



THE HARP

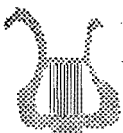
A Review of Syriac, Oriental and Ecumenical Studies

Volume: XXVII 2011



St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute
(SEERI)

malankaralibrary.com



THE HARP

A Review of Syriac, Oriental and Ecumenical Studies

Volume: XXVII 2011

Personal Library
Fr. G. CHEDIATH

St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI)

Baker Hill, Kottayam - 686001, Kerala, India



© SEERI Publications, Kottayam
All Rights reserved

Published by
St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute
(SEERI)

Edited by
Jacob Thekeparampil
Thomas Koonammakal
Joshua Falconer
Baby Varghese

With the Assistance of

Metropolitan Mar Aprem, L. Abramowski, M. Albert, A. S. Assad,
S. Brock, J.P. Deschler, F.B. Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, R. Y. Ebied,
D. Taylor, T. C. Falla, K. M. George, S. Griffith, W. Hage,
A. Harrak, G. Hohmann, Bo Holmberg, K. Jenner, J. Madey,
François Cassingena, K. H. Kuhlmann, A. M. Mathew,
H. Teule, K. McVey, E. Khalife, A. Badwi, A. Schmidt,
H. Suermann, M. Tamcke, J. Tubach, L. Van Rompay,
J. Vellian, J. W. Watt, D. Winkler and P. Yousif

Printed in India
Composed & laid out by Right Perspective, Kottayam
Printed at St. Joseph's Press, Mannanam

All correspondences regarding the Review should be addressed to:
The Editors, The Harp, SEERI, Baker Hill,
Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala, India
Phone : 0091 481 2564333, 2560856.
E-mail: seeri@bsnl.in & maeri@dataone.in
www.seeri.org



MALANKARA
LIBRARY

Contents

Editorial

- 1 7th World Syriac Conference: A report
- 39 The Syriac 'New Finds' at St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, and their significance
- *Sebastian P. Brock*
- 53 West Syriac Liturgy : One hundred years of research
- *Baby Varghese*
- 73 A few concepts of Mar Jacob of Serug on Women as we see them in his Mimre
- *James Steephen Olikal*
- 85 The significance of St. Ephraim in the Ethiopian Tradition
- *Dimetros Woldu*
- 107 Critical Evaluation of the new (2009) text of the Qurbana of Catholic Chaldean Church in USA
- *Jacob Vellian*
- 111 Word and Meaning: A Glossary in Liturgy and Iconography with Special Reference to the Theology of the Eastern Churches
- *Jean-Paul Deschler*
- 121 The Treatise on Baptism in the causes of the 7 Mysteries of the Church by Patriarch Timothy II, 1318-1332.
- *Paul Blaize Kadicheeni*
- 129 A Medieval Chinese Source on a Certain Syrian Christian Lord in Kollam, India
- *Li Tang*
- 141 Multiple Covenants and the People from the Peoples in Aphrahat: Insights for a Theology of Religions and the Ministry of the Church in the World
- *Thomas Kollamparampil*
- 161 John the Evangelist: Disciple Jesus loved
- *P.V. Philip*
- 173 The Western Missionaries and the Revival of the Neo-Aramaic Dialects.
- *Robin beth Shmuel*
- 181 The Prayers of the Feast of Denha (Baptism) of the East Syrian Breviary (sixth January)
- *Emmanuel Thelley*

- 211 Who is Bishop Gabriel? Essay on the East Syrian opponent of Mar Thoma V
- *Martin Tamcke*
- 225 The Origin of the Christians in Eastern Arabia: Nomads and the sedentary peoples
- *Jürgen Tubach*
- 235 Music, the language of Heart in the Syro-Malankara liturgy and its relation to Ragas in the Indian Music
- *Philip Vysanethu*
- 249 The Attitude of Aphrahat to the Poor.
- *Kuriakose Valavanolickal*
- 257 Neglected Sources for the History of the St. Thomas Christians
- *John Fenwick*
- 271 Nature of the Church (of the East) in Ishaq Shbadnaya's "Poem on the Divine Economy"
- *Thomas A. Carlson*
- 291 "Fraction prayers" in the Coptic Liturgy
- *Ugo Zanetti*
- 303 The commentary of an anonymous author on the East Syrian Holy Qurbana attributed to Mar George, the Bishop of Arbel and Mosul
- *Thomas Mannooramparampil*
- 335 Quotations of Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians Preserved in Syriac
- *Timothy B. Sailors*
- 343 A short Treatise on the Trinity in Syriac attributed to St. Ephrem the Syrian.
- *Rifaat Ebied & Lionel Wickham*
- 353 Love as an Exegetical Principle in Jacob of Serug
- *Mary Hansbury*
- 369 Understanding Christian Eschatology against the background of the thought of Ephrem and Šamkara
- *John Vattanky*
- 381 Ephrem: a combatant and a monk in love!
- *Belnam Keryo*
- 409 Seeri One day Seminar
- 440 Seeri Chronicle
- 441 News
- 447 List of Publications

Editorial

SEERI has celebrated its Silver Jubilee in September 2010 and has entered into a new era. The 7th World Syriac Conference was also conducted during Sept. 2010. This volume (Vol. XXVII) contains an elaborate report of these celebrations. The Syriac Conference was attended by nearly 90 Syriac scholars from abroad and hundreds of Indian participants.

SEERI is grateful to the Central Government of India and the State Government of Kerala for according necessary permission for the conference. We are thankful to the Vice Chancellor of Mahatma Gandhi University for his support and guidance and also for the inaugural address of 8th Sept. 2010.

The Harp Vol. XXVI is reserved as an index volume, which is under preparation. In this issue of the Harp we publish a few papers presented in the conference. It includes some other papers as well from Syriac scholars. The remaining papers presented in the conference will be published in the forthcoming issues of the Harp.

We thank all the Syriac scholars who attended the World Syriac conference. For those who could not attend the conference, this volume will be a valuable addition to their collection.



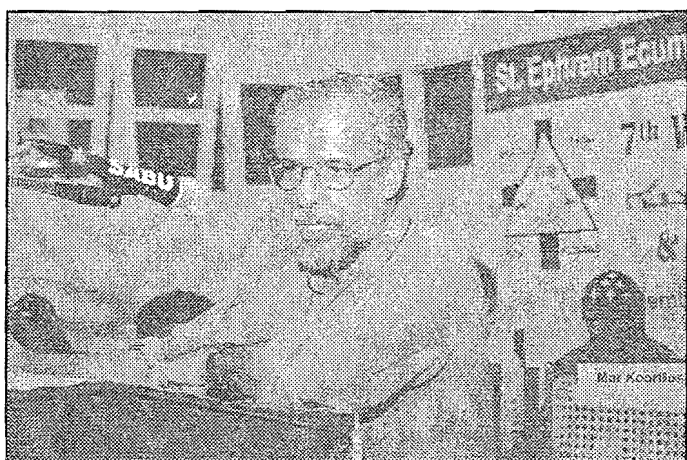
His Beatitude Baselios Cleemis Catholicos delivering the presidential address in the inaugural function on 08-09-2010



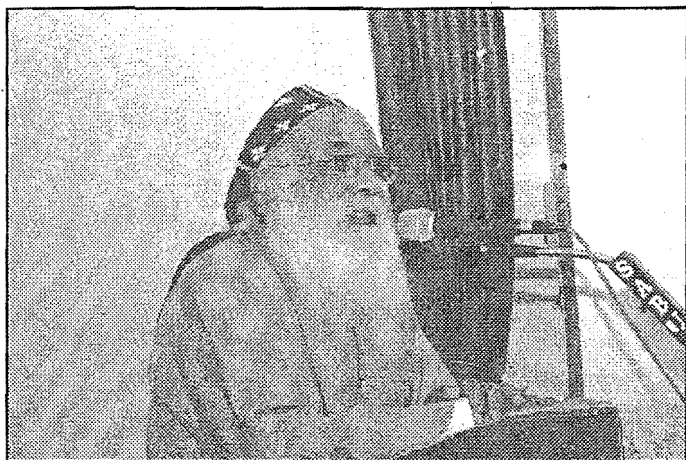
His Grace Dr. Thomas Mar Koorilos welcoming the gathering in the inaugural function of the World Syriac Conference on 08-09-2010



