father” and that of “sons”, and (by reason) of the kinship there is between them. Fourthly: that He might teach us to display in ourselves the likeness of God — in so far as it is possible for a man to resemble God — as sons who display in themselves indications that their Father who is in heaven is perfect.

The fourth question: for what reason He said to us, Cry “Our Father”, and not “My Father”. — And we say, because “our Father” is an expression that is universal, but “my Father” is an expression that is particular to every individual. And by saying to us, Say ye “Our Father”, in common, He taught us these things: first, that the body of the Church is one; secondly, that it behoves us also to pray in common; thirdly, that He might remove pride: since kings and they of low estate, rich and poor, those in authority and those under authority, wise and foolish, are equal in this, that they have one Father and one race in the Spirit. Say and cry, “Our Father”²: — wherefore ob-
fol. 171b scurity of origin is not placed at a disadvantage, nor want of possessions, nor ignorance. Fourthly: that He might do away from among us envy and hatred and enmity, and

¹ Zech. III 1.

² The text may also be translated *they have cried and said.*

bind us together by mutual love, He said, Cry "Our Father", and not "My Father": that we may be united by love and not divided by hatred.

The fifth question: who are they to whom the name of
 5 *Father attaches and whose Father God is, and who not.* — And we say: those who have pure thoughts and speak becoming words and have virtuous conversation, whether fasting, or prayer, or modesty and holiness, or mercifulness and peaceableness, etc., — it is they whose Father God is truly called,
 0 and it is they that are without question His sons; as the Lord Himself said: "Be ye perfect therefore, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect"¹; and: "Be ye merciful, even as your Father who is in heaven is merciful"². But those who have foul thoughts and filthy speech and evil
 5 manners, whether envy and hatred, or dishonesty and cheating, or lying and fornication, and the rest, they are not God's sons, nor is He their Father; but they are sons of Satan, as Christ said to the Jews³, and as God Himself said: "Sons have I reared and exalted; and they have rebelled
 0 against me"⁴; and: "Strange sons, they shall be hindered and halt from their paths"⁵. "For what fellowship hath light with darkness?"⁶ says the apostle: neither have these any kinship or fellowship with God. Wherefore He is not called their Father, because they do not display in them-
 5 selves His likeness, as do the virtuous, but the likeness of Satan. Those therefore who call God *Our Father* while they fol. 172a
 are evil, utterly lie; for God is not the Father of an evil person, even as light and life have no fellowship with darkness and death. It behoves those, therefore, who call God
 0 their Father, to be virtuous and good as far as possible.

The sixth question: for what reason, when He said "Our

¹ Matth. V 48.

² Luke VI 36.

³ John VIII 44.

⁴ Is. I 2.

⁵ Ps. XVIII 45 (Pesh.).

⁶ 2 Cor. VI 14.

Father", He added "*Who art in heaven*": is not God in everything infinitely? — And we say that He said *who art in heaven*, not that He might shew that God is confined there, but that He might draw away the mind of those who pray from the earth and earthly things, and lift it up to the height, that it may mind the things that are in heaven and heavenly; as He said in another place: "Call not (any) father on earth, for one is your Father, who is in heaven"¹. The purpose of His admonition, then, is this, that we should mind the things that are above; so also the apostle said: "Seek the things that are above, mind the things that are above, and not the things that are on earth"².

Hallowed be thy name. — Is not His name holy before we pray *Hallowed by thy name*? And we say that His name is holy, and He is the Holy One and the giver of holiness. But *Hallowed be thy name* is this: *Hallowed be thy name* in our minds. But perhaps some one will say: And what profit is there from this? We say, much: for when we consider that He is the Holy One, and that His name is holy, we concede that it is not possible for us to be His sons, except we be holy; as He said: "Be ye holy as I also am holy"³. Again, thus: *Hallowed be thy name*: that is, *hallowed be thy name* in our minds and tongues and lips and mouths; even as the seraphim sanctify and say "Holy, Holy, Holy", etc. Again, thus: *Hallowed be thy name*: that is, *hallowed be* is "praised be"; and thus we pray to Him, that He would make us worthy to cultivate virtuous and good manners, so that when men see us they may praise God on our account, according to that: "Let them see your good works and praise your Father who is in heaven"⁴; and that

¹ Matth. XXIII 9.

² Col. III 1, 2. The MS has *heaven* here for *earth*.

³ Lev. XI 45, etc.

⁴ Matth. V 16.

we may not cultivate evil and abominable manners, so that they see us and say, "Thus does their faith require"; as God said by the prophet: "Because of you my name is blasphemed among the gentiles"¹. Again, thus: *Hallowed be thy name*: that is, He taught the apostles to pray, *Hallowed be thy name* by believers and by unbelievers: by those, while they are brought into Thy name and into belief in Thee; by these, while they cleave to the reading of the Gospel². And in this the apostles were resembling the Son and the Holy Spirit, who became paracletes, that is advocates, for men.

Thy kingdom come. — That is: may *Thy kingdom come* and rescue us from the devil, who wishes to rule over us through evil thoughts and reprobate manners. As soon as he hears thee call, not angels that they come to thee, as Gabriel and Michael to Jesus son of Nun, but God Himself, and (hears thee) say, *Thy kingdom come* and rescue us from him, straightway he flees and trembles, he and every suffering and affliction. Again, thus: *Thy kingdom come*: that is, that which is to be, and which is looked for that it may be revealed by the coming of Christ. But perhaps some one will say: What profit comes to us that we pray for that kingdom to come? And we say, much. First: that we live not neglectfully, but with diligence in virtuous conversation. Secondly: those who are holy and virtuous look earnestly for it to come, that they may receive their rewards: — "Come, ye blessed of my Father"³, etc., and "enter into the joy of thy Lord"⁴. Thirdly: because this is proper to good sons, that they be not enamoured of earthly things, but look for the things to come and eagerly desire them, as

¹ Is. LII 5; Rom. II 24.

² He means the unbaptized, who stay in church for the reading of the Scriptures.

³ Matth. XXV 34.

⁴ *Ibid.* vv. 21, 23.

the apostle has said: "We in whom is the firstfruits of life, do groan and wait for the adoption of sons and the redemption of our bodies"¹. Again, thus: *Thy kingdom come*: that is, He calls "the kingdom" the help and succour of the Holy Spirit. Pray ye, He says, that God the Father may grant you the help of the Holy Spirit; for temptations are about to come violently upon you and wars to rise up against you.

Thy will be done, as in heaven, also in earth. — That is: men have two abodes, the one on earth, the other in heaven. And in that which is on earth we dwell to-day, while we are not (yet) set free from sin; but that which is in heaven is that in which the righteous shall dwell after the resurrection, being set free from all bias towards sin, and lifted up above all earthly passions. And what He says is this: Grant us that Thy will be in us to-day, whilst we are dwelling on earth, [? not yet]² freed from all sin and earthly passions, even as Thy will shall be in us when we dwell in heaven, freed from sin and earthly passions. Again thus: *Thy will be done, as in heaven, also in earth*: that is, He calls "heaven" the angels who dwell in heaven, but "earth" He styles men, who dwell on the earth. And what He says is this: Pray ye, As Thy will is in the angels who dwell in heaven, since they keep Thy commandments and execute Thy will — "His ministers", it is said, "who do his will"³ — so also be Thy will in men who dwell on earth⁴, Thou helping us to keep Thy commandments and to do Thy will. Again, thus: Be pleased that we who dwell on earth should praise Thee,

¹ Rom. VIII 23.

² In a note to the Syriac text at this point I have suggested that the words *freed from all sin and earthly passions* were copied by error from the following clause. I now prefer to emend the text, as above, by simply inserting the negative particle: see a few lines before *while we are not (yet) set free from sin*. It is possible however that the text is right, in spite of the awkward repetition.

³ Ps. CIII 21.

⁴ Cf. St Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* XXIII 14.

even as Thou art pleased that the angels who dwell in heaven should praise Thee. Again, thus: As Thy will is in the angels who confess one God, three holy Persons — saying “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord almighty (of) Sabaoth” — so also in us men who dwell on earth be Thy will, while we like them confess. Again, thus: *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth*: that is, He shews that he who prays takes upon him a solicitude for the whole earth. And this appears from the fact that He did not say, *Thy will be (done)* “in me”, or “in us”, but *in earth*: that is, As Thy will is in heaven, since there is (there) no contention nor falsehood nor sin, but peace and truth and righteousness, so be Thou pleased that it should be in earth also. fol. 173b

Give us the bread of our need to-day. — That is: by teaching us to beg and ask for bread, He signified these things. First: that we are not to ask for possessions and luxuries and delights, but to have bread for the nourishment of the body. Secondly: that the prayer may be common to poor and rich alike: as regards the poor, that they may supply their want; as regards the rich, that when they pray this prayer they may both get for themselves a heritage and give to the poor. Thirdly: that He might declare that gold and silver and pearls, and the like, do not nourish the body, but bread, yes. Fourthly: that He might teach us not to ask for superfluities, but for those things only which are necessary. But some say that by “bread” He means all the necessities of the body: I mean, bread, and clothing, and the shelter of a house; (for) these things are the proper necessities of the body. But by saying *our need to-day*, He taught us thus: that we should not be anxious about future things, but about those that are present only; for by the word “to-day” He indicated the present time; and this He says: Ask for those things that are useful and necessary for you at the present time; as He said in another place:

“Be not anxious for the morrow”¹. We ought not then to be anxious for the future time, because it may happen that we shall not live, and for other reasons. *Give us the bread of our need to-day*: that is, I require of you the purity of the heavenly hosts. And “bread of to-day” (means), I supply you day by day, that you may not bear that burden which even Jacob had. Of Saint Cyril²: *Give us the bread of our need to-day*: that is, the living bread which cometh down from heaven, which is the life of souls and bodies — according to that: “I am the living bread, who am come down from heaven”³, etc. — not for one day only, but every day; for just as the body is nourished by common bread, so also is the soul by the living bread.

*Forgive us our debts and our sins*⁴, as we also have forgiven our debtors. — That is: this clause teaches us these things: that He gives us cause for humility by putting us in mind of our sins; that we may ask forgiveness of God and be pardoned by repentance, and be saved from Gehenna and be accounted worthy of the kingdom of heaven; (and) that we may be just, for⁵ with the weights and measures that we weigh and mete out it shall be weighed and meted out to us. How? If we forgive those who have sinned against us, God will forgive us; but if we forgive not, neither will He forgive us. He taught us also that we should not be resentful. Again, (in exchange) for forgiveness He accumulates⁶

¹ Matt. VI 34.

² I. e. St Cyril of Jerusalem again: cf. *Catech.* XXIII 15; but the dependence here is slight.

³ John VI 51.

⁴ On this addition see *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, *Texts and Studies*) p. 25 note 1. It is found in the early Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas* (Wright, transl. p. 279), and its formal inclusion in the text of the Lord's Prayer here strengthens the suspicion that it is a liturgical survival from very early times.

⁵ The text has *and*.

⁶ See note to the text *in. loc.* The reading of the MS is a corruption either of *āsēn* “He heaps up”, or of *asgē* “He has multiplied”: as the context requires the present tense, I think *āsēn* was the original reading.

forgiveness: for a grain He puts a mountain, and for a drop He gives a sea. For it is a greater matter that He should forgive us than that we should forgive; for He as God forgives men, but we as men (forgive) men; and He forgives

5 slaves as a Master, but we slaves as slaves; and He as having no need forgives them that have need, but we as having need (forgive) them that have need. *Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors*: that is: they therefore who say that there is no repentance after baptism
10 are altogether wicked, since this prayer is spoken to the fol. 174b baptized, and not to strangers. *As we also have forgiven our debtors*: this for the most part is the cause of our undoing: if we forgive not one another, neither does Christ forgive us; according to the example of him whom He for-
15 gave, and he did not forgive his fellow-servant.

Bring us not into temptation. — Why did He command us to pray that we may not come into temptation, whereas many by temptations have triumphed and have been crowned, as Job, and Abraham, and Paul; for he said: "All joy
20 be it unto you, my brethren, when ye come into divers temptations"¹? And we say, He did not command us to pray this because He is unwilling that we should triumph by means of temptations — for He said: "He that shall endure unto the end, he shall live"² — but for these
25 reasons: as declaring to us the frailty of our nature; because it happens that when we enter into temptations we play the coward: so that by this He might spare those who lay afflictions upon us, that they be not condemned; (and) teaching us that we should not of our own accord venture
30 upon the contest of temptations. What then? If others draw us against our will and bring us into the contest of temp-

¹ James I 2: the saying appears to be attributed to St. Paul; the reason being that it is taken at second hand from St Cyril *Catech.* XXIII 17.

² Matth. X 22.

tations, what are we to do? And we say, we ought there to endure and hold out manfully and bravely and not play the coward, that we may triumph and receive the crown of victory and the rewards of (our) contests. But some say that here He calls Satan himself "temptation"; and therefore with reason He commanded us to pray that we may be delivered from him and not enter into his wickednesses. Again, thus: *Bring us not into temptation*: that is, do not suffer us to sin the sin which may not be blotted out by repentance, the which is a sore temptation: neither ought 1
fol. 175a we to go to the persecutors of our own accord; first, because of our own weakness, lest we fall when we see the tortures; and that we may not become a cause of chastisement to the persecutors.

But deliver us from the evil one. — That is, "evil one" 1
He here calls the devil. According to the variety of his evil workings, so do his names vary; for he is called Diabolus¹, and Beelzebub, and Archon of the world, and Evil One, and Slayer of men, and Father of lying, etc. He commanded us then to pray that we may be delivered from the evil one 2
for these reasons. First: because his plots against us are many. Secondly: because he hinders us from virtues. Thirdly: Paul also writes to the Romans: "The God of peace shall crush Satan under your feet"²; and to the Thessalonians he says: "I wished to come unto you, but Satan hindered me"³: 2
shewing that he is a hinderer of good things. After He has stirred up our mind and filled it with fear, He comes and imparts to us encouragement and comfort, and helps us to stand against the devil and all his temptation; for He says:

For Thine is the kingdom. — That is: if His is the king- 3
dom, then His soldiers fear nothing, for there is nothing

¹ The word is not the Greek *διάβολος*, but an attempted translation of it, lit. "Thrower".

² Rom. XVI 20.

³ 1 Thes. II 18.

that can stand against them. For even Satan himself is one of His subjects, notwithstanding that he is in rebellion, since he cannot venture upon anything unless he has permission from God, and is allowed to do it. And this is
 5 evident from the case of Job, and from that of the swine; for he was not able to do anything in them until he had received permission.

And the power. — That is: since His is the power that can do all, be confident that you are able to do all of those
 10 things that are possible to be done and profitable.

And the glory, unto the age of ages: Amen. — That is: as His kingdom is strong and His power great, so also does
 His glory continue without end. Why did He teach us not to pray with long (prayers)? And we say, that prayer may
 15 not grow tasteless by reason of a multitude of words and long phrases. After He has taught us to pray, then, and has shewn that He rejects wrath and anger and loves peace above everything, He returns again that He may uproot
 20 anger from (our) minds by means of threats and torments, and bring the hearer to obedience by the promise of things pleasant. But again the priest prays this prayer and says:

Yea, Lord, bring us not into that temptation which we are not able to bear. — That is, he entreats the Father that He will receive this prayer which he recites. And the people
 25 say *Amen*.

Then he says: "Peace (be) with you all". — That is: by this he says to them that they are to be free from disturbances, and at peace with themselves and with one another, that thus they may be accounted worthy of the reception
 30 of the lifegiving mysteries.

The deacon commands the people and says: "Before the Lord let us bow our heads". — That is, he commands them: Bow your heads before God, because he (*sc.* the priest) prays this prayer for you and on your account, and offers it to

Him. But bow your heads before the Lord, and entreat Him that He will grant you that which the priest prays.

The people cry: "Before Thee, O Lord God". — That is: *Before Thee, O Lord our God*, we bow our heads, as the deacon says unto us.

The priest prays, saying: "To Thee have Thy servants bowed their heads". — That is: he entreats God for them in this prayer that He will send upon them mercies and blessings, that with the purity which is befitting they may receive the holy and lifegiving mysteries.

The people: "Amen". The priest says: "Peace (be) with you all". — That is: this peace which he gives to them here is like the peace which our Lord gave to His disciples after the resurrection, when He came in to them to the upper room and said to them: "Peace be with you"¹.

The people: "With thy spirit".

The priest: "May the grace of the Trinity, holy, uncreated and eternal and equal in essence be with you all". — That is, he says this to them: These mysteries which have been consecrated and completed and perfected for you, and which you are about to receive, they have been bestowed upon you by the grace of the Holy Trinity, since they are not without or apart from the Trinity, but are one of the Persons of the Trinity, that is the Son become incarnate.

The people: "With thy spirit".

The deacon says to the people: "In fear let us look". — That is: *in fear let us look* upon the mysteries, too high for the world, which the priest elevates and displays before your eyes.

The priest elevates and displays the mysteries, crying and saying: "Holy (things) to the holy". — That is, he says this: These mysteries, which are holy and lifegiving, to the holy it is right that they be given.

¹ John XX 19, 26.

But the people confess saying: "One holy Father, one holy Son, one holy Spirit". — That is: Thou, O priest, hast said that it is right that these holy (things) be given to the holy. We confess that we are not holy; and we say that there is
 5 none holy save the one Father and His one Son and the one Spirit who is from Him.

"Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit unto the age of ages: Amen". — That is: they send up glory to the holy and sanctifying Trinity, that they
 0 may be sanctified by the glory which they send up to Him before the reception of the mysteries.

*The priest hides and covers the mysteries with cloths; and asking that he himself may partake and that he may cause the others to partake, he discovers the mysteries, folding back
 5 the cloths from them.* — That is: the cloths with which he covers and hides the mysteries are for a symbol of that
 stone which was placed over the tomb of our Lord, with
 which the door of the tomb was hidden and covered. And that he folds back the cloths from the mysteries and dis-
 20 covers them, this is a representation of our Lord's rising from the tomb, and His being manifested to His disciples and assuring them of His resurrection. Again, it signifies the hiddenness and invisibleness of the Power that is hidden in
 the holy mysteries. And again, that he hides the mysteries
 25 is a figure of the time that is past: I mean, of that which was before the incarnation of God the Word, when He was covered over and hidden from men. That he discovers the mysteries, is a symbol of the time after the incarnation, when He was manifested and made known to men. Again,
 30 in that the priest partakes of the holy mysteries first, before he causes the others to partake, he offers¹ a good testimony

¹ Lit. *makes known*. The comment is taken from George of the Arabs fol. 189a, where it stands thus: "But that the priest himself who offers first re-

concerning the mysteries; and he does as our Lord did, who first partook of His body in the upper room, and afterwards caused His disciples to partake. Again, it is right that the husbandman should himself first be nourished from the fruits¹ of his field, and then let others partake; and it behoves the teacher first to fill himself with his teaching, and then to teach others. Again, that the priest divides the mysteries to the clergy first, and afterwards to the people, (in this) he does as our Lord did, who divided His body to His disciples in the upper room. This also it is right to know in addition, that these mysteries of the body and blood which the priest here divides and gives to the clergy and to the people, he divides and gives them as it were after the resurrection of Christ, when they are impassible and incorruptible, and not as it were before His resurrection.

fol 177a *The right hand which is stretched out, while the left hand supports it, to receive the mysteries.* — That is: it is a sign of the preciousness of the gift which is received, which is an earnest of life immortal.

The reception of the holy mysteries. — That is, (it is) the receiving of the vision of Christ; and a union with the one God.

Here ends the fourth section, and the fifth section begins. And the deacon says: "After that we have received and partaken of these mysteries". — That is: he urges the people to confess² to God for His unspeakable gift of the atoning and lifegiving mystery which He has given them.

Wherefore the people say; "We confess to Thee, O Lord our God". — That is: We confess to Thee for thine excellent gifts and graces, which Thou workest constantly toward our misery, whereas we are unworthy.

ceives the sacrament, and then gives to others, makes known his good testimony concerning the mysteries".

¹ 2 Tim. II 6.

² Or give thanks.

The priest prays, saying: "We confess to Thee, O Lord our God, and yet more we confess to Thee". — That is: in this prayer he confesses to God for the lifegiving mysteries which He has given us; and he also asks of Him that they may be to us for pardon and cleansing, and not unto condemnation. And he asks of Him again that He would keep us in justice and in holiness, that in the world to come we may be worthy of *the portion and lot and inheritance* of all those *who from (the beginning of) the world have been pleasing to Him.*

The deacon says: "Before the Lord let us bow our heads". — That is: he commands them to bow their heads before the Lord, because the priest prays this prayer also on their behalf, saying:

O God, great and marvellous, who didst bow the heavens and come down. — That is: the priest asks of the Son in this prayer that He would have mercy on them, and pour out upon them His blessings, and keep them from sins and harms. And this further it is right to know, that all the prayers of the Qurrābhā are addressed to the Father. And this is evident from the fact that the priest who offers typically represents¹ Christ Himself — who became a "mediator of God and men"² — since he calls the body and blood his own, as though holding the person³ of Christ. And hence he speaks to the Father in the calling of the Holy Spirit, saying: *Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty; and send upon us and upon these offerings which are set forth Thy Holy Spirit,* etc. And although, when the priest commemorates the dispensation in flesh of the Lord, he turns the word towards the person of Christ Himself, and says: *Remembering therefore, O Lord, Thy death and Thy resurrection of the third day from the dead,* etc.,

¹ Lit. *holds a type of.* ² 1 Tim. II 5. ³ Syr. *parzōpā*, i. e. *πρόσωπον*.

yet at the end of this commemoration, as of all the rest of the supplications, he turns his word towards the Father, saying to Christ: *through whom and with whom to Thy Father*, etc.; and the faithful also answer all together to the Father, saying: *Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty*. Wherefore it is evident from these things that all the prayers of the Qurrābhā are addressed to the Father, except this prayer, the last of all the prayers, which is addressed¹ to the Son, wherein the priest confesses² to the Son, because that through Him we have gained access to the Father, and He is the way that leads us, and the door that brings us in to the Father, according to His own unimpeachable³ and all-holy words. If therefore there be found in the Qurrābhā any prayer whatsoever that is not addressed to the Father — whether it came about through the error of a scribe, or of a priest uninstructed and untrained in the divine Scriptures — we ought to correct it and cause it to be addressed to the Father, like all the rest of the prayers throughout

fol. 178a the Qurrābhā, which are addressed to the Father; for the priest who offers holds the person of Christ, and in His place he acts as a mediator and stands between God and men. But it is right that that prayer which is the last of all the prayers should be addressed to the Son, because He became to us a means by which we might draw near to the Father. Wherefore let us confess and give thanks to Him in this prayer for that He is become to us the cause of this great benefit, and that when we were far off and rejected by His Father, in Him and through Him He called us and brought us near to Himself: to whom be praises and blessings for ever and ever. Amen.

The end of the Exposition of the Holy Mysteries made by the pious (and) holy Mār Severus, who is Moses Bār Kēphā.

¹ MS, by an error, *are addressed*.

² Or *gives thanks*.

³ Lit. *unlying*.

III.

THE ANAPHORA OF THE HOLY MĀR JACOB ^C fol. 2b BROTHER OF OUR LORD AND BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

Prayer before the peace. God of all and Lord, us who are unworthy make worthy of this redemption, O Lover of men, so that pure of all guile and of [all]¹ hypocrisy, we may salute one another with a holy kiss, being united by the bond of love and peace: through² Jesus Christ³, with whom to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy and good and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: both now.

People.

*Amen.

Priest. Peace with⁴ you all.

People. And⁵ with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us give the peace: "and the rest"⁶.

**Deacon*⁷. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

People. Before Thee, O Lord our God.

Priest. Thou who alone art a merciful Lord, to those who have bowed their necks before Thy holy altar send Thy blessings, O Thou that dwellest in the heights and lookest

incipit
A
fol. 1a

incipit
(B)
fol. 1a

¹ Conjectural: the word is illegible. ² Marg. adds *our God and Redeemer.* ³ Added above the line *through whom.* ⁴ C to.
⁵ C omits *and.* ⁶ C to *one another.* ⁷ BC *And after the peace the deacon says.*

upon things lowly¹: by the grace and by the mercies and by the love for mankind [= *Φιλανθρωπία*] of Thy onlybegotten Son²: with whom to Thee is fitting all³ glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy and good and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: both⁵ now and at all times and unto the age of ages: Amen.

(C)
fol. 3a. **People*. Amen.

A
fol. 1b *Priest*⁶. The prayer Γ before the anaphora⁷. O God, who by reason of Thy unspeakable love *for mankind didst send Thy Son to the world, that He might bring back⁸ the sheep that was gone astray, turn not away Thy face from us while we perform *this fearful⁹ and unbloody sacrifice for not on our own righteousness do we trust, but on Thy mercies. We therefore beseech¹⁰ and entreat Thy goodness that this mystery, which was ordained¹¹ for us unto redemption, be not to Thy people for judgment, but for blotting out of sins and for forgiveness of our¹² trespasses and for thanksgiving to Thee: by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of Thy onlybegotten Son¹³: with whom to Thee is fitting¹⁴ glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy and good¹⁵ and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: both¹⁶ now and at all times and unto the age

[*A leaf is missing here from A.*]

B (C) of ages: Amen.

People. Amen.

Deacon. Let us stand well: and the rest.

People. Mercies, Γ peace¹⁷.

¹ B marg. adds *and bless them*.

² C marg. adds *through whom and*.

³ B C omit *all*.

⁴ C marg. adds *and adorable*.

⁵ B omits *both*.

⁶ A marg. adds *prays*.

⁷ B *of the veil*; C *over the veil*.

⁸ B marg.

adds *to Thee*.

⁹ B C *reasonable*.

¹⁰ B C add *Thee*; but the word

has been erased in B.

¹¹ The Syr. word evidently stands for *οικονομηθέν*.

¹² B C omit *our*.

¹³ B omits *Son*.

¹⁴ C adds *all*.

¹⁵ B marg.

adds *and adorable*.

¹⁶ B omits *both*.

¹⁷ C *and peace: and the rest*.

Priest. The love of God the Father, and the grace of the onlybegotten Son, our Lord and¹ God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, *and the communion of the living and holy Spirit be with you all. B
fol. 2a

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. On high be the minds² and hearts of us all.

People. We have (them) unto the Lord.

Priest. *Let us give thanks to the Lord. (C)
fol. 3b

People. It is meet and right³.

The priest begins to offer⁴ bowing. Truly meet and right⁵ and fitting and due is it that Thee we should glorify, Thee we should bless, Thee we should praise, Thee we should worship, to Thee we should give thanks, the Maker of all creation visible and invisible:

And he lifts up his voice: whom the heavens of heaven glorify and all the hosts of them, the sun and the moon and all the choir of the stars, the earth and the sea and all that is in them, Jerusalem the heavenly, the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven, angels, archangels, principdoms, authorities, thrones, dominations, the powers which are above the world, the heavenly armies, the cherubim *with many eyes, and the seraphim with six wings, who with two wings indeed cover⁶ (their) faces, but with two (their) feet, and with two do fly one to another with lips⁷ unceasing and with theologies unsilenced a hymn of victory...⁸ of greatness of beauty [= *μεγαλλοπρεπής*] with voice⁹ B
fol. 2b

¹ C omits *and*. ² C adds *and thoughts*. ³ C adds *Deacon. Peace with us*.
⁴ C omits. ⁵ C *and just*: moreover in B *and right* is written over an erasure; so that *and just* was probably the original reading. In C the four adjectives are in the fem., in B in the masc. ⁶ BC marg. add *their*.
⁷ C *with mouths*. ⁸ A word has been erased here in both B and C; from the remains visible in B it may possibly have been *of praise* (or *glory*); if so its erasure might be due to the fact that it is the same as the Syriac word just translated *hymn*. ⁹ In C *with voice* has, I think, been erased, and *of glory* written in its place; *with voice* being then (supplied) in the margin.

resplendent [= λαμπρό] hymning and shouting and crying and saying:

People: Holy, Holy, Holy¹.