Prof. Dr. Sebastian Brock delivering the
keynote address on 08-09-2010



Prof. Dr. Rajan Gurukul delivering the
inaugural address on 08-09-2010



His Grace Dr. Joseph Mar Thoma Metropolitan delivering
the Benedictory Speech on 08-09-2001



Prof. P. J. Kurien M. P delivering the felicitation
address on 08-09-2010



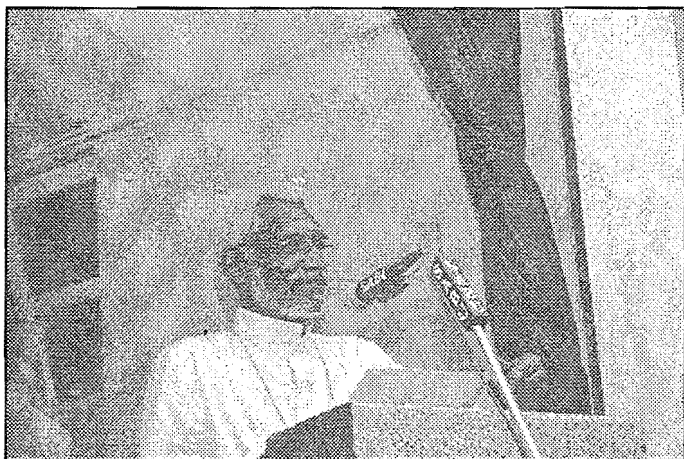
His Beatitude Ignatios Youssef III Younan lighting up the lamp for the Jubilee celebrations on 14-09-2010



His Beatitude Ignatios Youssef III Younan delivering the inaugural address on 14-09-2010 (Jubilee celebrations)



His Beatitude Ignatios Yossef III Younan conferring the Title
"The Great Teacher of Syriac Churches" on
Rev. Dr. Jacob Thekeparampil on 14-09-2010



Rev. Dr. Jacob Thekeparampil addressing
the gathering on 14-09-2010

7th WORLD SYRIAC CONFERENCE : A REPORT

A World Syriac Conference is conducted by SEERI every four years. The 7th Conference in the series was conducted from 8th to 16th Sept. 2010.

(1). Inaugural function: The inaugural function was conducted from 14.30 hrs. on Wednesday, the 8th Sept. 2010. His Beatitude Baselios Cleemis Catholicos (Major Archbishop of Syro-Malankara Catholic Church) presided over the function. His Grace Dr. Thomas Mar Koorilos welcomed the gathering and His Grace Joseph Mar Thomas Metropolitan of Mar Thoma Church delivered the Benedictory speech. The inaugural address was delivered by Prof. Dr. Rajan Gurukul, Vice Chancellor, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam. The Key note address was delivered by Prof. Dr. Sebastian Brock (Professor Emeritus, Oxford University). The text of the key note address is appended as Annexure-I to this report.

Felicitation speeches were made by the following dignitaries:

Prof. P.J. Kurien, Member of Parliament.

H.G. Mar Mathew Moolakkatt, Archbishop of Kottayam.

H.G. Gabriel Mar Gregorios, Metropolitan Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church.

H.G. Kuriakose Mar Ivanios, Knanaya Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church.

Rt. Rev. Dr. John R. K. Fenwick, Bishop, Free Church, England.

In his presidential address, His Beatitude Baselios Cleemis Catholicos (Major Archbishop of Syro-Malankara Catholic Church) declared the title **ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** . (The Great Teacher of Syriac Churches) to be conferred on Rev. Dr. Jacob Thekeparampil considering his laudable service to the cause of Syriac and Churches with Syriac heritage in Kerala during the last 25 years.

(2). Daily programmes

Daily programmes began with Holy Qurbana of different Churches at 06.30 hrs. each day. The presentation of papers began at 09.00 hrs. Altogether 69 papers were presented in the conference in different sessions. (See the annexure II)

(3). Jubilee function: 14th Sept. 2010.

At 09.00 a.m. H.B. Ignatius Youssef III Younan, Patriarch of Antioch celebrated Qurbana in Syriac. The Archbishop of Tiruvalla and Bishops of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church were Co-celebrants. His Ex. Abraham Mar Julios (Bishop of Muvattupuzha) delivered a Homily which is given below as Annexure III.

A public function followed, which was presided over by His Grace Mar Joseph Powathil (Archbishop Emeritus, Changanassery & Chairman, Inter-Church Council for Education. The text of the Presidential address is given below as Annexure IV).

Prof. Dr. Sebastian Paul Brock and Prof. Dr. Thomas Koonammakkal read the Ode of felicitation in Syriac and English respectively. Mar Joseph Powathil delivered the Presidential address and His Beatitude Ignatius Youssef III Younan, Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch delivered the inaugural address. The following dignitaries delivered felicitation speeches.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Thekethecheril, Bishop of Vijayapuram

Mr. K. M. Mani, Member of Legislative Assembly

Dr. Rajan Varghese, PVC, M.G. University, Kottayam*

Rev. Fr. Emmanuel Thelly CMI, Poonjar

Msgr. Gabriel Quicke, Secretary, Pontifical Council for Christian Unity, Rome.

Prelate Prof. Dr. Lothar Waldmüller, Munich, Germany

Ms. Borgna Luciana, Missio Munich

Mr. M. L. Thomas, CNEWA

Rev. Dr. Gaby Abousamra, Holy Spirit Univ., Kaslik, Lebanon.

Prof. Andrea Schmidt, Catholic Univ. Louvain, Belgium

Prof. Jürgen Tubach, Martin Luther Univ., Halle, Germany

In the function, the Title: **ܡܠܟܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܫܘܪܝܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܫܘܪܝܝܐ** (Malphono Rabo Ethoyocho Suryoyocho - The Great Teacher of Syriac Churches) was conferred on Rev. Dr. Jacob Thekkeparambil, Director, SEERI by H.B. Ignatius Youssef III Younan, Patriarch of Antioch. H. B. the Patriarch also released the latest volume of the Harp ((Vol. XXV) giving a copy to Prof. Sebastian Brock. Mr. Chacko Koshy Kaithalavil presented a memento to the Patriarch.

(*The text of the speech delivered by Dr. Rajan Varghese, PVC, M.G. University, Kottayam is given in Annexure -V below)

(4). Valedictory function: The function started at 11.15 hrs. on Thursday, the 16th Sept. 2010. The Valedictory Address was delivered by Prof. K. Mathew, Member, Syndicate, M.G. University. Moderator for Evaluations was Dr. Mary Hansbury (Philadelphia, USA).

The following delegates made evaluations:

1. Dr. George Anton Kiraz : Beth Marduto - Gorgias Press, USA
2. Prof. Rifaat Ebied: Emeritus Professor of Semitic Studies, University of Sydney, Australia
3. Dr. Alison Grace Salvesen : Oxford University, UK
4. Dr. Toda Satoshi: Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan
5. Rev. Fr. Binu Ponnokaran : Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram, Bangalore

The text of some of the evaluations are given in Annexure-VI below.