Priest bowing. As in truth Thou art holy, King of the worlds and giver of all holiness, holy also is Thy only begotten Son², *our Lord³ † and God⁴ Jesus Christ, Thy holy also is Thy Holy Spirit⁵, who searcheth all, even the deep things⁶ of Thee, O God⁷; for holy art Thou, almighty, all availing [= παντοδύναμε], terrible, good, partaker of sufferings; [= συμπαθής], and especially towards Thy creature [= πλάσμα] who madest *man from the earth, Thy having bestowed⁸ upon him the delight of Paradise. But when he had transgressed Thy commandment and fallen, Thou didst not disregard Thou didst not leave him, O Good (One), but didst chaster him as a father fair of mercies [= εὐσπλαγχνος]; Thy having called⁹ him through the law, Thou didst educate him¹⁰ through the prophets, but finally Thou didst send Thine onlybegotten Son Himself to the world, that Thou mightest renew Thine image; who when He had come down and was become incarnate of Thy Holy Spirit and of the holy Virgin¹¹ Mother of God¹² Mary, and had conversed with men, having ordered *everything for the redemption of our race:

And he lifts up his voice: and when He was about to receive a voluntary death for us sinners, Himself without

¹ C adds *Lord: and the rest.* ² The order in B is *filius unigenitus tuus*; C has *et unigenitus filius tuus*. B marg. adds *and* after *Son*.

³ The order is *dominus noster*: A re-commences with *noster*; C fails after *noster*.

⁴ B marg. adds *and Redeemer*.

⁵ The order is *sanctus et Spiritus sanctus tuus*; the words *sanctus et Spiritus* are from A marg., but in the original hand.

⁶ B *depths*.

⁷ B marg. adds *the Father*.

⁸ B *and didst bestow*.

⁹ B (by erasure of a word) *Thou didst call*.

¹⁰ B has a verb that is unknown to me; but probably it is a mistake for *didst lead him* (as in other texts). The verb in A is a denominative from *tār'ā* (= παιδαγωγός) and evidently translates *ἐπαιδαγωγήσας* of Gk. 'St James'.

¹¹ *Virgin* erased in B.

¹² B marg. adds *and ever-virgin and blessed*.

sin, in that night wherein He was delivered up for the life of the world and the redemption, having taken bread upon His holy and spotless and undefiled hands and shewed it to Thee, God¹ *the Father, He gave thanks, blessed, hallowed, (B) fol. 3b
brake¹, gave to His disciples and² apostles, saying: Take, eat of it, all of you³: this is my body, which for you and for many is broken and given for forgiveness of sins and for life everlasting: Amen⁴.

Priest. In like manner the cup also, after they had supped, He mingled of wine and of water, and having⁵ blessed and hallowed He gave to⁶ His disciples and⁷ apostles, saying: Take, drink of it, all of you: *this is my [blood] of the new testament, which [for you] and for many [is shed⁸] and given for forgiveness [of sins] and for life everlasting: Amen. A fol. 3a

People. Amen.

Priest. This do in remembrance of me; for whensoever ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, *my death ye (B) fol. 4a
commemorate⁹, and my resurrection ye confess¹⁰, until I come.

People. Thy death, our Lord¹¹, we commemorate: and the rest.

And he lifts up his voice¹². Remembering therefore¹³ Thy death and Thy resurrection of the third day, and Thy ascension into heaven, and¹⁴ session at the right hand of God and the Father, and Thy second glorious¹⁵ coming, and when Thou comest to judge the living and the dead, when Thou art about to [= μέλλῃ] reward¹⁶ every one according to *[his (B) fol. 3b

¹ B adds *and*. ² B adds *holy*. ³ *all of you* is erased in B. See

Bār Kēphā's comment to this, fol. 162a.

⁴ B adds *People. Amen*.

⁵ B marg. adds *given thanks*.

⁶ B marg. adds *the same*.

⁷ B marg.

adds *holy*.

⁸ So B; and the first letter is visible in A.

⁹ B *proclaim*.

¹⁰ In B these words are written over an erasure.

¹¹ B *my Lord*.

¹² B *The priest erect*.

¹³ B marg. adds *O Lord*.

¹⁴ B adds *Thy*.

¹⁵ B originally as A; but written over an erasure *terrible and glorious*.

¹⁶ B (*wherewith*) *Thou (art about) to judge (the world in righteousness, when)*

works]: we offer to Thee [this fearful] and unbloody sacrifice, that Thou wouldst not deal with us [according to] our sins¹, [nor] reward us according to [our] lawlessnesses, but according to [Thy mildness²] and unspeakable love for mankind do Thou blot out the sins of us Thy suppliants³.

Yea⁴ Lord, Redeemer and giver of life, who didst suffer for us [in the flesh⁵] when as yet we were sinners, who
 (B)
 fol. 4b knowest *the weakness of our nature, do not Thou disregard us as enemies, neither leave us as those that are without hope, but as a good guardian and a merciful father, regarding our poverty, hasten to redeem us. For the fear of judgment doth not so move our hearts, Lord, as this grieveth and
 A
 fol. 4a filleth us with trembling, *that we should fall (away) from [Thy] praise and be rejected of Thy love: [that we should be stripped] of Thy grace and should see [them that come] from the East and from the West and recline [with Thee] together with the fathers, but we [ourselves]⁶ go forth without and hear that bitter word: Amen, amen⁷, I say unto you, I know you not. What is more grievous than
 deficit
 (B) this shame, that we should know God and be rejected of † God, and in this world be named familiars, and in that

Thou art about to reward. The words in brackets are written over erasures. In A *to reward* is in the future, in B it is in the infinitive.

¹ B adds *O Lord.* ² So B; also partly visible in A. ³ In B a thin stroke has been drawn between the line that ends here and the next, doubtless to indicate that the prayer which follows is not found in current texts of 'St James'. A similar prayer appears at this point in the anaphora ascribed to John of Boşra (Renaudot ii pp. 426-427).

In place of what follows here, as far as the Epiclesis, the normal text of 'St James' has only the following [I quote from the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 17128 fol. 15a (saec. x-xi), but disregard certain later glosses]: *For Thy people and Thine inheritance beseech Thee, and through Thee Thy Father, saying, People. Have mercy on us, God the Father Almighty. Priest. We also, thanking Thee... [a word erased] worship and confess to Thee for all and because of all things. People. Thee we praise: and the rest. Priest: the calling of the Holy Spirit, etc.* ⁴ B omits *Yea.* ⁵ B omits.

⁶ Conjectural: a word is illegible in both A and B.

⁷ B omits one *amen.*

which is to come strangers: that here we should stand with the Church, and then be condemned with the devil? Therefore, that we suffer not these things, chasten us Thou, O Lord, nevertheless in mercies and not in wrath. Make straight our goings before Thee: for [mortal man¹], how can he recognise his ways? Teach us to do Thy will: [join ^A[us fol. 4b with those that love] Thy chastisements²; [for also [because of these things, and] by reason of these things Thy Church [now]³ penitent beseecheth Thee⁴, and through Thee and with Thee Thy Father, saying:

People: Have mercy upon us, O God: and the rest.

Priest. We also, thanking Thee and confessing by reason of all things and because of all things:

People: do glorify (or praise) Thee: and the rest.

Priest bowing: the calling of the Holy Spirit. Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty, and send upon us and upon these offerings which are set forth Thy Holy Spirit.

The priest says. Lord have mercy upon us.

And he casts himself down and says. The Lord and Life-giver, equal in session [= *σύνθρονον*] to Thee, God the Father, and to the Son, and reigning together [= *συμβασιλεύον*], equal in essence and equal in eternity [= *τὸ ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ συναΐδιον*], who spake in the law [and in the prophets⁵] *and in Thy new testament, who descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, who descended upon Thy holy apostles in the form of tongues of fire:

And he stands up and lifts up his voice: that lighting down He may make this bread indeed [= *μέν*] [the body of Christ,

^A
fol. 4b

^A
fol. 5a

¹ The Syr. word is partly legible. ² Cf. Renaudot II 427 *adiunge nos cum iis qui te diligunt, ad institutionem a te recipiendam*: but there is not room in A for more than has been supplied above. ³ Restored in accordance with Renaudot (*loc. cit.*) *propterea enim et eiusmodi rerum causa, nunc penitens Ecclesia tua.* ⁴ The text now returns to the normal form of 'St James'. ⁵ Conjectural: there is room for the words.

Amen¹: the lifegiving body, the body redemptive of our souls and our bodies, the body of the same Ὑ Lord God our Master and² Redeemer Jesus Christ, for the pardoning of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for life everlasting to those who receive: Amen. ✠. and the mixture that is in this cup the blood of Christ, Amen: the blood expiatory of our souls and of our bodies, the blood of the same our Lord and our God and our Redeemer Jesus Christ...³ for the pardoning of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for life everlasting to those who receive: Amen. ✠. that it may be to all those *who receive and partake of it for sanctification of souls and bodies, for the bearing of fruits of good works, for the confirming of Thy holy Church which Thou didst found upon the rock of faith, and the gates of hell⁴ shall not overcome her, Thou delivering her from all heresy and from the stumblingblocks of them that work lawlessnesses, even unto the end of the world: both now and at all times and to the age of ages: Amen.

People. Amen.

Priest bowing. We offer to Thee this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for Thy holy Church which is in all the world: especially for the mother of all orthodox churches. The rich gifts of Thy Holy Spirit give in her, O Lord;⁵

[*A leaf is missing here from A*]

^A fol. 6a *for the eyes of all hope in Thee, and Thou givest their food in due season⁶.

¹ These words are in the margin, but in the original hand: their omission from the text was doubtless due only a slip of the scribe: see below, where there are corresponding words for the cup.

² Or *great Lord God and our.*

³ Some letters have been erased, but apparently by the original scribe, who began to copy a wrong word.

⁴ Syr. *sheōl* = ἕδου of Gk. 'St James'.

⁵ End of A fol. 5b.

⁶ Lit. *in fairness of time*, an attempt at a literal translation of ἐν ἐδραιότητι. The quotation from Ps. CXLIV [CXLV]

15 follows the LXX, differing markedly from the Peshitta.

The deacon proclaims on behalf of those [*or that*] whom [*or which*] he commands us¹.

Priest erect. And deliver us, O Lord, from all tribulation and wrath and distress, and from all hurt and opposition of evil men, and from every attack and violence of demons, and from every scourge which is brought upon us² by reason of our sins; and preserve us in the orthodox faith and in the keeping of Thy holy commandments, (even) us and all those who are accounted worthy to stand before Thee, and (who) wait for the rich mercies that are from Thee; for Thou art merciful, and a God gracious³ and taking pleasure in mercy: and to Thee we send up glory, Father and Son and Holy Spirit: both now and at all times and to the age of ages: Amen.

The deacon proclaims.

Priest bowing. Again vouchsafe to remember those who stand and pray *with us, and those also who remain absent. Remember, Lord, those also who ^Ahave charged⁴ us to remember them in prayers to Thee. Remember, Lord, those also who have offered these offerings to Thy holy altar, and those for whom each one has offered, and those whom each one has in his mind [= *κατὰ δianoiaν ἔχει*], and those who ^{fol. 6b}are now read out⁵.

And he lifts up his voice. All these remember, Lord, those whom we have mentioned, and those whom we have not mentioned: according to the abundance of Thy mildness *reward them (with) the exultation of Thy redemption⁶, ^(C)fol. 4a

¹ It is not clear what this abbreviated rubric means. The sense may be: "on behalf of those [for] whom he commands us [to pray]".

² Above the line is added in a later hand *from Thee*. ³ This word is in the margin, but in the original hand. ⁴ The MS has, by omission of a letter, *he has charged*.

⁵ The MS has *now draw near*, or *are offered*; but the reading *methqarrēbhīn* must, I think, be a scribe's slip for *methqērēn*: cf. Gk. 'St James' (Brightman *Eastern Liturgies* p. 56 l. 19) *καὶ τῶν ἀρτίως σοι ἀνεγνωσμένων*.

⁶ Ps. L [LI] 14 *τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου σου*. Pesh. has there "thy enjoyment and thy redemption".

receiving their sacrifices on the breadths of Thy heaven, and holding them worthy of thanksgiving and the succour that is from Thee. Strengthen them with Thy power and arm them with Thy might¹; for 'Thou art God our helper and our protector: and to Thee we send up praise, Father and Son and Holy Spirit: now and at all times and to the age²

[*A leaf is missing here from A*]³

C *People.* Amen.

The deacon proclaims the third diptych.

Priest erect. For thou art the refuge of redemption and the succouring power and the victorious leader of them and of those that call upon Thee and hope in Thee, O Lord: and to Thee we send up glory, Father.

People. Amen.

*The deacon of the apostle*⁴.

Priest bowing. And because Thou hast the authority of life and death, vouchsafe to remember those also who from (the beginning of) the world have been pleasing to Thee, holy⁵ fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and John the baptist and forerunner, and the holy and glorious Stephen the first of deacons and the first of martyrs, and the holy and glorious Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and all the saints.

C
fol. 4b *And he lifts up his voice.* We beg therefore of Thee, O Lord, good and plenteous in mercies, *Thou that holdest⁶ things impossible as possible, join us to that blessed assembly, number us with that Church, set us by Thy grace in the

¹ Or *bulwarks*. ² Here ends A fol. 6b. C has the doxology thus: *and to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy onlybegotten Son and thy lifegiving Spirit: both now.* ³ The contents were doubtless substantially what now follows in C (see Introduction p. 4, note 1).

⁴ *Sic*: no formula follows this rubric. ⁵ I. e. τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σου ἐυαγγελιστῶντων . . . ἁγίων, κ. τ. λ. (Brightman p. 56 l. 20). ⁶ Lit. *possessest*: evidently an attempt to render δ' ἔχων in the sense above.

rank of the firstborn who are written in heaven. For this reason we too commemorate them, that they also, when they stand before Thy lofty tribunal, may remember our wretchedness and poverty¹, and may offer with us this fearful and unbloody sacrifice: for the admonition indeed (μὲν) of them that are living, but (δὲ) also for the encouragement of us wretched and unworthy; and for the repose of all them that in the true faith have already fallen asleep²: by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and our God and our Redeemer Jesus Christ: with whom to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy and good and lifegiving

*and equal to Thee in essence: now and at all times and to the age of ages: Amen. A
fol. 7a
(C)

15 *People. Amen.*

The deacon proclaims the names of the bishops³.

Priest bowing. Remember, Lord, those also who have already fallen asleep, the bishops who even until now have glorified (*sic*) the right word of faith: *especially our holy fathers, Ignatius, Julius*⁴, and the rest⁵.

And he lifts up his voice:† the luminaries and teachers of Thy holy Church, who have fought the good fight of faith, those who have carried Thy holy name before peoples and kings and the sons of Israel: by whose prayers and supplications grant Thy peace to Thy Church: heresies that

¹ Written partly over an erasure and partly at the side. ² Marg. adds *our fathers and brethren.* ³ C *the fifth canon.* ⁴ The words in italics are written in A over an erasure, and in a smaller hand than the rest. There is room for only two or three words in the original hand.

⁵ In C the whole of this priest's formula has been much confused by erasures and marginal glosses. I give in round brackets words written over erasures or in the margin: *Remember, (merciful) Lord, (those who from Jacob, that first of) bishops (and apostle and martyr) even until (this present day) the word of orthodox faith (in Thy holy Church have preached: those who have rested, and those who have divided for us the word of truth).* deficit
(C)

are rife abolish: their doctrines and their confessions implant in our souls [of us all]¹; and grant us a standing without shame before Thy tribunal (which is) full of trembling. For holy art Thou, and taking pleasure in the holy, *and the perfecter of the saints: with whom we also send up glory to Thee, Father and Son and Holy Spirit: now and at all times and to the age of ages: Amen.

People. Amen.

The deacon proclaims the diptych of the departed.

Priest bowing. Remember, Lord, the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, interpreters, exorcists, monks, ascetics, perpetual virgins², lay folk: those who in the faith of Christ³ have already fallen asleep, and those for whom each one has offered, or has in his mind.

And he lifts up his voice. Lord, Lord, God of the spirits of all flesh, remember them all, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned, who with the orthodox faith have gone forth from this world: rest their souls and their bodies and their spirits, Thou delivering them from the unending condemnation which is about to be, †⁴

^{A²}
fol. 9a *that also [in this as in⁵] all things Thy all-honoured and blessed name may be glorified and praised, with Jesus Christ and Thy Holy Spirit.

People. As it was, is.

Priest. Peace to you all.

People. And to thy spirit.

¹ The words *of us all* have been erased, but perhaps by the original scribe.

² Masculine. ³ Originally *in the faith which is in Christ*, but altered by erasure of a single letter.

⁴ End of A fol. 7b. The lacuna between the end of A and the beginning of A² may be filled up from the Brit. Mus. MS Add. 17128, the Intercession of which is printed below; see pp. 110—111.

⁵ Supplied from MS Add. 17128 fol. 17b.

Priest. And may the mercies of God our Master and Redeemer Jesus Christ be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

The priest breaks and signs.

5 *The deacon* says the Katholike.

Priest: the prayer *Our Father who art in heaven.* God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who sittest upon the cherubim and art glorified by the seraphim, before whom stand a
0 thousand thousand archangels and ten thousand times ten thousand angels, the rational and heavenly armies, who hast vouchsafed to hallow and perfect the offerings and gifts and rendering of fruits [= *κρηπώματα*] which have been offered to Thee for a sweet savour, through the grace of Thy only-
5 begotten Son and through the lighting down of Thy all-holy Spirit: hallow then, O Lord, our souls and bodies and spirits, that with pure heart and enlightened soul and *open face
without shame [we may dare to call Thee ¹,] God the heavenly
Father almighty, and pray and say:

^{A²}
fol. 9b

20 *People.* Our Father who art in heaven.

Priest. Oh² Lord God, bring us not into temptation which we are not able to bear, but make with the temptation also an outcome that we may be able to endure; and deliver us from the Evil One, through Christ Jesus our Lord: through
25 whom and with whom to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy and good and adorable and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: now.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace to you all.

30 *People.* And to thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

¹ Supplied from MS Add. 17128 fol. 17b.

² Over *Oh* is written *Yea*.

People. And before Thee, O Lord God.

Priest. To Thee have Thy servants bowed their heads, waiting for the rich mercies that are from Thee. Send, O Lord, and hallow our souls and our spirits, that we may become worthy to partake of the body and blood of Christ our Redeemer: by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of the same Christ Jesus our Lord: with whom †¹

defect
A²

[*The rest from Brit. Mus. MS Add. 17128*]²

fol. 18a

Thou art blessed and praised, with Thy Spirit all-holy and equal to Thee in essence: now.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace to you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. The grace of the Trinity, holy and equal in essence, be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Proskomen.

Priest. Holy (things) to the holy.

People. One holy Father: and the rest.

Deacon. Bless, my lord.

Priest. May the name of the Lord be blessed and praised in heaven and in earth for ever: Amen.

Prayer when the mysteries go forth. Hold us worthy that we may eat Thy body and drink Thy blood and become heirs of Thy kingdom, O Son of God, who camest for our redemption, for ever: Amen.

¹ Here ends A² fol. 9b. At the bottom of the page is a large letter *Ālaf*, shewing that this is the last page of the first quire of the MS to which the fragment belonged.

² In this MS many alterations and additions have been written in the margins or between the lines. I give here only the original readings, so far as they are legible; though in the Syriac text I have thought it well to record the alterations also.

And after the reception the deacon proclaims. After that we have received: and the rest.

People. We confess to Thee.

Priest. We confess to Thee, O Lord God, and yet more
 5 we confess, for Thy great and unspeakable love for mankind, who hast held us worthy to partake of Thy heavenly table. Condemn us not for the receiving of Thine undefiled mysteries, but keep us, O Good One, in holiness and righteousness, so that while . . . ¹ partakers of Thy Spirit ², we may
 0 find a portion and a lot with all Thy saints, those who from (the beginning of) the world have been pleasing to Thee: by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of Thy onlybegotten Son: with whom to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit all-holy, [and] ³ good,
 5 and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: now.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace to you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Before the Lord let us bow our heads.

0 *People.* Before Thee, O Lord our God.

Priest. God great (and) marvellous, who didst bow the heavens and come down for the sake of the redemption of the race of men, turn to us in Thy mercies and in Thy favour, and bless Thy people and keep Thine inheritance,
 5 so that for ever . . . ⁴ we may praise Thee . . . ⁵ art our true God *with the Father Thy begetter and Thy* ⁶ Holy Spirit: now and at all times and to the age of ages: Amen.

The Qurrābhā of the pious and holy Mār Jacob the brother of our Lord is ended.

¹ A couple of words erased. ² Added above the line *Holy, we are worthy to become*. It is probable that *we are worthy to become* are the words erased just before, so that the change is merely one of order, with the addition of *Holy to Spirit*. ³ *and* has been erased. ⁴ Erasure of a word.

⁵ Erasure, partly filled by insertion of *for Thou*.

⁶ The italicised words are written over erasures.

THE INTERCESSION.

From MS Add. 17128¹.

fol. 15b *Priest bowing.* We offer to Thee this self-same reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for Thy holy places, which Thou didst honour with manifestation of Thy Christ: first for Sion the holy mother of all the churches, and for Thy holy Church which is in all the world. The rich gifts of Thy Holy Spirit grant² to her, O Lord. Remember also, Lord, Thy pious bishops who rightly divide for us the word of truth: especially the³ fathers our patriarchs N. and N.⁴, and our pious bishop N. An honourable old age grant to them; preserve them long-lived, while they tend Thy people in all piety⁵ and righteousness. Remember also, Lord, the honourable presbytery which is here and in every place, and the diaconate which is in Christ, and the rest of all the ministry, and every grade of the Church. Remember also, Lord, my poverty, whom, though unworthy, Thou hast vouchsafed to call. The sins of my youth and mine ignorances remember not unto me, Lord, but according to the multitude of Thy mercies remember Thou me⁶; for if Thou mark iniquities,

fol. 16a Lord, Lord, who *is able to endure before Thee? And be-

¹ The text of the Anaphora in this MS has been considerably altered by later additions, but except for a few erasures the original text remains legible.

² *grant* is written over an erasure: A has *give*. ³ Added above the line *holy*.

⁴ Written over an erasure. ⁵ *piety* is written over an erasure.

⁶ Ps. XXIV [XXV] 7: the quotation is based on the LXX, but *unto me* and *but* are added from Pesh.

cause that from before Thee is propitiation¹, visit me and acquit me²; and where sin was multiplied let Thy grace the more abound.

Deacon: the first canon.

The priest lifts up his voice. Deliver us, Lord, from all tribulation and wrath and distress, from all hurt and opposition of men, and from every attack and violence of demons, and from every scourge sent from Thee, which because of our sins is brought upon us; and preserve us in the orthodox faith and in the keeping of Thy holy commandments, even us and all those who have been accounted worthy to stand before Thee, and hope for the rich mercies that are from Thee; because Thou art a God taking pleasure in mercies: and to Thee we send up glory³, and to the⁴ onlybegotten Son and to the⁴ Spirit holy⁵: now.

People. Amen.

Priest bowing. Again vouchsafe to remember those who are standing with us and praying with us, our fathers and brethren, and those who remain absent⁶. Remember, Lord, those also who have charged us to remember them in our prayers to Thee; and to each one grant those requests that are unto salvation. Remember, Lord, those also who have offered the offerings to Thy holy altar, and those for whom each one has offered, and those who have wished and were not able to offer, and those whom each one has in his mind⁷.

And he lifts up his voice.

¹ Ps. CXXIX [CXXX] 3, 4: after LXX. Pesh. has "sins" for *iniquities*, omits *Lord* once, has "stand" for *endure*, and "forgiveness" for *propitiation*.

² The words *And because . . . acquit me* are added above the line, but seemingly in the original hand.

³ Added above the line *and confession*.

⁴ Above the line *Thy*.

⁵ Added above the line *in all, good, and adorable and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence*. The doxologies in this MS appear to have been abbreviated in different ways: they are very irregular.

⁶ Added above the line *from us*.

⁷ Marg. adds *and those who are here named*.

Deacon: the second canon.

[*Priest.*] Remember them all, Lord, those whom we have mentioned, and those whom we have not mentioned, according to the multitude of Thy mildness: reward them (with) the exultation of Thy redemption¹, Thou receiving their sacrifices upon the breadth of Thy heaven, and vouchsafing them the² visitation (*or* operation) and succour that is from Thee. Strengthen them with Thy power and arm them with Thy might; because Thou art merciful and taking pleasure in mercies: and to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion³: now.

People. Amen.

Priest bowing. Remember, Lord, our religious [= εὐσεβῆς] kings and queens: lay hold on arms and shield and stand up for their help⁴; and subdue unto them every warlike enemy; that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all religion and modesty. Remember, Lord, those also who are in bonds in prison....⁵ our⁶ brethren, the sick, the infirm, and those who are persecuted and afflicted by evil spirits.

fol. 166 *Remember, Lord, the air and the rains and the dews, and the fruits of the earth, and the crown of the year; for the eyes of all hope in Thee, and Thou givest their food in due season, opening Thine all-sufficing hand and filling every living thing with good will⁷.

The priest lifts up his voice.

The deacon proclaims: for (sic).

[*Priest.*] Because Thou art the refuge of salvation and the succouring power and the victorious leader of us and of all

¹ Ps. L [LI] 14: after LXX.

² Added above the line *good*.

³ Marg. adds *and to Thine onlybegotten Son and to Thy Spirit all-holy, good, and adorable and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence.*

⁴ Ps. XXXIV [XXXV] 2: as Pesh.; but Pesh. here is in exact agreement with LXX. Cf. Gk. 'St James' (Brightman p. 55 l. 15).

⁵ A word erased.

⁶ Added above the line *fathers and*.

⁷ Ps. CXLIV [CXLV] 15, 16: after LXX.

those who call upon Thee and hope in Thee, O Lord: and to Thee we send up glory¹ and to the² onlybegotten Son and to the² Spirit holy³: now.

People. Amen.

Deacon: the diptych of the fathers.

Priest bowing. Since, then, Thou hast the authority of life and death, O Lord, and Thou art a God of mercies and of love for mankind, vouchsafe to remember all those who from (the beginning of) the world have been pleasing to Thee, holy fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles⁴, and holy John the forerunner and baptist, and holy Stephen the first of deacons and the first of martyrs, and the holy and glorious Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary⁵.

And he lifts up his voice. We beg of Thee, Lord, plenteous in mercies, who holdest things impossible as possible, join us to that blessed assembly, number us with that Church⁶, range us by Thy grace with the first-born who are written in heaven. For for this reason we too commemorate them, that they also, when they stand before Thy lofty tribunal, may remember our wretchedness and our poverty, and may offer to Thee with us this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice: for the admonition indeed of the living, and for the encouragement of us wretched and unworthy, but for the repose of all those who in the true faith have already fallen asleep, our fathers and brethren: by the grace and mercies and love for mankind of Thine onlybegotten Son⁷: with whom to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion, with Thy Spirit, holy⁸, good⁹, and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence: now.

¹ Added above the line *and confession.*

² Above the line *Thy.*

³ Added above the line *in all, good, and adorable and lifegiving and equal to Thee in essence.*

⁴ Marg. adds *preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors.*

⁵ Added above the line *and all thy saints.*

⁶ Added above

the line *of the saints.*

⁷ Added above the line *through whom and.*

⁸ Added above the line *in all.*

⁹ Added above the line *and adorable.*

Deacon: the diptych of the fathers.

Priest bowing. Remember, Lord, the pious bishops who have already gone to their rest (*lit.* rested)¹ those
fol. 17a *who from James the first of bishops and apostle and martyr until this present day have preached the word of orthodox faith in Thy holy churches:

And he lifts up his voice. The luminaries and teachers of Thy holy knowledge, those who have fought the good fight of faith, those who have carried Thy name before peoples and kings and the sons of Israel: by whose prayers and² supplications grant Thy peace to Thy churches, and their teaching and their confession confirm in our souls, and baneful heresies abolish, and grant us a standing without shame before Thy dread tribunal; for holy art Thou, Lord, and taking pleasure in the holy, and the perfecter of Thy saints: and to Thee is fitting glory and honour and dominion: now.

People. Amen.

Priest bowing.

Deacon: the sixth canon.

[*Priest.*] Remember, Lord, the orthodox presbyters who have already gone to their rest, the deacons, subdeacons, psaltae, readers, interpreters, exorcists, monks, hearers, perpetual virgins (*masc.*), lay folk, who in the orthodox faith have already fallen asleep, and those for whom each one has offered and for whom each one has in his mind³.

And he lifts up his voice. Lord, Lord, God of the spirits of all flesh, remember them all, these whom we have mentioned, and those whom we have not mentioned, who with the orthodox faith have departed from this life. Rest their souls and bodies and spirits, Thou delivering them from the unending condemnation which is about to be, and vouch-

¹ Erasure of about half a line.

² Added above the line *holy*.