SEERI thanks all the Delegates/participants for their active participation in the conference and the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

Key note Address by Prof. Sebastian P. Brock :

Developments in Syriac Studies during SEERI's first Quarter Century:some reflections

Since the anniversary number of *The Harp* already contains some reflections on the developments that have taken place in SEERI over the twenty five years since its inauguration on 14th September, 1985,¹ it seems appropriate, at the opening of SEERI's Seventh International Syriac Conference to look at some of the developments that have taken place within the field of Syriac Studies as a whole during this quarter century.²

The continuing growth in Syriac studies during this period can most obviously be seen in the ever-growing size of the quinquennial 'Classified bibliographies of Syriac studies' published in *Parole de l'Orient*: for 1986-90, the bibliography takes up some 90 pages of *Parole de l'Orient*, increasing to 109pp. for 1991-95, then to 147pp. for 1996-2000, and to 165pp. for 2001-2005; the five years from 2006-10, still in preparation, are again likely to be more extensive than their immediate predecessor.

Some major projects in Biblical studies

The great Leiden edition of the Peshitta Old Testament, the *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, whose first volume appeared in 1973 (sample edition already in 1966), has produced a further four volumes since 1985,³ with a sixth volume that should appear imminently. Two further editions of individual books deserve mention: R. Hiebert's edition (with study) of the Syrophexapla Psalter (1989), and that of Bar Sira, based on the Ambrosian Peshitta manuscript (7a1), with

- 1 See my 'SEERI: a quarter century', *The Harp* 25 (2010), pp.3-15.
- 2 For an earlier survey, see my 'Syriac studies in the last three decades: some reflections', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum* (OLA 247; 1994), pp.13-29; note also L. van Rompay, 'Syriac studies: the challenge of the coming decade', *Hugoye* 10:1 (2007).
- 3 Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua (1991), Isaiah (1987), Ezekiel (1985), Chronicles (1998).

English and Spanish translations, by N. Calduch-Benages, J. Ferrer and J. Liesen (2003). For the New Testament there is now the excellent edition of the Peshitta and Harklean Epistles, published by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, in four volumes (1986-2002),⁴ which is invaluable for its provision of the rich evidence of patristic quotations. For the Gospels G. Kiraz has provided the extremely convenient *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels, aligning the two Old Syriac manuscripts with the Peshitta and Harklean*.⁵

No longer do scholars have to resort laboriously to Hebrew and Greek concordances for locating biblical passages in the Syriac Fathers, for all study of the Syriac Bible has now been greatly facilitated by the provision of concordances to the Syriac text itself. Commenced in 1984, the multi-volume *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel*, prepared by W. Strothmann and J. Zumpe, was completed in 1995,⁶ while the first volume, covering the Pentateuch, published by the Peshitta Institute (Leiden) and edited by K. Jenner and P-G. Borbone, appeared in 1997. Since this is differently organised from the Pentateuch volumes of the German series, the two concordances are complementary, and in part serve different purposes. The New Testament Peshitta is now handsomely provided for by G. Kiraz's *A Computer-generated Concordance to the Syriac New Testament*,⁷ while for the two Old Syriac Gospel manuscripts there is J. Lund's *The Old Syriac Gospel of the Distinct Evangelists. A Key-Word in Context Concordance*.⁸

Recent years have also seen the important re-edition of the older Christian Palestinian Aramaic fragments of both the Old and

4 I, Catholic Epistles (1986); II.1, Romans and I Corinthians (1991); II.1, II Corinthians - Colossians (1995); and II.3, I-II Thessalonians - Hebrews (2002); all are edited by B. Aland and A. Juckel.

5 In four volumes (Leiden, 1996).

6 Pentateuch (1986), Prophets (1984). Mawtbe (1995); Strothmann also provided a handy Wörtverzeichnis for the deuterocanonical books of the Peshitta (Wiesbaden, 1988). A concordance to the Peshitta Psalms had been provided earlier, by N. Sprenger (1976).

7 In six volumes (Leiden, 1993).

8 In three volumes (Piscataway NJ, 2004).

the New Testaments, by C. Müller-Kessler and M. Sokoloff, in their *A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic*.⁹

Inscriptions

An international project aimed at collecting together all known Syriac inscriptions was announced at the VIth Symposium Syriacum, held in Cambridge in 1992.¹⁰ The volume devoted to Kerala, of particular concern for SEERI, was the first to appear, in 2008,¹¹ with a second volume, edited by A. Harrak, covering Iraq, shortly to appear. Somewhat earlier, an authoritative collection of the oldest Syriac inscriptions from the region of Edessa, had appeared in 1999, as a volume in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (I.42), edited by H.J.W. Drijvers and J.F. Healey, under the title *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osroene*.¹²

Dictionaries

The last two decades have seen the appearance of a number of important new dictionaries. The most notable is M. Sokoloff's English translation and adaptation of C. Brockelmann's famous *Lexicon Syriacum* (*A Syriac Lexicon*, Piscataway NJ, 2010); at a time when Latin is no longer so widely understood, this volume, now arranged alphabetically rather than by root, will no doubt be in constant use by all serious Syriac scholars. The *Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon*, compiled by Fr. E. Telly (Kottayam, 1999), is most useful, not only for students of Syriac in Kerala, but also elsewhere in the world, for it is the only intermediary dictionary which is based on T. Audo's invaluable Syriac-Syriac *Simta d-leshana suryaya* (Mosul, 1896, with many recent reprints), seeing that J. Payne Smith's *A*

9 I, Old Testament and Apocrypha (Groningen, 1998); IIA, Gospels (1998); IIB, Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (1998).

10 A. Desreumaux and A.N. Palmer, 'Un projet international: Le recueil des inscriptions syriaques', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum* (OCA 247; 1994), pp.443-7.

11 F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, and J. Thekeparampil, *Recueil des Inscriptions Syriaques*, I. *Kerala* (Paris, 2008).

12 A selection of these, with commentary, is now to be found in Section VI of J.F. Healey's useful *Aramaic Inscriptions and Documents of the Roman Period* (Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, IV; Oxford, 2009).

Compendious Syriac Dictionary (1903, with many reprints) is based on her father's great *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and L. Costaz's *Dictionnaire Syriaque - française, Syriac - English, Qamus suryani - 'arabi* (Beirut, 1963, 1994) is based on Brockelmann's *Lexicon*.¹³ Two further large-scale dictionaries produced in recent years, and covering modern usage in Classical Syriac, also deserve mention here, Shleymon Isho' Hadbshaba's *Leksiqon 'Arabaya - Suryaya: Zahrire* (Dohuk [c.1998]) and G. Afram's *Svensk Assyrisk Ordbok* (Stockholm, 2005), especially valuable for phrases.

Early Syriac literature produced under the Persian Empire contains a number of words of Iranian origin, and these are now conveniently listed and studied by C. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Wiesbaden, 2008).

Catalogues of manuscripts

Collections of Syriac manuscripts are today scattered all over the world, and in the absence of a catalogue, or at least a handlist, the contents of a particular collection can remain entirely unknown. An invaluable guide to what catalogues are available was provided by A. Desreumaux, in his *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques* (Paris, 1991). In the provision of new catalogues SEERI has set a good example with the 'Catalogue des manuscrits de la collection du SEERI', compiled by F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux and J. Thekeparampil.¹⁴ It so happens that quite a number of other catalogues have also appeared within the last quarter century. For European collections there is F. Briquel-Chatonnet's *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France (no. 356-435)* (Paris, 1997), which includes some small provincial collections as well; catalogues of two further European collections have been published, that for

13 For the different strengths of these different dictionaries, see my 'Syriac lexicography: reflections on resources and sources', *Aramaic Studies* 1:2 (2003), pp.165-78, reprinted in A.D. Forbes and D.G.K. Taylor (eds), *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography*, I (Piscataway NJ, 2005), pp.195-208.

14 Published in *Le Muséon* 110 (1997), pp.383-446.

the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, by J.F. Coakley,¹⁵ and that for Trinity College, Dublin, by I. Bcheiry.¹⁶

It is particularly welcome that a number of catalogues of Syriac manuscripts in the collections of different monasteries and churches in West Asia/the Middle East have appeared in recent years. For the patriarchal collection at Charfet (Lebanon) a new catalogue has been provided by B.M.B. Sony (Beirut, 1993), who has also published a catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in Qaraqosh (Beth Khudaidah; Baghdad, 1988): For the large collection of the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad, there is a catalogue by P. Haddad and J. Ishaq (Baghdad, 1988),¹⁷ and for the Chaldean metropolitanate of Erbil, in 'Ainqawa, one by J. Ishaq (Baghdad, 2005). All these are in Arabic, and the same applies to G. Saliwa's catalogue of the collection of the metropolitanate of the Church of the East in Baghdad (2003).¹⁸

Especially valuable has been the publication of quite detailed old catalogues made long ago by metropolitan Y. Dolabani and by patriarch Afrem Barsaum of various important Syrian Orthodox collections. The three volumes of Dolabani's catalogues, reproduced photographically from his handwriting, have been published by Mor Gregorios Hanna Ibrahim, metropolitan of Aleppo,¹⁹ and those of Afrem Barsaum by Patriarch Ignatius Zakka I 'Iwas.²⁰

15 'A catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75:2 (1993), pp.105-207.

16 *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin* (Patrimoine syriaque 5; Kaslik, 2005).

17 Volume III.1 of a series of Catalogues of Syriac manuscripts in Iraq; vol. 1 (1977) covered libraries in Mosul, and vol. 2 (1981) the collections of various churches and monasteries in N. Iraq. The collection of the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad incorporates that formerly in the Monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, catalogued by J. Vosté in 1929; there is a concordance to the two different numberings, pp.513-16.

18 A photograph of each of the 222 mss is provided; of particular importance is an old ms of Dadisho's Commentary on the Apophthegmata.

19 Three vols (Aleppo, 1994); St Mark's Monastery, Deir al-Za'faran, and various monasteries and churches.

20 Three vols.; I, Tur 'Abdin (Ma'arret Saidnaya, 2008), II, Deir al-Za'faran (2008); III, [no vidi].

The 'New Finds' of manuscripts at the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai, include a considerable number of important old Syriac manuscripts and fragments; since these are discussed elsewhere in this number of *The Harp*, it will suffice simply to record here the existence of two catalogues covering these.²¹

A number of cataloguing projects are at present in progress. A detailed catalogue of part of the Charfet collection is being prepared by a French team, including F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, and M. Debié. Digitization projects covering various Middle Eastern libraries are currently being undertaken both by The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville) and by a project run by Brigham Young University (Provo), both of which will involve the basic cataloguing of the collections digitized.

Two further catalogues are well under way, of the fragmentary Syriac manuscripts in the Turfan collection in Berlin²², and of those manuscripts and fragments that remain at Deir al-Suryan, in Egypt.²³

Various tools

A number of very useful tools for those working in the area of Syriac studies have recently appeared. J-M. Fiey's *Pour un Oriens Christianus novus* (Beirut, 1993) brings together in a concise form lists of bishops of all the known sees, both East and West Syriac. His subsequent *Saints syriaques*, left not quite finished at his death, has been ably edited and published by L.I. Conrad (Princeton, 2004). Invaluable for East Syriac topography during the obscure centuries between the 14th and 19th, is D. Wilmshurst's *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318-1913*,²⁴ appropriately dedicated to the memory of J.M. Fiey.

21 Fragments on parchment: S.P. Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens, 1995). Main manuscripts: Philothée du Sinaï, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinaï* (Athens, 2008).

22 This is being prepared by E.C.D. Hunter and M. Dickens. (An accompanying catalogue of the Christian Sogdian manuscripts, for the most part translations from Syriac, is being prepared by N. Sims-Williams).

23 In preparation by L. van Rompay and S.P. Brock.

24 CSCO Subsidia 104, 2000.

Expert guidance to two different areas, both hitherto almost entirely neglected, has been provided by J.F. Coakley in his *The Typography of Syriac* (2006), and by Ph. Gignoux, C. and F. Jullien in their *Noms propres syriaques d'origine iranienne*.²⁵

Superb bibliographies devoted to two major Syriac authors are now available in K. den Biesen's *Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (Givè in Umbria, 2002), and H. Takahashi's *Barhebraeus: a Bio-Bibliography* (Piscataway NJ, 2005). Another notable bibliographical aid is H. Kaufhold's excellently indexed *Gesamtregister for Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901) - 70 (1986) (Wiesbaden, 1989). Further bibliographical aids in book form are P. Yousif's *A Classified Bibliography on the East Syrian Liturgy* (Rome, 1990), and my *Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1960-1990)* (Kaslik, 1996).²⁶

Syriac studies have also now become rather well supplied in introductory materials in English, French and Italian, either in the form of beginners' grammars, or in initial guides to the field.²⁷ What should prove an important new reference work for Syriac studies, the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (GEDSH), is planned for publication in early 2011.

Editions of texts

Of the two traditional venues for the publication of Syriac texts, *Patrologia Orientalis* and the Syriac series of the *Corpus Scriptorum*

25 = *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, VII.5; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Sb 789 (Wien, 2009).

26 This is now supplemented for 1991-5, 1996-2000, and 2001-2005 by the classified bibliographies in *Parole de l'Orient* 23 (1998), 29 (2004), and 33 (2008).

27 For English, see the bibliographies in my *An Introduction to Syriac Studies* (Piscataway NJ, 2006) and *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (Moran 'Etho 9; 2nd edn, 2009). A guide specifically intended for the use of Byzantinists can be found in my 'Syriac sources and resources for Byzantinists', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London*, 1 (Ashgate, 2006), 193-210. In passing, two recent chrestomathies/anthologies might be mentioned, by M. Zammit (Piscataway NJ, 2006), and at the end of A. Akopian's *Classical Syriac Grammar* [in Armenian] (Yerevan, 2005), pp.313-68.

Christianorum Orientalium, the former has provided three fascicles of Syriac interest,²⁸ while in the latter no less than twenty double volumes have appeared since 1985, almost all involving texts that hitherto had been unpublished (and in a few cases, unknown). In the CSCO's Subsidia series, too, nearly the same number of volumes with a Syriac concern has appeared.²⁹

Three fields in particular have benefited from newly published texts, East Syriac monastic and exegetical literature, and Syriac translations of Greek Fathers. New East Syriac monastic texts include works by Shubhalmaran, Isaac of Nineveh, John of Dalyatha, and Joseph Hazzaya,³⁰ while the East Syriac exegetical tradition is enriched by the important anonymous commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus, the first section of the Gannat Bussame, and a re-edition (and commentary) of the Cave of Treasures.³¹ Notable among editions of Syriac translations of Greek Fathers are those of Basil's Commentary on the Six Days of Creation, and On the Holy Spirit, and those of several of Gregory of Nazianzus' Discourses.³²

Among other notable new editions the following might be singled out for mention here: L.Leloir's edition of some further folios from Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron (1990), that by J. Reller of Moshe bar Kepha's Commentary on Romans (1994), the re-edition of the Syro-Roman Law Book, together with extensive introduction and commentary, by W. Selb and H. Kaufhold (3 vols; Wien, 2002),

28 Jacob of Serugh's Prose Homilies (ed. F. Rilliet, PO 43:4, 1986); Joseph Hazzaya's Letter on the Three Stages of the Spiritual Life (ed. P. Harb and F. Graffin, PO 45:2, 1992), and Jacob of Serugh's Memra on Ephrem (ed. J. Amar, PO 47:1, 1995).