³ Marg. adds *rightly*: which is perhaps a comment and not a reading.

safing them the rest which is in the bosom of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, where the light of Thy countenance visiteth, whence pains and tribulations and sighings are fled away, whilst Thou imputest not to them their transgressions: 5 for neither dost Thou enter into judgment with Thy servants; for in Thy sight none that liveth is justified¹: for there is not [any]² blameless, neither that is pure from defilement, of those that have been among men, save only our³ Lord and God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, Thine onlybegotten 0 Son, through whom we also hope to find mercies and forgiveness *of sins: for whose sake both to us and to them: fol. 17b

People. Give rest, remit, forgive.

Priest bowing. Give rest, remit, forgive, O God, our transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, with knowledge and 5 without knowledge, in deed, in word, in thought, secret and open, foreknown, forgotten, which Thy holy name knoweth.

And he lifts up his voice. Our end preserve christian and sinless, Thou gathering us beneath the feet of Thine elect, when Thou wilt and where Thou wilt and as Thou wilt: 0 only without the shame of our transgressions: so that⁴ in this as in all things Thy all-honoured and blessed name may be glorified and praised, with⁵ Jesus Christ and the⁶ Holy Spirit.

[*People.* As it was and is. *Etc.*]

¹ Ps. CXLII [CXLIII] 2: after LXX, although this quotation is not found in the Gk. 'St James'.

² So, apparently, originally; but altered to *for there is no man*.

³ In the text *our* has been removed from after *Redeemer* and placed after *Lord*.

⁴ At this point begins A² fol. 9a: see above p. 102.

⁵ Added above the line *that of*. ⁶ Above the line *Thy*.

IV.

THE BOOK OF LIFE

ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH OF
THE MOTHER OF GOD WHICH IS IN THE CITY OF BEROEA.

*The Book was written by the command of Mār Ignatius,
Patriarch of Antioch of Syria, who is Simon, in the year of
the Greeks 1959¹.*

fol. 1b By the power of the holy and adorable Trinity, equal in essence, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one true God, we begin to write the copy of the book of the names of the former just fathers and priests, prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors, and holy fathers and true pastors and teachers of orthodoxy, and priests and heads of churches and heads of monasteries, and solitaries and ascetics, and presbyters and deacons, and monks and nuns, and the rest of the true believers, lay folk, men and women, great and small, and all estates and conditions of the sons of the holy catholic apostolic Church, which is called the Book of Life, and is read on Sundays and feasts of our Lord at the time of the mysteries, on the right hand of the table of life, by one of the approved priests, in Jerusalem and in the great sees and in the celebrated cities and famous convents; and

¹ This title is written on the outside of the brown-paper cover of Mr Codrington's copy (C); it probably stood on fol. 1a of the MS. It seems not to be contained in the Vatican MS (R).

is also read from time to time at the door of the altar for the good profit and laudable emulation of the true believers; and it is to be set on the table of life always, even as God spoke to Moses that he should write the names of the tribes of Israel on tables of stone and set them in the tabernacle of testimony for a goodly memorial of piety. And let every believing man or woman whose name is written in this holy book believe without doubting that it is written in that book of life which is above, in the church of the firstborn which is in heaven: if so be that he shall have been a fulfiller of God's commandment¹.

First, the commemoration of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh. We commemorate the memorial of our Lord and God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and of all His saving dispensation for us; and especially the annunciation of His conception, and His holy birth, and His legal circumcision, and His entry into the temple, when aged Simeon carried Him upon his arms and besought Him saying: Dismiss me, my Lord, from (this) temporal life, for lo, mine eyes have seen Thy great mercy; and the flight to Egypt with Joseph and Mary His mother, with the many miracles fol. 2a He performed, breaking the images and shattering the graven images. And He returned after five years that² He had remained there, He and His mother and Joseph; and they came to the country of Galilee; and He dwelt in Nazareth, that the word of the prophet might be fulfilled: He shall be called a Nazarene: and all His conversation in the world. And He was baptized by John after thirty years; and the Father bore witness to Him, and cried out from on high: This is my beloved Son; and the Holy Spirit came down upon Him in the form of a dove and remained upon Him.

¹ This appears to be the general sense of the clause; but the Syriac construction is very anomalous.

² MS *and (sic)*.

And here was revealed the Holy Trinity in the three adorable Persons, the Son who is baptized, and the Father who cries out, and the Spirit who broods. And John preached and said: This is the lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world, and redeemeth it. And His going forth to the wilderness, and His fast and His temptations by the Evil One; and His victory over the devil and his hosts, and His being ministered to by the holy angels. And the first sign of His working of miracles, the changing of water into good wine in Cana, a city of Galilee; the cleansing of lepers, the confirming of paralytics, the opening of the eyes of the blind, the healing and curing of the sick and smitten from all manner of divers sicknesses. The chasing away of demons, the driving out of devils from men; the satisfying of the hungry in the wilderness with a little bread; the choosing of disciples; the riding upon a colt; His entry into Jerusalem on the day of Hosannas¹, when the boys and babes cried out before Him: Hosanna in the highest, Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; the withering of the fig tree straightway; His return to Bethany; the raising of Lazarus after four days; His being anointed by Mary the sister of Lazarus and the rest of the holy women²; His saving passion, which He took upon Him voluntarily; all the humiliations: the mocking and being set at naught, the spitting, the buffeting, the smiting of (His) cheek, the uproar of the priests, the accusation of the scribes and the people and the Pharisees; His entering into the upper room; the washing of the disciples' feet; the eating of the lamb; the fulfilling of types and figures; the consecrating of the chrism; the breaking of His body and His holy blood, and

¹ I. e., Palm Sunday.

² An allusion to the views of certain commentators, according to which our Lord was anointed by two or three different women.

the rest of the holy and divine mysteries which were accomplished on that day. His declaring to His disciples that, One of you shall betray me, and I shall be delivered into the hands of sinful men; and all ye shall be scattered and shall
 5 leave me alone. And then He went forth to the Mount of Olives, and His disciples with Him, in that night; and He said to them: Sit ye here, that I may go pray to God. And He fell upon His face upon the ground, and prayed earnestly and said: My Father, if [it be possible] let this
 0 cup pass from me; but if I must drink it, Thy will be done. And His sweat was as drops of blood running down upon the ground. And again He came to the disciples, and He found them sleeping. And He went a second time and fell upon the ground, and He prayed and said the same prayer.
 5 And again He returned to the disciples and found them sleeping; and He said: Simon, sleepest thou? were ye thus not able to watch with me, not even one hour? Sleep now, and take your rest: lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand. And He went and prayed a third time, and said the self-
 0 same prayer; and He said: My soul is sorrowful, even unto death. And there appeared to Him an angel from heaven strengthening Him. And He came to the disciples and awakened them and said: Pray that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is eager, but the flesh is weak¹.
 5 Then came Judas, and with him a multitude of the Jews bearing clubs and staves and swords, with lamps and torches in their hands. And the traitor gave them a sign: That is he, whom I shall kiss: lay hold on him you. And he said: Hail, Rabbi! and kissed Him. And Jesus said to him:
 0 Friend, for that (for) which thou art come. And Jesus said to them: As against a robber are ye come forth against me

fol. 3a

¹ In agreement with the Philoxenian version: the Peshiṭta has *the spirit is ready, but the body is infirm (or sick)*.

to take me? How long was I with you in the temple, and ye did not lay hands on me? Then Simon drew a sword and smote the servant of the chief priest and cut off his right ear. And Jesus took it and put it in its place. And Jesus said to him: Return the sword to its sheath (*θύκη*)¹.
 fol. 36 Then they seized Jesus and bound Him and brought Him to Annas and Caiaphas the chief priests. And they insulted Him much the whole night; and they buffeted Him and spat in His face. And Simon denied Him, and swore and cursed: I know him not. And straightway the cock crew; and Simon remembered the word of Jesus which He had spoken to him: Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice: and he went out and wept bitterly. And when the sun rose they bound Jesus and brought Him to Pilate; and they began to accuse Him in many things, saying: He is guilty of death; for he has broken the sabbath and the custom² and the law which Moses delivered; and he has said that he will destroy this temple and in three days raise it up: whereas it was forty and six years in building. And they set up against Him false witnesses, who were saying: We heard him say, I am the king of the Jews. Then Pilate brought Jesus within and said: See how great things they witness against thee. But Jesus answered him not so much as one word. And he scourged Him with whips, and took Him and brought Him forth to them, and said: I have judged him, and I have found in him no cause at all that is worthy of death. Whom therefore do ye wish that I loose unto you, Barabbas, or this Jesus that is called King of the Jews? But they made an uproar and cried out saying: Let him be crucified. And he asked for water and

¹ John XVIII, as in the Philoxenian version: *Pesh.* does not keep the Greek word.

² Or perhaps *festival*: the word is spelt defectively, and may be completed in two ways.

washed his hands, and said: I am innocent of the blood of
this righteous man. But they cried out saying: His blood fol. 4a
be upon us and upon our children. And they crucified Jesus;
and they crucified with Him two robbers, one on His right
5 hand and one on His left. And they were coming and
kneeling before Him and reviling Him, saying: Hail, King
of the Jews. And they spat in His face and gave Him
buffets, and struck His head with a reed. And they platted
a crown of thorns and set it upon His head. And he that
10 was crucified on the left hand blasphemed against Him,
saying: If thou be the Son of God, come down from the
cross and save thyself, and us also. But he that was crucified
on the right hand rebuked his companion, and said: Dost
not thou fear God? for as for us, as we were worthy it has
15 been done unto us; but this (man), what has he done? And
he said: Remember me, Lord, when thou comest in thy
kingdom. And when our Lord was athirst (and) asked water,
and said, I thirst; they set (before) Him myrrhed wine, and
they put it in hyssop upon a reed, and held it out to Him.
20 But He did not receive it. And He cried out with a loud
voice and said: Elohi, Elohi, lama sabaqtani¹. And when
the Jews saw, they said: This man calleth Elias to deliver
him. And He cried out with a loud voice and said: My
Father, in thy hands I place my soul. And He bowed His
25 head and gave up His spirit; and immediately His breath
went forth, and He died. And the attendants came and
broke the legs of those that were crucified with Him; but fol. 4b
when they came to Jesus they saw that He was already
dead, and they did not break His legs, but one of the sol-
30 diers struck Him in His side with a spear, and there flowed
from Him blood and water. And he that saw gave witness,

¹ Transliterated from the Greek, as in the Philoxenian version: *Pesh.* and *syr. vet.* translate the words into Syriac.

and true is his witness; and we believe and confess that his witness is true. Then came Joseph of Arimathaea and went in to Pilate and asked the body of Jesus; and he gave it him. And he took it down from the cross and washed it and embalmed it with myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, as the custom of the Jews is to bury, and placed it in a new tomb that was hewn by him in his garden in the rock, wherein no man had been laid. And Joseph and Nicodemus buried Him with honour, and rolled a great stone over the door of the tomb. And the Jews came to Pilate and said to him: We have heard that that deceiver while he was yet alive said: I will rise
fol. 5a up after three days; and we fear lest his disciples come and steal him from the tomb, and the last error be worse than the first. And he said to them: Ye have a guard; go, watch the tomb as ye know. But they, when they had gone, sealed the tomb with the guard. And after three days, very early in the morning of the first day of the week, our Lord arose from the tomb, the stones and seals remaining. And a great light flashed over the executioners (*quaestionarii*), and they were terrified at the miracle they had seen; and they went and made it known to the chief priests, and said: We saw Him go out from the tomb with a great voice and much glory. And the chief priests said to them: Take you money that is sufficient, and say, His disciples stole him by night while we were asleep. And if the governor say aught to you, we will offer persuasions to him and cause you to be without blame. These things were done when the angels came down from heaven and rolled the stone from the door of the tomb, and sat upon it, one at His head and one at His feet. And very early in the morning came the women and saw the angels. And they said to the women: Why seek ye Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified? He is risen, He is not here: behold the place where He was laid. And

when they came to depart, our Lord met them and said to them: Hail! And Mary thought that it was the gardener; and she said to Him: If thou hast taken Him away, tell me where thou hast laid Him. And He said to her: Mary. And
5 she said to Him: Rabbuli; and she ran to touch Him. And He said to her: Come not near to me: go, say to my brethren and to Peter that I am risen, as I said to you, that I go before you to Galilee; there ye shall see me. And
10 she ran with haste and announced to the apostles, and she said: Our Lord is risen from the grave. And Simon and John ran and came with haste; and the younger arrived at the grave before the elder, and he did not enter until Peter came and entered first. And he found the linen cloths lying
5 and the handkerchief of His head folded up and set apart, not with the cloths. And he believed and was assured of the resurrection of his Master. And after these things Jesus went to the mountain of Galilee, where Jesus had appointed them; and they believed in Him: but some of them doubted. And He said to them: Go, make disciples, and baptize all
20 peoples in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And after eight days, when the doors and windows were shut for fear of the Jews, Jesus came in to the upper room and stood in their midst, and said to them: Peace be with you; it is I, fear not. Feel me, and see that
25 a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see that I have. And He called Thomas and said to him: Bring hither thy finger and feel, and see the place of the nails of my hands and of my feet; and bring thy hand and put it in my side, and see the place of the spear; and be not faithless but believing.
30 And he cried out and said: My Lord, and my God. And Jesus said to him: Now that thou hast seen me thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me and have believed. And many times did our Lord appear to His disciples, by the lake of Tiberias and the other places. And
fol. 5b
fol. 6a

after forty days He went to Bethany, to the mount which is called of Olives; and He lifted up His hands over His disciples and blessed them, and said to them: Abide in Jerusalem until I send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, who shall put you in mind of everything. And He was taken up from them; and while they looked upon Him He went up to heaven; and a cloud received Him, and He was hidden from their eyes. And there appeared to them two angels in white garments, and they said to them: Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up to heaven? this Jesus who was taken up from you to heaven shall so come, even as ye have seen Him go up to heaven. And when the days of Pentecost were accomplished, there came down upon them the Spirit, the Paraclete, in the form of tongues of fire, and sat upon every one of them. And they began to speak with the tongues of all peoples. And the Jews said: These have been drinking new wine and are drunken. And Simon answered and said to them: It is not yet the third hour; but this is that which was said by Joel the prophet: And other days shall come, and I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and upon my servants and upon my handmaids: your sons and your daughters shall prophecy, and your young men shall see visions. And on that day about three thousand souls believed. And they cast lots; and it came up for fol. 66 Matthias, and he was counted with the eleven apostles; and the number of the twelve apostles was filled up. And from hence they made a beginning of fasting. And on the second day (of the week) they built a church. And on the third day they consecrated the chrism and the altar. And on the fourth day James the brother of our Lord offered the oblation (*qurbānā*): this is the first *qurbānā*¹; and he said that he had heard and learned it from the mouth of our Lord; and

¹ Here in the sense of "liturgy".

he added not, neither took away one word from it. And on the fifth day Peter baptized Lazarus, and John the evangelist received him; and John the evangelist baptized the Mother of God, Mary, and Mary the sister of Lazarus received her; and again he baptized the sisters of Lazarus, and Mary the Mother of God received them. And on the Friday at the third hour Simon and John went up to the temple to pray; and they gave health to the paralytic, and he leaped and stood up and went in with them to the temple; and they that saw the miracle that was done gave glory to God. And on that day also about five thousand souls believed. And on the sabbath day they were sent each one to the place allotted to him; and they began to preach and teach, and to baptize all peoples in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit unto life everlasting: Amen.