29 All these can most conveniently be identified in Peeters' annual catalogue.

30 Shubhalmaran: ed. D.Lane (CSCO Scr.Syri 236-7; 2004). Isaac, Part II, ch.4-41: ed. S.P. Brock (CSCO Scr. Syri 224-5; 1995); there are French and Italian translations of ch. 1-3, but the Syriac text awaits publication by P. Bettolo. The edition of Isaac Part III, by S. Chailà, is forthcoming in CSCO. For Joseph Hazzaya, see note 28.

31 Anon. Comm. Gen. and Ex.: ed. L. van Rompay (CSCO Scr.Syri 205-6; 1986). Gannat Bussame: ed. G. Reinink (CSCO Scr. Syri 211-2; 1988). Cave of Treasures: ed. S-M. Ri (CSCO Scr. Syri 207-8; 1987; with commentary, CSCO Subs. 103; 2000).

and the edition of three of the books of Barhebraeus's great philosophical compilation, the *Cream of Sciences*: on Meteorology (by H. Takahashi; 2004), on Ethics, Economy and Politics (by N.P. Joosse; 2004), and on Rhetoric (by J.W. Watt; 2005).

Three notable photographic editions of unique manuscripts have appeared: the *Lectionary of the Church of the XL Martyrs*, Mardin (ed. A. Vööbus; CSCO, Subs. 76; 1986), the *Trichur manuscript of Abdisho's Nomocanon* (ed. I. Perczel; Piscataway, 2005), and the *Aleppo manuscript of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (ed. Gregorios Y. Ibrahim; Piscataway NJ, 2010).

A welcome new development in the last quarter century has been the appearance of publications of important Syriac texts by members of the different Syriac Churches; here the following might be cited: the poems of Khamis (ed. Shlemon Isho' Khadbshaba; Nuhadra, 2002); *Philoxenus' Letters* (ed. with Arabic tr. by R. Akhrass; Ma'arret Saidnaya, 2007); *Dionysius bar Salibi's Commentary on Evagrius' Centuries* (ed. J. Çiçek; Glane/Losser, 1991),³³ and *Anton of Tagrit* (ed. Eliya Seven; Stockholm, 2000).

Another very welcome development in recent years has been the appearance of editions of Syriac texts with facing English translations. Several of these have appeared in the Gorgias Press's series *Texts from Christian Late Antiquity*³⁴ and its two specialized sub-series, *The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarugh* (over 15 fascicles to date), and *The Persian Martyr Acts in Syriac* (1 vol. to date). Two further (republished) texts feature in the Society of

32 Basil, *Comm. Hexaemeron*: ed. R.W. Thomson (CSCO Scr. Syri 222-3; 1995); *On the Holy Spirit*: ed. D.G.K. Taylor (CSCO Scr. Syri 228-9; 1999). Gregory of Nazianus: *Discourses 13, 27-31, 39-41*: ed. A. Schmidt and H-C. Haefelewyck, in *Versio Syriaca I-IV of the Corpus Nazianzenum*, 2001-7.

33 Çiçek's many editions of Syriac texts include the whole of Barhebraeus' *Ethicon* (1985), *Nomocanon* (1986), *Mnorat Qudshe* (1997) and *Awsar Roze* (2003).

34 M. Hansbury, *The Letters of John of Dalyatha* (2006); L. Ambjörn, *The Life of Severus by Zachariah of Mytilene* (2008); V. Menze and K. Akalýn, *John of Tella's Profession of Faith* (2009).

Biblical Literature's Writings from the Greco-Roman World,³⁵ while SEERI's Moran Etho series includes the first edition, also with facing translation, of Dionysius bar Salibi's Commentary on Baptism and the Myron (ed. B. Varghese, 2006). A collection of 20 select poems by Ephrem, in vocalized serto script, provides an convenient entry to the poetry of this great writer.³⁶ Two important bilingual editions of liturgical texts also deserve mention: Mor Athanasius Y. Samuel's *Anaphoras* (Hackensack, 1991), with the text and facing translation of the Anaphora of St James and of twelve other anaphoras; and SEERI's bilingual edition of the *Shehimto* (2005).

This section should not close without mentioning the immense service to Syriac studies done by the Gorgias Press (Piscataway NJ) through the reprinting of large numbers of important old editions that have long been out of print and unobtainable. In some cases, as with the reprint of Bedjan's five-volume edition of Jacob of Serugh's Verse Homilies (2006), the opportunity has been taken to add a sixth volume which incorporates some extra material, as well as supplying a series of indices.

Translations

Almost all the text editions mentioned so far are accompanied by translations. For making the resources of Syriac literature better known to those working in other fields, and to a wider general public, reliable self-standing translations are also of great importance.³⁷ Since Syriac historical sources are of considerable interest for the period of Late Antiquity and Early Arab rule, a number of annotated translations of Syriac texts have featured in the series Translated Texts for Historians, published by the Liverpool University Press, as the following listing shows: A.N. Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West Syriac Chronicles* (1993), W. Witakowski, *Ps. Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle, Part III* (1996), J.W. Watt and F. Trombley, *The Chronicle of Ps. Joshua*

35 Acts of Mari (ed. A. Harrak, 2005), and the Life of Peter the Iberian (ed. C. Horn and R. Phenix; 2008).

36 S.P. Brock and G.A. Kiraz, *Ephrem the Syrian: Select Poems* (Eastern Christian Texts 2; Provo, 2006).

37 For practical reasons of space, only English translations are mentioned below.

the Stylite (2000), A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (2008), and G. Greatrex and R. Phenix, *Ps.Zacharias, Ecclesiastical History* (forthcoming). The second and third of these cover different parts of the important eighth-century chronicle, also known as the 'Zuqnin Chronicle', and it so happens that Parts III and IV of this (covering AD 488-775) were also translated independently by A. Harrak (Toronto, 1999).

Though Lives of Saints rarely serve as good direct historical sources, they may often provide valuable sidelights on social conditions of the time (whether it be of the saint, of or the hagiographer). R. Doran's translations of the Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite (1992), and of the Life of Rabbula together with some related texts (*Stewards of the Poor*, 2006) have made available some famous fifth-century hagiographical texts, while a selection of Lives of women saints and martyrs spans from the fourth to the sixth century.³⁸

Early Syriac literature has also been quite well served, with translations of Aphrahat's Demonstrations,³⁹ several of Ephrem's writings,⁴⁰ the Book of Steps,⁴¹ Jacob of Serugh's Festal Homilies.⁴² Belonging to the Arab period, there are now translations of various monastic writings,⁴³ and of two main West Syriac commentaries on the Eucharistic liturgy.⁴⁴

38 S.P. Brock and S.A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley, 1987).

39 K. Valavanolickal, *Aphrahat, Demonstrations, I-II* (Moran 'Etho 23-24; 2005). This is the first complete English translation.

40 E.G. Mathews and J.P. Amar, *St Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works* (Washington DC, 1994); C. McCarthy, *Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Oxford, 1993); S.P. Brock, *St Ephrem the Syrian. Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood NY, 1990).

41 R.A. Kitchen and M.F.G. Parmentier, *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum* (Kalamazoo, 2004). The first volume of a bilingual edition, ed. R.A. Kitchen, with Steps I-X, has now appeared (Piscataway NJ, 2009).

42 T. Kollamparambil, *Jacob of Serugh: Select Festal Homilies* (Rome/Bangalore, 1997). Most of Jacob's Homilies on Mary are translated by M. Hansbury, *Jacob of Serugh, On the Mother of God* (Crestwood NY, 1998).

43 M. Hansbury, *St Isaac on Nineveh, On Ascetical Life* (Crestwood NY, 1989), with Discourses 1-6; S.P. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo, 1987).

44 B. Varghese, *Dionysius bar Salibi, On the Eucharist* (1998); John of Dara, *On the Eucharist* (1999); both in SEERI's Moran 'Etho series.