And after we have spoken of the saving dispensation of our Lord in the flesh, we add and commemorate the names of the former fathers: first, our father Adam, the head of (all) races and families, and our mother Eve, and Abel the righteous, and Seth the wellpleasing, and Enosh the just, and Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, who was translated and did not taste death, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, who became a second Adam and caused the earth to be inhabited, and his three sons Shem and Ham and Japheth; Melchizedek also the high priest, who depicted a type of the body and blood of Christ; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs; Moses the head of the prophets, Joshua the son of Nun, Job the righteous, Samuel the prophet, David the king, Isaiah the prophet, Ezekiel the prophet, Daniel the prophet, Jeremiah the prophet, Elijah the prophet, who was translated and did not taste death, Elisha his disciple, Nathan the prophet, Hosea the prophet, Joel the prophet, Amos the prophet, Obediah the prophet, Jonah the prophet, Micah the prophet, Nahum the prophet, Habakkuk

the prophet, Zephaniah the prophet, Haggai the prophet, Zechariah the prophet, Malachi the prophet.

Again we commemorate the names of the priests and levites of the Old Testament: Aaron the priest, Eleazar the priest, Hur the priest, Phinehas the priest, Jesus son of Jozedek the high priest, Simon the priest, the prisoner, Eleazar the priest and teacher, Zachary the priest, John the Baptist, Ezra the priest.

The names of the kings, sons of Israel: David the king, Asa the king, Hoshea the king, Hezekiah the king, the king of Nineveh, worthy of a good remembrance.

fol. 7b Again we add and commemorate the names of the twelve holy apostles: Peter the head of the apostles, Andrew the apostle, James and John apostles, Philip the apostle, Bartholomew the apostle, Thomas the apostle, Matthew the apostle, James the apostle, Lebbeaus the apostle, Simon the Cananaean the apostle, Matthias the apostle.

Again we commemorate the names of the evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

Again we commemorate the names of the seventy and two evangelizers¹: Paul, Addai, Aggai, Ananias, Lazarus, Malyā, Cephas, Barnabas, Sosthenes, Crispus, Joseph, Nicodemus, Nathaniel, Justus, Silas, Judas, Mark, Ammonius, Niger, Jason, Manaen, Rufus, Alexander, Simon, Lucius, Cleopas, Simon, Jose, James, Tyrannus, P.u.r.ṭ.u.s², Z.b.r.i.u.n., M.m.ṭ.u.s, Andronicus, Junias, Titus, Patrobas, Asyncritus, Hermes, Q.u.r.i.u.s, Aristobulus, Demas, Timothy, Luke, Levi, Ephrem, Nicanor, Silvanus, John, Th.i.r.i.s, A.n.g.i.u.s, M.r.ṭ.u.l.u.s, Lison, Zachary, the young man son of the

¹ Most of the names in this list are from the New Testament, but not all. Of those which I do not know how to vocalise I give the consonants only, putting a. for *ālaf*, u. for *waw*, i. for *yūdh*. The reader is referred to the lists printed by Th. Schermann in *Propheten- und Apostellegenden* pp. 308—310 (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*).

² Possibly Quartus is meant.

widow, Simon, Olympas, Stephen, Stachys, Apelles, Theocritus¹, A.n.b.s.†.i.u.s², Simon, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Sh.i.q.i.m, Joseph the carpenter, Nicanor³, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolas.

Again we add (and) commemorate the holy women in order: first our Lady Mārt Mary Mother of God, her mother Anne, Elisabeth, Hannah the prophetess, Salome, Mary Magdalene, Priscilla, the other Mary, and another Mary fol. 8a mother of the sons of Zebedee, Phoebe, Priscilla, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, Persis, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Shamōnī the Maccabee, Julitta, S.r.a.s.h, Febronia, Miriam the prophetess.

Again we add (and) commemorate the three pious and holy ecumenical synods: the first that of the 318 at Nicaea, and the second of the 150 at Constantinople, and the third of the 220 which was assembled at Ephesus; with the rest of the pious and holy synods.

Again we add in the commemoration the victorious kings: first, Abgar the first believing king, Constantine the victorious king, his mother the believing queen Helena, Jovian⁴ the believing and victorious king, Theodosius the Great the believing and victorious king, and his sons Honorius and Arcadius believing and victorius kings, Theodosius the younger the believing and victorious king, Theodora the believing and orthodox queen, Zeno the believing and orthodox king, Anastasius the believing and victorious and orthodox king, and the rest of the believing and victorious orthodox kings.

And with these we commemorate in addition the names of our orthodox patriarchs who have risen up in the see of Antioch of Syria: first, Peter the head of the apostolic edifice, Evodius, Ignatius, Heron, Cornelius, Eros, Theophilus,

¹ So apparently.

² C has "A.i.b.s.†.i.u.s".

³ Text "L.q.a.i.o.r".

⁴ Text *Jovinian*, as always in Syriac writers.

fol. 8^b Maximinus, Serapion, Ascephoras(?), Asclepiades, Philetus Zebinus, Babyllas, Fabius, Demetrianus, Domnus, Timotheus Meletius, Cyril, Tyrannus, Vitalis, Philogonius, Eustathius Paulinus, Euzoius, Paulinus, Flavian, Evagrius, Porphyrius John, Theodotus, Porphyrius, Julian, Peter who was persecuted, Stephen, Severus the Great, Sergius, Peter, Julian Athanasius, John, Theodore, Severus, Julian, Elias, Athanasius, Joannes¹, George, Cyriacus, Dionysius, John, Ignatius Theodosius, Dionysius, John, Basil, John, Joannes, Dionysius Abraham, John, Athanasius, John Bār ʿAbhdōn, Theodosius² another John Bār ʿAbhdōn, Athanasius³, John Bār Shūshān Basil, Dionysius, Athanasius, John, Athanasius, Michael the Great, Athanasius, John, John, Ignatius, Philoxenus, Ignatius Basil, Athanasius, Ignatius.

Again we add and commemorate in order the names of the holy fathers and orthodox teachers: first, Dionysius the Great, Linus⁴ of Rome, Anacletus⁵, Clement of Rome Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Basil of fol. 9^a Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzum, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, Peter the martyr pope of Alexandria Athanasius pope of Alexandria, Paul of Smyrna, Avilius of Alexandria, Cyril pope of Alexandria, Theophilus of Alexandria, Dioscorus of the same, Theodosius of the same, Hippolytus of Rome, Meletius of Antioch, Nectarius of Constantinople, Paul, Joannes⁶ of Constantinople, Julius of Rome Alexander of Constantinople, Severus the Great of Antioch Anthimus of Constantinople, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Methodius of Olympus, Timothy of Ephesus, Titus of Crete, Amphilo-

¹ Spelt in the Greek manner. ² R repeats these last two names, evidently by error, since the lists of Michael the Great have only two Johns Bār ʿAbhdōn. C has Athanasius for Theodosius. ³ C omits the last two names, the scribe having copied them by mistake just before (see the preceding note). ⁴ Syr. *Nilus (sic)*. ⁵ C omits. ⁶ I. e. Chrysostom, whose name is regularly spelt in the Greek manner.

chius of Iconium, Cyprian of Carthage, Theodotus¹ of Ancyra, Irenaeus of Lyons.

And with these we add to commemorate the names of the chief priests, metropolitans and bishops, orthodox teachers: first, Mār Jacob of Nisibis, Philoxenus of Mabbōgh, Athanasius of Tellā dhě-Mauzēlath, John of Tellā dhě-Mauzēlath, Mār Bārṣaumā of Kēphar Tautē, Mār Jacob Burdċ^canā², Mār Jacob of Sarūgh, Mār John of Shīghar, John of the convent of Qartēmīn, Mār Jacob of Edessa, Moses Bār Kēphā, Mār rūthā of Taghrīth, John the Maphriān, Rabbūlā of Edessa, Simon Dārōshā³ the Persian, John of Boṣrā, Cyriacus of Amīdh, Mār Gabriel of the convent of Qartēmīn, Mār Simon of Zaitē, Isaiah of Edessa, Ignatius of Jerusalem, Dionysius of Amīdh, Thomas of Germanicia, Mark of ‘Akkō and the fol. 96 Sea Coast, Mark of Jerusalem and the Sea Coast, Gregory of Damascus, Mār Abhḥī of Nicaea, Mār Nicolaus-zēkhā of Mārūth, Abraham of Ḥabhūrā, Mārūthā of Maiperqīṭ, Ignatius of Melitene, George of the Peoples, Christopher of Caesarea, Mār Isaac of Nineveh, Mār Theodotus of Amīdh, Joannes of Ḥarrān and Ḥabhūrā and Nisibis, Joseph of Amīdh, Gregory of Jerusalem and Damascus, Gregory Bār Hebraeus worthy of a good memorial, Timothy: with the rest of the orthodox metropolitans and bishops.

Again we add (and) commemorate the orthodox teachers and solitaries and ascetics: first Mār Ephraim, Mār Isaac, Mār Balai, Simon Qassāyā, John Bār Aphthōniā, Mār Samuel, Mār Simon of Qartēmīn, Mār Aḥā the ascetic, Mār Jacob the Egyptian recluse, Mār Julian Sābhā, Abraham Qīndēmāyā, Mār Aaron Sārgā, Mār Bārṣaumā the chief of ascetics, Mār Simon Stylites, Mār Matthew of A.l.p.p (?), Mār Ḥananyā the Great of Zaṣpērān, Mār Awgīn (Eugenius) and his com-

¹ MSS *Theodore*.
derive their name.

² I. e. James Baradaeus, from whom the "Jacobites"

³ I. e. "the Disputant", or "Expounder".

pany, Matthew and Zakkai, Mār Abraham, Mār Daniel o Galāsh, Paul of Taghrīth the famous monk, Mār Dīmāṭ, Mār Shabbai, David Bār Paul, Abba Paul, Abba Antony, Abba Macarius the Egyptian, Abba Macarius of Alexandria fol. 10^a Abba Arsenius, Abba Shnoudi, Abba Pachomius, Abba Bīshūī, Abba John the less, Abba Moses the Black, Abba Palladius, Abba Maximus, Abba Domitius, Abba Agathon, Abba Zeno, Abba Theodore, Abba Isaiah, Abba Mark Th.r.m.qāyā¹, Abba Serapion, Mār Michael, Mār Abraham, Mār Samuel disciple of the holy Mār Bārṣaumā: with the rest of all the solitaries, monks, ascetics, stylites, mountain-dwellers and desert-dwellers, eastern and western, whose names are written in the book of life of the kingdom: their prayers be upon us: Amen.

Again we add and commemorate the martyrs and confessors: first, the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, Mār George, Shamōnī (*sic*)² and Gūryā and Ḥabbībh, Mār Theodore, Mār dē-Bēth Sāhdē³, Mār Sergius and Bacchus, Mār Abhī (or Abh), Mār Romanus, Mār Agrippa and Liberantius and the 12000 who witnessed with them in the mountain of Ahmūī, Mār Cyriacus and the 11000 who witnessed with him, Mār Bārḥadhbešhabbā and his eleven disciples, Mār Sābhā and the 12604 who witnessed with him, Mār Cosmas and Damian, Mār Behnām and Sara his sister and his 40 companions: with the rest of all the martyrs and confessors who have ever been or shall be.

Again we add (and) commemorate with them all the ecclesiastical orders: first, the heads of churches, and the heads

¹ I. e., of a place called Th.r.m.qā. For a mountain of this name see *The Book of Protection* (ed. Gollancz) p. 31, last line. For Mark of this place see *ibid.* p. 50 l. 17. ² Shamōna the companion of Guria is here, apparently, thought to be a woman with the same name that Syriac writers give to the mother of the seven Maccabees.

³ I. e., "Mār (N.) of the martyr chapel" (?).

of convents, and the heads of monasteries, and the chorepiscopi, periodeutae, visitors, presbyters, archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, anagnostae, psaltae, singers, interpreters, exorcists, monks, nuns: with the rest of the orthodox clergy who [are departed (?)] from here and from every place and city and village and hamlet, of those that are of sound faith and orthodox, and especially those who are of our own right faith, the enviable Syrian Jacobites. May God pardon them all in common, and us by their prayers: Amen and Amen. fol. 106

Remember, Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned, in Thy grace and in Thy many mercies: Amen and Amen. Remember, Lord, in Thy mercies those who have been careful and have toiled. May the Lord pardon them.

בן זכר דלענין. אשכנזי. גמ' זכר זכר
 לא זכר זכר. אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי
 אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי
 אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי
 אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי
 אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי. אשכנזי

רַיָּוּ , חֵיִן מִן כְּחֵיִן דִּמְרָא כִּיִּיְעָ כְּחֵיִן כֵּל
 : קַלֵּי : כְּחֵיִן מִן . אֲבָבָא : מִן מִן : מִן מִן : מִן מִן
 רַיָּוּ : כְּחֵיִן רַיָּוּ מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן
 5 . מִן מִן מִן . מִן מִן : מִן מִן : מִן מִן
 רַיָּוּ . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן
 כְּחֵיִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן . מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 10 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 15 מִן מִן מִן , מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן . מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 20 . מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן : מִן מִן
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 . מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 מִן מִן . מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן
 . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . (sic)
 25 . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן . מִן מִן

דלילא רבא דרבא אנה מצב . מסמגא כמ . נומס
 דמ אפלא ממ . אנה למ . ולא אלגא רבבגא
 אל בתימ . כצ אנה כתיא רומא סגיא . סמ
 כתיא רומא . בתיא בתיא רבא רבא אנה ממ ממ
 5 דלילא דגא . ב מצב אלילא ממ כתיא
 דממא אנה למ מצב אנה . אנה אנה למ
 דלילא . אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אל אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 10 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 15 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 20 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה
 אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה אנה

1) CR דילילא (sic).