Periodicals and Series

SEERI's first twenty-five years have witnessed, not only the birth of SEERI's own periodical, *The Harp*, but also that of a number of other periodicals which are wholly or partly devoted to Syriac studies. Beth Mardutho's internet journal *Hugoye* has appeared every six months ever since 1997 (now also available in printed form), while the annual *Journal of the Canadian Society of Syriac Studies* has come out regularly since 2001. A further journal specializing in Syriac, but published largely in Arabic is the quarterly *Simtha: Journal of Syriac Language, Literature and Heritage*, published by Beth Mardootha in Duhok (2007-). Three further new journals sometimes include articles of Syriac interest: *Aramaic Studies* (Leiden; 2003-; formerly, *Journal for the Aramaic Bible*; Sheffield; 1999-2002), *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* (Córdoba; 2004-), and *Scrinium* (St Petersburg; 2005).

Several new series of monographs and collective volumes have joined those that are already well-established, such as the Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden, and the publications of the Symposium Syriacum. SEERI's Moran 'Etho series has already reached its thirtieth volume. In West Asia/the Middle East there have been two important initiatives; firstly, the Arabic-language Syriac Patrimony (Aleppo), edited by Mor Gregorios Y. Ibrahim, which includes important editions, such as that of the Beth Gazo in the Edessa tradition, provided with musical notation by N. Iskandar (no. 21; 2003) and translations, as well as the catalogues, already mentioned above. And secondly, the French-language Patrimoine syriaque, published by the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales⁴⁵ (CERO; Antélias, Lebanon); among the volumes publishing the papers of a series of conferences organised around specific topics, two are of particular importance: Patrimoine syriaque

Note also R. Matheus' publication of R.H. Connolly's translation of the Commentary on the East Syriac Liturgy by Ps. George of Arbela (OIRSI 243; Kottayam, 2000). Another East Syriac commentary, by Gabriel of Qatar, is edited, with translation, in *Hugoye* 6:2 (2003), reprinted in *Fire from Heaven* (Ashgate, 2006), chapter XVII.

45 Energetically run, until his retirement a few years ago, by Fr. Maroun Atallah.

IX, *Les syriens, transmetteurs de civilisations* (2005), and XI, *Saint Éphrem, un poète pour notre temps* (2007). A further notable collective volume, entitled *Nos sources: Arts et Littérature Syriacques* (2005), provides chapters on different genres of Syriac literature.

Several European new series have also commenced in recent years. From Paris there is the annual *Études syriaques* (2004-), each volume with contributions on a given subject area. Thus far the following topics have been covered: I, Inscriptions; II, Apocryphal texts; III, Liturgy; IV, Greek Fathers in Syriac translation; V, the Old Testament in Syriac; VI, Historiography; VII, Monastic literature. Since 2002, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan) has hosted an annual series of meetings entitled *Incontro sull'Oriente Cristiano di tradizione siriana*, and five volumes with the main papers have been edited (by E. Vergani and S. Chialà) and published so far.⁴⁶ In Germany, too, there have been annual meetings of Syriacists, and papers from some of these have been published in the monograph series *Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte*, edited by M. Tamcke.⁴⁷ The Diaspora community in Germany has also organized its own meetings, and a selection of papers from these have also been published, edited by Sh. Talay.⁴⁸ Finally, under the present heading, mention should be made of the series entitled *Syriac Dialogue* (I-VI; 1994-2004), giving the papers from the Non-Official Dialogue between the different Syriac Churches, organized by the PRO ORIENTE Foundation in Vienna.

Studies

Important contributions and advances in almost all areas of Syriac studies have been made during the course of SEERI's existence, but

46 *Le ricchezze spirituali delle Chiese siri* (2003), *Le Chiese siri tra IV e VI secolo dibattito dottrinale e ricerca spirituale* (2005), *Storia, cristologia e tradizioni della Chiesa Siro-orientale* (2006), *La tradizione cristiana Siro-occidentale (V-VII secolo)* (2007), *La grande stagione della mistica siro-orientale (VI-VIII secolo)* (2009).

47 SOK 9 (2000), 17 (2002).

48 *Suryoye I-Suryoye. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur aramäischen Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur* (Piscataway NJ, 2009).

to survey even a selection of these would take us well beyond the scope of the present paper. Some idea of the range covered can be gained from perusing the annual listing in *Hugoye* of recent books in the field of Syriac studies, while for a much more comprehensive picture the interested reader is referred to the quinquennial Classified Bibliographies in *Parole de l'Orient*. For the present purposes, however, it must suffice to mention some areas where there has either been a concentration of interest, or which have seen important new developments. At the risk of passing over other areas of significance, I would single out here the various recent studies of the early history and traditions of the Church of the East, by C. and F. Jullien and others, and the renewed interest in the study and transmission by Syriac scholars of Greek philosophy in the sixth to eighth centuries, an area to which H. Hugonnard-Roche has made notable contributions. New finds of medieval wall-paintings, many dating from the time of the 'Syriac renaissance' of the later 12th/13th century, have stimulated a renewed interest in the field of art. It is likewise new finds that have led to a revival of interest in and study of Syriac Christianity in China, and this has also been stimulated by some recent conferences held in Salzburg in which Chinese scholars have also been involved. Although Modern Syriac (Turoyo and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic) dialects have received quite a lot of attention from scholars from a linguistic point of view, the literature in these dialects has largely been neglected until recently, and the publication of a number of texts by A. Mengozzi in CSCO (Scr. Syri 230-1; 2002) marks a welcome new concern for this aspect.⁴⁹ Finally, another area where valuable new work has been undertaken is in Syriac music, and one publication in this field, giving the transcription into western notation of the Edessan Beth Gazo, has already been mentioned. Several projects in this area, including the recording of local traditions, such as that of Sadad (by T. Jarjour), are still in progress.⁵⁰ It is however, the work of L. Hage, in the area of Maronite musical traditions, that has been particularly

49 The recent volume 21 (2009) of *Aram* is devoted to contributions on literature in Modern Syriac.

50 It is in this wider context that Fr. M.P. George's work on the Pampakuda Beth Gazo, providing a western notation, is of particular importance.

impressive, with his multi-volume *Musique maronite*, published by the Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik.

In the present overview - inevitably a highly subjective one - I have deliberately concentrated on primary materials, above all, editions/translations of texts, and on the various academic tools that have been made available for use in conjunction with them, rather than on secondary studies, important though these obviously are. But by way of conclusion one should be reminded of the fact that much of what has been achieved in the last quarter century has been facilitated in all sorts of ways by the advent of computer technology, and in particular by the incorporation of Syriac fonts into Unicode. It is now hard to recall that, prior to SEERI's inauguration in 1985, there was virtually no computer printing of Syriac:⁵¹ thus it was only in the July/August 1988 number of Mor Julius Çiçek's *Kolo Sûryoyo* that the Syriac text first changed from his (beautiful) handwriting to a computer type-face.⁵² Needless to say, the coming of computer technology to Syriac studies has not only made possible - and practicable - the generation of such things as concordances, but it has also opened up many new avenues of research,⁵³ some of which may well go on to change the entire face of the subject in the course of SEERI's next twenty-five years.

51 Only a few month's before SEERI's inauguration, in summer 1985, Mrs Catherine Griffin, of the Oxford University Computing Service originated (using Lasercomp) the Syriac text which was published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 37 (1986), pp.389-90 (see p.403, note 68).

52 As he explains in the Preface to this number, instruction in the use of Syriac computer fonts had been provided in the Monastery of St Ephrem (Glane, NL) by George Kiraz. No. 63, for September/October, has a short article on Syriac computing, written in Syriac.

53 Such as the Dutch CALAP (Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta) project.

Papers presented in the Conference

1. Li Tang: A thirteenth century Chinese source on a certain Syrian Christian Ruler in Kollam/Quilon, India
2. Alison Grace Salvesen: Jacob of Sarug's memre on the book of Daniel.
3. Colette Pasquet: Oriental Syriac Commentaries on Gen 1.26 and Incarnation's Mystery.
4. Buda Lorenzo: Mar Aprem: Martyr and Singer of the Word.
5. Christophe Vielle: Johann Ernst Hanxleden S.J. (1681-1732) and St. Thomas Christians: from Malayalam poetry to Syriac liturgy and philology.
6. Paul Blaize Kadicheeni: Baptismal liturgy in the writings of Timothy II.
7. Rifaat Ebied: A Collection of acrostic admonitions in Syriac attributed to St. Ephrem the Syrian.
8. Istvan Perczel: New sources for the history of the Chaldean Syrian community in India.
9. Toda Satoshi: Reconsidering the Intellectual Background of Bardaisan
10. Emmanuel Thelly: Prayers of the Feast of *Denha* in the Syro-Chaldean Breviary.
11. Robert Hawley: Plants of Indian origin in the *Syriac Pharmacopeia*
12. Joseph Palackal: Kerala, the Cradle of Christianity in South Asia: The Cultural Interface of Music and Religion.

13. John R K Fenwick: Some Neglected Sources for the History of the St. Thomas Christians.
14. Hubert Kaufhold: Die Reise des Syrisch-Orthodoxen Patriarchen Petros IV, nach Indien (1876/1877).
15. Martin Tamcke: "Bishop Gabriel".
16. Theresia Hainthaler: Christ in the flesh, who is God over all (Rom 9,5 Pesh). The letter of Catholicos Timothy I. (780-823) to the monks of Mar Maron.
17. Hidemi Takahashi: Additional information on the Syriac manuscripts at Yale University.
18. David A. Michelson: Proposals for Syriac Prosopography & Authority Control.
19. Timothy B. Sailors: Quotations of Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians in Syriac.
20. Simon S. Ford: Translating the faith: Syriac scholarship and the legislative program in the canons ascribed to *Maruta of Maiphweqat*
21. Abraha Tedros: Isaac of Nineveh, Filoxenus of Mabbug, John Saba: three fundamental names of Ethiopian monasticism, theology and spirituality: History of the translation of the texts attributed to them and their influence.
22. Thomas Koonammakkal: Justin and Ephrem: A parallel.
23. Andrea Schmidt & Gaby Abousamra: Cataloguing the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments of the Manuscripts Institutes in Yerevan and Tbilisi. The case of Syriac Amulets from the Urmia Region.
24. F.B. Chatonnet & Jimmy Daccache: Researches on Syriac writing in the background of Antioch.

- 25. Rainer Voigt:** From the Aramaic script to the Indian scripts & from the Indian scripts to the Ethiopic scripts.
- 26. Baby Varghese:** West Syrian Liturgy: A survey of hundred years of Researches
- 27. Amir Harrak:** New evidence on the Christian emirs of Mesopotamia during the Mongol period.
- 28. Abdo Badwi:** The painting of the crowning of Our Lady between Lebanon and Kerala.
- 29. Mar Aprem:** East Syriac books printed in India.
- 30. Robert Gabriel:** The first printed books in Syriac.
- 31. Philippa Malas:** The illustrations of Syriac lectionary Add. 7170 in the British Library as evidence of cultural exchange
- 32. Thomas A. Carlson:** The nature of the Church (of the East) in Ishaq Shbandnaya's "Poem on the Divine Economy".
- 33 Steve Cochrane:** Angamaly: a re-examination of its importance in the light of early 9th century Asian comparative history.
- 34. JMF Van Reeth & Peter Strauven:** The emergence of the Syriac Oktoèchos: a liturgical translation of the Universe.
- 35. Jiphy Mekkattukulam:** Acts of Thomas: new findings.
- 36. Frederic Alpi:** Severus of Antioch and Eastern Churches (512 -518
- 37. Philip Vysaneth:** Music, the language of heart in the Syro-Malankara liturgy and its relation to *Raga* in the Indian Music.
- 38. Thomas Kollamparampil:** Multiple covenants and the "People from the Peoples" in Aphrahat.

-
39. Kuriakose Valavanolickal: Attitude of Aphrahat to the poor.
40. Erica C.D. Hunter: Syriac prayer-amulets from Turfan.
41. Lutz Greisiger: Emperor Heraclius in Jerusalem as reflected in 7th century Syriac and Hebrew apocalyptic narratives.
42. Rima Smine Gannage: The Iconography of Syriac Lectionaries: British Library Add. 7170 and Vatican Syr. 559.
43. Paul C. Dilley: Heavenly visions in the martyrdom of Mihr-Narse.
44. Jean-Paul Deschler: Word and Meaning: A Glossary in Liturgy and Iconography with special reference to the theology of the Eastern Churches.
45. Jürgen Tubach: Indigenous and foreign Christians in the East Arabian dioceses of the hyparchy Persis.
46. Varghese George: *Tesbuhtho d-Pothuro* according to Jacob of Sarug.
47. Stephen Olikal: The concept of "woman" in Mar Jacob of Sarug's *Mimre*.
48. Saju Keeppanasseril: A Homily on the Number 12.
49. Jacob Vellian: *Taksa d'Raze*.
50. Stephen Plathottathil: *Ramšo d-Denho*: Technical terms and themes of *Penquitho*.
51. Garry Moon Yuen Pang: The historical and theological significance of the Chinese-Syriac Jingjiao Monument in China.
52. Behnam Keryo: St. Ephrem, a monk in love.
53. John Vattanky: Understanding Christian eschatology against the background of the thought of Ephrem and Sankara.

54. **Kuriakose Moolayil:** Printed versions of the *Nomocanon*
55. **Zeki Aydin:** Jacob of Sarug's Mimro on Zakai.
56. **Assad Sauma Assad:** Ephrem's commentary on the Blessings of Jacob
57. **Simone Isacco Maria Pratelli:** The most ancient manuscripts of the store house of mysteries & Gregorius Barhebraeus' commentary on the prophets: a few remarks.
58. **Sebastian P. Brock:** The significance of the new finds of Syriac manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai
59. **Jomy Joseph:** The eco-theological perspectives of Ephrem the Syrian.
60. **George A. Kiraz:** The *Šhimo* in the Syriac tradition.
61. **Jonathan Loopstra:** Perceptions of the Syriac Bible in the works of the 17th century biblical critic Father Richard Simon.
62. **Jincy O.U.:** A study on the commemoration of Sts. Peter and Paul from the Hudra of the Church of the East.
63. **Ugo Achille Zanetti:** "Fraction prayers" in the Coptic Mass.
64. **Robin beth Shamuel:** The Western missionaries and the revival of the neo-Aramaic dialects (Sureth).
65. **Shinichi Muto:** Christ's descent to the underworld in the *Khara-Khoto* Syriac document found in inner Mongolia.
66. **Rifaat Ebied & Lionel Wickham:** A short Treatise on the Trinity in Syriac attributed to St. Ephrem the Syrian.
67. **P.V. Philip:** John the Evangelist, the disciple that Jesus loved.

68. **George Menacherry:** Realities of South Indian social life and apostolic traditions as reflected in certain hymns of Ephrem.
69. **Roula Skaf:** La définitude en araméen-syriaque et néo-araméen occidental

Annexure III

Homily by Mar Julios

**HOMILY ON SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF
SEERI – 14.09.2010 FEAST OF THE EXALTATION
OF THE CROSS**

Your Beatitude, Moran Mor Joseph Younan, Patriarch of Antioch, Your Grace the Archbishop and Bishops, My dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ.

As SEERI is completing the first quarter of its existence, we are gathered together at the feet of the Lord in Eucharistic celebration, to praise and thank the Lord for his mercies showered on us in the past 25 years. The Lord has been so generous with us, and let us count our blessings before the Lord, and not forget His mercies.