IV.

5 די.ל.ג.ת. א.ח.ו.ת. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

5 די.ל.ג.ת. א.ח.ו.ת. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 10 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

 15 א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ. א.ב.ג.ד. ה.ו.ז. ח.ט. י.כ.

1) This title is written on the outside of the brown-paper cover of C, not at the head of the document itself; it probably stands on fol. 1a of the MS, though it is not mentioned in Dom Inguanez's collation of R.

אנכי, דניכא אנה סאבא דניכא אנה. סאבא דניכא
 אנה. כלמה שפוי נח כחחחח דניכא. סאבא
 דכמה אנה נח דכלמה נחחחח סאבא דניכא
 דניכא דניכא כח סאבא דניכא (1) נחחחח
 דניכא (2) סאבא.

1) Added above the line דניכא.

2) Added above the line דניכא.

כאמל כגדא כמסא כמלעא כמסעאכ עי און
כחצא כמכאז חצויה כחאגממא כחלל : כמכאז
גלל כחצויה גלל .

כחצויה גלל כחצויה כחצויה כחצויה מלל כחלל
5 אוןל . כחאגממא כחצויה כחאגממא כחצויה אוןל
כמסעא כחצויה כחצויה גלל גלל אגלל
גלל כחצויה (1 אמתאכחא אמתאלחא
גלל כחצויה אמתא כחצויה כחאגממא
כחצויה . חצויה אמתא . חצויה אמתא . חצויה
10 גלל אמתא כחצויה גלל אמתא כחצויה . חצויה אמתא
גלל אמתא כחצויה אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא . חצויה
גלל אמתא כחצויה אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא .

גלל אמתא

אמתא אמתא

כחצויה אמתא אמתא אמתא

אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
20 אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא
אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא אמתא

1) Added above the line כחצויה .

2) Added in marg. חצויה .

התעוררתי. ולמה נאמר ויש לי ענין. והוא
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
(1) הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
5 הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
10 הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
15 הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
20 הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.
הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

1) Added above the line הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

2) Added above the line הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. 3) Added above the line

הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.; and the next הוא has been altered to הוא. 4) Added

above the line הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. 5) Added above the line הוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא. והוא.

6) Here there is an erasure of about half a line.

... רחוקים (1) ... רחוקים (2) ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...

... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... (sic)

... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...

... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...

... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...
 ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ... רחוקים ...

1) A word has been erased. / 2) Added above the line ... רחוקים.
 3) Added above the line ... רחוקים. / 4) Added above the line ... רחוקים.
 5) Added above the line ... רחוקים.
 6) Added in marg. ... רחוקים.

[The rest from B.M. MS Add. 17128]

fol. 18a

בביתא דמדינתא ארמניה¹ בג זוטא דגליה סגיא
כב² (ג) אגרא לך כאשנא מצא.
בגרא ארמני.

במנה זלמא לאלבא.

בגרא סבג זוטא דגליה.

במנה דמסא לביבא דהלילתא דהא סגיא³ אגרא
כאשנא בג אלבא.

בגרא סבג זוטא דגליה.

בצוצא פושבג.

במנה קמרא לקניצא.

בגרא עג אכא סגיא אגרא.

בצוצא כובולו.

במנה נמסא צמח דגליה בביתא דמדינתא כמנה
בכאזבא לחגמ ארמני.

גאדא דא דנפמני יאוא⁴ אגרא לך דנאבא
פזיח סגיא לנדק סמסא גיחא דאלבא. כו
אלמא דאדא חלל פוסמ לחגמ ארמני.

כחודי נשבאדא בביתא דצוצא דך כחודי דנשבג אגרא.

1) Added above the line כאזבא ארמני.

2) Added above the line לבא שאלמא דמדינתא עגיא.

3) Added above the line גאדא כחודי סגיא דמדינתא.

4) Marg. adds בגרא ארמני במנה חלל סגיא אגרא
צמח סגיא כאזבא פושבג דאלבא.

בגדא אבא דכצנא.

במנא אא¹ (כזנא אלמא לא²) אהבא לן לשמנא
 אא דלא ד[גמ] (3) לשמביוס. אלא זבנא בג לשמנא
 אפ. רפפוא. אבנא דנשכנא לשמביוס. אפנא לן דג
 כנא כנצנא נאב כזנא דנל. דכאזנא, אבנא⁵
 לן פאא זכנא אאפוא אאשנא בג זנא דנל
 אפנא כנל. אפנא אפנא אפנא זנא אפנא לן
 דאשנא אפנא.

בגדא אבנא

10

במנא אלמא אלמא

בגדא אפנא דנל

אפנא אפנא דנל דנל

בגדא אפנא דנל אלמא.

במנא לן אפנא דנל דנל דנל. דג אפנא
 אפנא אפנא דנל. דנל דנל. אפנא אפנא
 אפנא דנל. אפנא דנל (sic) אפנא אפנא⁴
 אפנא אפנא דנל. אפנא אפנא אפנא
 אפנא אפנא דנל דנל דנל דנל דנל
 אפנא⁵

1) Over אא is written אא.

2) This word is indistinct.

3) Bār Kēphā (fol. 175a) has אפנא אפנא; but there is not room for the second word here in the MS.

4) MS אפנא: a contraction at the end of the line.

5) Here ends A² fol. 9b. The letter *alaf*, written at the bottom of the page, shews that we have here the last leaf of the first quire of the MS from which this fragment is taken.

סמך חילוק שלם: אבנא דבג. זמן נכבד ללמוד
 זמן מנא: ¹ פזא דמזמנא ארמא. ¹ פזא זבבד טמ.
 פזא פוסמא דנפחא דל דפזא. פזא דלמ דמז
 ארמא זכא פוסמא זבב. מזמנא: למשנא דמזכא
 אלמכמא דמזמנא: סלמא דלמל למלמ דנשכמ ארמא.
 לזמל דכממא מנא דמזא דמזמנא ארמא. דמז
 זממא דנפחא דפזא. דמז דלמ דמזי ארמא
 פוסמא זבב. מזמנא... ² למשנא דמזכא אלמכמא
 דמזמנא: סלמא דלמל למלמ דנשכמ ארמא. אבנא
 דמזמא לבלמ ארמא * דנשכמ סמזמזממא למ:
 למזממא דנפחא דפזא: לפממא פזא דמזמא
 פזא: למזמא דמזמא דלמ פזממא: מ. דמזממא
 זבב דמזממא דמזממא דמזמא למ למשנא
 זבב זממא ארמא למ זמ זבב מזממא. סמ זמא דלמ
 למ נמממא דמזמא אלממא דמזמא. סממא סמממא
 לממא זממא ארמא ³

A
fol. 56

זממא ארמא.

זממא זבב לממא: זמממא למ למ דמזממא מנא
 דמזמא סממא דמזמא: זממא דמזמא דמזממא דמזממא
 זממא. דמזממא זממא ארמא דמזממא דמזממא

1) These words are from the margin, but were written by the original scribe, with a mark in the text to indicate the place where they should have been copied.
 2) Some letters erased, probably by the original scribe, who began to copy a wrong word.
 3) Cod. ארמא (sic).

וְכִי תִּשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֵאמֹר: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה
 מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: * [לֵךְ לִי וְעָבַדְנִי] (1) אֲנִי אֶחָדָה
 מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [בְּלִי] אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה [מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה] (2) אֲנִי
 אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [בְּלִי] אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה: [בְּלִי] אֲנִי
 אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה.

5

בְּיָמֵי הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע בְּלִי אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה.
 בְּיָמֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [בְּלִי] אֲנִי
 לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [בְּלִי] אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 בְּיָמֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה.

10 בְּיָמֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: יִשְׁמַע בְּלִי אֶחָדָה
 מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: יִשְׁמַע בְּלִי אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 בְּיָמֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:

אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 15 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה] אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה [אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה]:
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: * [אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה] (3) אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה: אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:
 אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָדָה מֵעַבְדֵי הַיְהוָה:

20

1) Renaudot II p. 427 'adiunge nos cum iis qui te diligunt, ad institutionem a te accipiendam': but in A there is not room for more than the words supplied.
 2) Restoration in accordance with Renaudot II 427 'propterea enim et eiusmodi rerum causa, nunc poenitens ecclesia tua'.
 3) Conjectural: the word is illegible.

דבליק אגמאכא דבליק סגמאכא סגמא דגמ 7 כי
 סגמא דגמ (1) כי (2).
 *גמ † אגמא (3) גמא סגמא: 7 סגמא אגמא (4)
 סגמא דגמ: סגמא דגמא בל סגמא (5) דגמ אגמא (6):
 5 סגמא דגמא דגמ אגמא: סגמא בל: סגמא בל: דגמא:
 אגמא: סגמא דגמא סגמא: סגמא דגמא בל
 דגמא: סגמא דגמא *גמ אגמא כי אגמא: 7 גמא (7)
 סגמא סגמא דגמא: גמא דגמא בל סגמא (8)
 סגמא: לל אגמא. לל אגמא, אגמא.. אגמא
 10 סגמא סגמא, אגמא אגמא אגמא אגמא: 7 גמא (9) סגמא סגמא, סגמא
 סגמא סגמא (10) סגמא סגמא: סגמא דגמא סגמא
 סגמא (11) סגמא סגמא: דגמא דגמא סגמא: סגמא
 סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא: סגמא סגמא (12)
 סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא: סגמא סגמא (13)
 15 גמא סגמא סגמא *גמא סגמא סגמא דגמא:

סגמא סגמא: גמא דגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא
 סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא: סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא
 סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא: גמא סגמא סגמא

1) C אגמא כי דגמ. 2) B marg. adds a before אגמא.
 3) B marg. + אגמא. 4) From A marg., but in the original
 hand. B marg. adds דגמ after סגמא. 5) B אגמא.
 6) B marg. + אגמא. 7) B אגמא. 8) B אגמא סגמא.
 9) Erased in B. 10) B ,סגמא (sic), for ,סגמא.
 11) B אגמא כי. 12) B marg. + אגמא.
 13) B marg. + אגמא סגמא סגמא סגמא.

במנה ⁷הכזוה ¹בז ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
פארא סחטענב. ²הא ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה.
הא ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה.
הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה. ⁷הכזוה.

⁵הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה

⁰הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה

B
fol. 2b

⁵הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה

הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה
הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה

במנה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה

1) C om. 2) C פארא סחטענב. הא ⁷הכזוה; in B the word ⁷הכזוה is written over an erased word, perhaps ⁷הכזוה.

3) C ⁷הכזוה. 4) C ⁷הכזוה. 5) BC marg. + ⁷הכזוה.

6) C ⁷הכזוה. 7) A word has been erased here in both B and

C: from the remains I can only suggest that it was ⁷הכזוה. The last two letters are visible, and the word was a long one.

8) C (seemingly over an erasure) ⁷הכזוה. The erased word was perhaps ⁷הכזוה, which is supplied in the marg. 9) C + ⁷הכזוה ⁷הכזוה.

incipit
(B)
fol. 1a

*מַעֲבָרָא¹: לְכֹהֵן יִצְחָק יִבְרָךְ.

בְּרָכָה: מִדְּבַרְתָּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ.

מִנְחָה: אִם דְּבַרְתָּהּ, כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ מִדְּבַרְתָּ: לְמַנָּה

וְיִבְרָךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲמַרְתָּ² מִדְּבַרְתָּ הַלֵּל מִדְּבַרְתָּ. וְיִבְרָךְ

כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ³. אִם דְּבַרְתָּהּ בְּיָדְךָ בְּכִתְּבֵיךָ כֹּהֵן⁴:

כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ אֲמַרְתָּ וְיִבְרָךְ כֹּהֵן

הַלֵּל⁵: וְיִבְרָךְ לְךָ פָּאָר בְּלֵךְ⁶ אֲמַרְתָּ אֲמַרְתָּ

אֲמַרְתָּ בְּרַחֲמֵיךָ⁷ מִדְּבַרְתָּ כֹּהֵן: הַלֵּל⁸ הַלֵּל

וְיִבְרָךְ לְךָ כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ: מִנְחָה⁹ הַלֵּל הַלֵּל

הַלֵּל אֲמַרְתָּ.

*בְּרָכָה: אֲמַרְתָּ

(C)
fol. 3a

מִנְחָה¹⁰ הַלֵּל⁷ וְיִבְרָךְ אֲמַרְתָּ¹¹: אֲמַרְתָּ אִם הַלֵּל

וְיִבְרָךְ *אֲמַרְתָּ הַלֵּל לְךָ מִדְּבַרְתָּהּ וְיִבְרָךְ כֹּהֵן הַלֵּל

A
fol. 1b

הַלֵּל: אֲמַרְתָּ הַלֵּל לְךָ הַלֵּל נְפֹאֵר¹²: לְךָ הַלֵּל

קָצֵר וְיִבְרָךְ: בְּיָדְךָ עַל דְּבַרְתָּ *מִנְחָה דְּבַרְתָּ¹³

(B)
fol. 1b

הַלֵּל הַלֵּל. לְךָ לְךָ בְּיָדְךָ וְיִבְרָךְ¹⁴ הַלֵּל: אֲמַרְתָּ

בְּיָדְךָ וְיִבְרָךְ. וְיִבְרָךְ¹⁵ מִנְחָה וְיִבְרָךְ לְךָ הַלֵּל

1) BC כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ אֲמַרְתָּ. 2) In BC this word has been altered by a later hand to אֲמַרְתָּ הַלֵּל.

3) B כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ; C כֹּהֵן יִבְרָךְ, with הַלֵּל written over by a later hand. 4) B marg. + אֲמַרְתָּ. 5) C marg. + אֲמַרְתָּ.

6) BC omm. בְּלֵךְ. 7) C הַלֵּל. 8) C marg. + הַלֵּל. 9) B מִנְחָה. 10) A marg. + הַלֵּל.

11) B אֲמַרְתָּ; C אֲמַרְתָּ. 12) B marg. + הַלֵּל. 13) BC הַלֵּל. 14) BC הַלֵּל.

15) BC + הַלֵּל; but the word has been erased in B.

III.

אנפיה דמניצא ניו, נפסב... אממא, דניו...
אפפסמא דאניצא.

אלתא דמוג צלמא. אלתא דל סגיא: ל לונא
דלא צמג: דצמג לפוסמא מנא ביד. זעב אנצא.
אנפיה דניו דמג סמ כל נלא סמ [כל] (1) נשכ 5
באקא: נלא לנידא כונצמא סגיא. ביד סגיא
אשויא דמכא דצמג. כני (2) צמג סגיא (3). דבמ
ל צמג סממא אפיה אפמנא בן זמא דלי
סגיא כל הלא סמב. נמ סמא ל צמג סממא.

10

ממא
במא
*אמג.

ממא. צמג בן בלא (4).
במא: סמג (5) זמא דלי.
ממא: נל צמג סגיא (6).

15

1) Conjectural: the word is illegible in the MS. 2) Marg. +
אלתא פוסמא דלי. 3) Above the line is added אממא,
4) C אלמא. 5) C בן. 6) C לנידא.

למלך ללבושם ולבגתם: אף דתם כוהן מיוחדים
דעצמם בליל מלכות למלך. בן אדום למלך
עצמם. ולא מלכותם. אלא אף דתם בן מיוחדים.

fol. 177a

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
יורא. מ. אף מ, דאפי' דמלכותא דתפלתא
דמלכותא דתפלתא למלך למלך.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא. דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא. דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

בבית דין דתפלתא בן לויא למלך למלך
דמלכותא דתפלתא דתפלתא דתפלתא.

באלוהי דכסודא נשכח, לצדכא לא חיא צינא..
אחכ דמ חנילא במנא גילאחא מנא חאנא.

אבן חניא לא חביל למ לשימנא מן ולא חנינא
נילא לשימנא: מנא: חביב לאכא ונפול גילאחא
מנא חניא. חאנא בנא אבנא.

חבן חניא זלכא בן חבא. מ. בן כמנא חניא
למ. חנינא, חבן גילאחא חנינא נשכח. בן
נפול חנינא חבן חנינא. חנינא נשכח לשימנא
חנינא חנינא.

10 חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
מ. חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא

15 חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא

חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא

20 חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא
חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא חנינא

אהבה: מנחה אלה לך. ולא בקרף דחילת דחילת.
 אלה מלך דמלך כלמה. אהבה לך לזכור דפאס
 זאב. כצדק. מנחה אלה. דפאלא אלה דעלם
 אלה לך לזכור דפאס. אלה דאלי כדחילת
 אלה. ולא דחילת דחילת. לך זכור דחילת לך
 דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת דחילת
 חילת אלה. מכל למה דחילת דחילת. מ
 אלה לך דחילת אלה דחילת דחילת דחילת.
 מן, דחילת דחילת דחילת אלה וך אלה לך.
 10. אלה דחילת דחילת מן, דחילת דחילת דחילת.
 דחילת דחילת דחילת. מכל למה דחילת דחילת. מ
 למה זכור מן דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת דחילת
 דחילת. אלה מן, דחילת אלה למה זכור דחילת דחילת
 דחילת דחילת. לך מן דחילת דחילת. אלה דחילת.
 15. דחילת דחילת דחילת למה למה דחילת דחילת. מנחה
 דחילת דחילת דחילת.

זכור לך מכל דחילת דחילת. אלה דחילת דחילת דחילת
 דחילת. מן, מכל דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת
 דחילת דחילת. מן, דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת
 20. מן אלה. דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת דחילת
 דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת
 דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת. דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת.
 דחילת: אלה דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת: זכור לך
 אלה. אלה לך דחילת: אלה מן זכור לך... אלה
 25. לך דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת.. דחילת דחילת דחילת דחילת

לאנא אמתא . אכא דגמ : אצא א דלמא דחלמא דג .
 ב ד כמא , דאנא ל דאנא אכא דאנא . מלמ אכא
 ל . . ענא : דגא דאנא אכא אכא . . דאנא :
 דג ל דאנא אכא אכא . . דאנא : דאנא : אכא דאנא
 5 דאנא . כמא , דאנא אכא אכא אכא . אכא אכא
 אכא אכא . אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא . כמא , דגא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא . .
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא . .
 דאנא : אכא דאנא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 10 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא .
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא .

אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 15 אכא . אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 20 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא
 25 אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא אכא

מנצח מבלע לזמנא: כי בננו לזי אלוהא, אצו
 למ כחשנא: אגממחא חכ. אלא תכלה פבלמ.
 דכנז נתיבא דמל נחלמא, למ. בענ דמ אף שתיבא
 פבלמ לזאנא דזמנא מנצח. אף דנבא
 כחשנא שחלמ.

בלחא חלמא דתכלמא לז למ דנפיק לז למ
 אכא. אכזמ: עזא ח: דנבמ ד למ תכלה דשכמ.
 מ, אכזי אכא דממל אעמ, מ, דממל כנמ
 לכממ, .. דחממ דמ: חלל דחלמא חממ. ח
 אכלמ דחממ לז לחא חממ דממ אכא. מנצח
 ח, מ, דממ. כי ממ. ד פאמ חממ דנחל פזיב
 דמממ, חמ. חמ. למ חממ לז למ אכא. ח
 פזיב דנחל: חממ חמ. אף חלל דחממ ח
 דממ. חמ. חמ. למ חממ מנצח. כי חממ
 חממ אכא: חמ חמ חמ חממ, .. חמ. ח
 חמ. למ חממ לז למ. חממ חממ. חמ
 חממ. חמ חממ חממ. חממ חממ חממ
 חממ¹ .. חממ: חממ. למ חממ חמ
 חממ חמ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ
 חמ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ
 חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ

בלחא חמממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ חממ
 חמ. חמ. חממ. חממ חממ: חממ חממ חממ

1) Perhaps we should read חממ.

אכא דחלמיש אכא... .. ודחמיש דחמיש. אכא: אכא
 דחמיש אכא. אכא דחמיש לבוה שחא דחמיש. דחמיש
 למ אכא: דחמיש למ כחמיש... .. אכא כחמיש אכא
 דחמיש אכא דחמיש¹) אכא דחמיש.

5 בלח דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש
 דחמיש דחמיש אכא דחמיש. אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 אכא דחמיש דחמיש אכא דחמיש: אכא דחמיש דחמיש.
 אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 10 דחמיש דחמיש, דחמיש. דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש. אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש. דחמיש
 דחמיש דחמיש אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש:
 אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 15 למ דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 אכא דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 20 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.
 דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש דחמיש.

1) Read דחמיש (?). 2) MS אכא.

וצבועה נחלשה צדקה דליף סוכין סודותה . אלא
 אלא כחיה אלא . כמנה סכום דבניה . סכום
 סוכין לא וים דנתי ליה . אלא . אלא דנבנה סוכין
 ונאנתי . אלא דאנתי . אלא . אלא . אלא .
 5 אלא דנבנה סוכין אלא . אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא : אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא . אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא . אלא אלא אלא . אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא , אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא :
 10 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא : אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא . אלא אלא . אלא אלא אלא : אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא . אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא . אלא
 אלא : אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 15 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא . אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא : אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 20 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא

אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 אלא אלא אלא : אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא
 25 אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא אלא

מבוא ארזי . לנלל הארזא ארזא . סכאל
אל [ע]מר כארזא ארזא אל [ע]מר [ע]מר¹ כאלא
כארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא . ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא .

5 ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
10 ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא

ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
15 ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
20 ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא
ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא ארזא

1) The visible remains of the word look like ארזא; and the above is the only restoration that seems to me probable.

אמת אהיה לך אלהיך (אויבך) אמת
 אלהיך אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 5 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 10 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 15 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 20 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך

אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך
 אמת אהיה לך אלהיך אמת אהיה לך

1) Sic.

הָיָה לָךְ כְּהֵאָרֶה .ו. מִן הַיָּם הַיָּמָנִי הַיָּמִי
 מִתְחַלֵּשׁ .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר .לְכַתְּבָהּ .וְכִי
 יִשָּׁר כְּהֵאָרֶה הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 5 יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 10 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 15 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 20 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי
 הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי .וְכִי לֹא יִשָּׁר הַיָּמִי

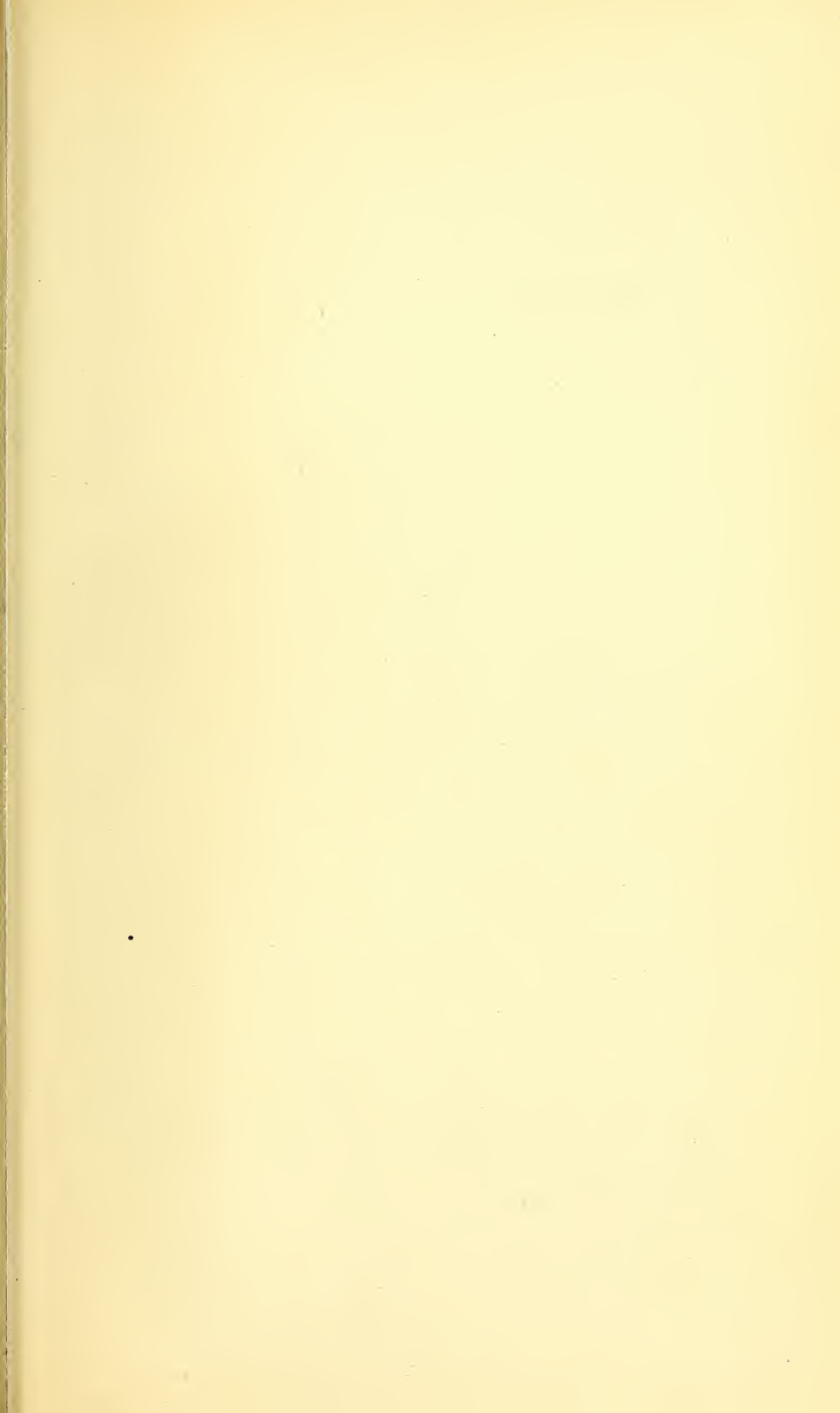
fol. 189b

1) Second hand אִתָּהּ .

אִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם אֲרַבְּנָה לְבַלְבָּלֵךְ דָּבָר יִשְׁׁר בְּתִיבְךָ מִתְּהַבֵּן בַּל
 עֲלִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם אֲרַבְּנָה לְבַלְבָּלֵךְ כִּשְׁׁרָה חֶסֶד דַּסְּרָה
 בְּתִיבְךָ אֵלֹהֵי אֲנִי הַמְּנַחֵם אֵלֶיךָ לֵב מִיָּבֵב דִּי עֵשׂ׃
 מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם מְבַרְכֵם׃ בַּל מְנַחֵם אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 5 אֲרַבְּנָה לְבַלְבָּלֵךְ כִּשְׁׁרָה׃ וְכַעַז אֲכַח נִכְוֵה אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם
 מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ דְּכִשְׁׁרָה לְמַלְבָּלֵךְ מִתְּהַבֵּן בַּל
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַמְּנַחֵם הַמְּנַחֵם׃ דַּלְפִּיִּי־שֵׁ׃
 אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם׃ אֲבַל עֲלִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם
 הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם דַּלְבָּלֵךְ מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם
 10 מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ דַּלְבָּלֵךְ אֲנִיִּי מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם
 אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם אֲנִיִּי מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם׃
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם הַיָּם׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם דַּבָּר עַד אֲרַבְּנָה מִיִּי אֵלֹהֵי הַיָּם׃
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 15 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 20 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם
 25 מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם׃׃ מְבַלְבָּלֵךְ הַיָּם הַמְּנַחֵם

ליהוה הנהגה נכונה : בזה שמה הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : למה שפירא הנהגה : הנהגה נכונה :
 שמה : למה שפירא הנהגה נכונה :
 שמה : מה : הנהגה נכונה :
 5 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 10 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 15 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 20 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :
 25 הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה : הנהגה נכונה :

fol. 186a



TEXT.

- I. GEORGE OF THE ARABS.
- II. MOSES BĀR KĒPHĀ.
- III. THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF ST JAMES.
- IV. THE BOOK OF LIFE.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

Connolly, Richard Hugh and
Codrington, H.W.

Two commentaries on the
Jacobite liturgy