It was H. E. Isaac Mar Youhanon, the former Bishop of Tiruvalla, who established SEERI in 1985. But the Bishop would have never dared to dream of a similar institution, if not for the brilliant ideas and enthusiasm of Fr. Jacob Thekeparampil, who still goes inspiring people around the globe and inviting them to work in collaboration and partnership with SEERI. He is a man who can make friends, and this international friendship and collaboration, I deem, is the biggest achievement of Seeri in these years. SEERI has been the “New Nisibis” for students of Syriac Language and Literature. SEERI has been also the converging point for all Christians, who take legitimate pride in the Syriac Patrimony; and through SEERI, all Episcopal churches of Kerala become more aware that through the Syriac

patrimony, there is the thread going through all of us and binding us together, as in a garland of flowers. Today we have become more conscious that we cannot bear effective testimony for the Lord, as long as we are divided. It is not a small thing for a relatively small Archdiocese like Tiruvalla, to have become the Pioneer in the establishment of an Institution for Syriac Studies, a field which even major churches and Archdioceses have not venture into. (I am happy that I could also play a minor role in the establishment of SEERI by purchasing the property, while I was the Diocesan Procurator). May I offer to SEERI and to all who are in charge of various departments, the very best of felicitations and prayerful wishes for a bright future, in which the Syriac Language and Literature will evoke a wider interest among the public, especially among Priests and Religious.

It was Archbishop Mar Ivanios, the Pioneer of the Syro-Malankara Church, who exerted great influence on the Kerala Government in the early 1950s, for recognizing Syriac as an optional language in the Kerala University, thus making the so called “dead language” into a ‘living language’. We know that Archbishop Mar Ivanios was known as Geevarghese Panicker, as he was a priest. It was another Father Geevarghese Panicker from the same family, who struggled for long years to get recognition for Syriac studies with the Mahatma Gandhi University. Today we are in the position of offering courses leading to M.A. and Doctorate. Ever so many people have made use of this opportunity; even Bishops, like Mar Aprem, could take another Doctorate through SEERI. We remember Fr. Geevarghese Panicker of happy memory and Fr. Abraham Kalakudi, who led almost an ascetic life and worked arduously for the publication of the Journals coming out of SEERI. We remember also the past and present staff and students, the Sisters and Kitchen Staff, who provide us with neat lodging and delicious food.

SEERI has managed to maintain an atmosphere of prayer, and all participate in it without distinction of ecclesial denominations. SEERI has been also the inspirer, not only for Syriac language and literature, but also for Church music and Christian poetry.

It is highly opportune and a great blessing that this Eucharistic celebration is presided over by His Beatitude, the Catholic Patriarch

of Antioch. We owe our liturgy, spirituality, church discipline, and monasticism to the Syrian Antioch. This Mother Church and its venerable traditions continue to inspire us. I wish and pray that a close collaboration between the Church of Antioch and the Church of Malankara will arise out of this Patriarchal visit, for the upkeep, editing and publishing of Syriac manuscripts. Thus Universal Church will benefit out of this much forgotten source of theology and general culture. Let us thank the Lord for this great gift of ecclesial communion.

The Silver Jubilee of SEERI is an occasion to remember the past, plan the present, and dream for the future.

SEERI was inaugurated on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in 1985, and this Silver Jubilee Celebration also providentially falls on the same Feast.

The Antiochean Liturgy, especially the Fenqito or the Office for the Feasts, speaks on the Exaltation of the Cross:

"The mystery of the Cross is extolled and the Creation rejoices, Christ the King is proclaimed and whole Creation is renewed. The Mystery of the Cross is spoken of in the sayings of the prophets, Its sign is proclaimed in the earth and the whole world is redeemed.

The Cross conquers our nature, the Cross raises us from the fall, O Lord, may your Cross be to us a wall of protection.

Your Cross gives peace to all. Your Cross brings life to all, By your Cross may we be guarded against the Evil One and his powers".

(The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit*, Vol. IV, Kurisumala Asram, Vagamon, 1986, p. 675)

According to the Antiochean Liturgy, the Cross of Jesus was raised in the centre of the world. (Remember Jewish belief that Jerusalem symbolized the centre of the Universe, as the umbilical cord in a human body).

Cross is the place, where the world understood the wisdom of the Heavenly Father.

Cross is the ultimate evidence that "God so loved the world, that He gave His Only Son for our salvation".

Cross is all light, and it clothes the worshippers with light.
Cross is the Lift or Crane, which lifts the worshippers from the depths to heights.
Cross is the pillar which supports the earth and heaven.
Cross is the bridge, through which the Martyrs cross over to the Paradise of Joy.
Cross is like a mother bird which protects the chicks under her wings.
Cross is like a tree, under the branches of which, the birds perch in the night for protection.

St. Ephrem's Ecumenical Research Institute thrived 25 years under the wings of the Holy Cross. *"For the word of the Cross is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved, it is the power of God"*. The Cross reveals to us both *"the Power and the Wisdom of God"*. (I Cor 1: 18, 24)

For all what today SEERI is, and is doing, we owe very much also to the intercession of Saint Ephrem. We sing on his feast:

"O Doctor of illustrious beauty, Ephrem, monk deacon of Nisibis,
You were clothed with God by the gift of the Holy Spirit,
Who unveiled for you the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures,
And made to flow from your heart streams of life-giving water".

(Feast of St. Ephrem, Hymn of evening Prayers, *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit*, Vol. II, p. 565)

Jesus said: "He who believes in me, as the Scripture has said, 'Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water'" (Jo 7: 38). Ephrem had been the sweet fountain, from which the Churches had been drinking unceasingly.

As we pray in the Sedro of the Feast of Ephrem the Syrian, *"...he was the Divine Sage, who began by practising and then taught his disciples the precepts of salvation, versed in all knowledge, speaking with simplicity to help the simple, being at once serpent and dove. He gave rhythm to all his prose, putting his teachings in verse, and it spread throughout the world. He made women descend into the arena of doctrinal disputation, and with help of the youth won the victory against erroneous*

doctrines. His sacred songs are like waves of the sea and none among the wise of the world has been able to sound their depth and their extent. He is the crown of the Syrian churches who keep in store for us spiritual riches. From him we learn how to praise you, our Lord, in delightful hymns (Ibid, p. 567).

Therefore, by the intercession of Saint Ephrem, we pray to the Lord: Fill us with your love that we may always do the works which are pleasing to You. Form in us the image of Your likeness, as You did for your Servant Ephrem. Make the light of Your knowledge rise over us and infuse in us the transforming power of Your own life. And we will offer praise and thanksgiving now and always forever. Amen.

We also cry out with joy and say:

“Blessed is the wood of the Cross by which the malediction of Eve was removed. Blessed is the wood of the Cross by which peace and tranquility reign on earth. Blessed is wood of the Cross by which the darkness is dispelled and disappears (from the world).

Blessed is the wood of the Cross by which the exiles return to their inheritance. Blessed is the wood of the Cross by which all sacrifices and festivals of the Lord are (consummated).

Blessed is the wood of the Cross by which all joys have been bestowed upon us.

“O Doctor of Illustrious beauty, Ephrem, monk deacon of Nisibis, You were clothed with God by the gift of the Holy Spirit, Who unveiled for you the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures and made to flow from your heart streams of life-giving water”

“Blessed are you who have become the a sweet fountain,
From you flow life-giving waters,
And the Churches with all their people
Drink from them unceasingly”

(Feast of Ephrem the Syrian, Evening Prayer, *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit*, Vol. II, Kurisumala Asram, Vagamon, 2000, p. 565, 566)

Presidential address by Archbishop Mar Joseph Powathil

St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI) is a unique venture in Kerala. When it began it was like a mustard seed and the prospects of the institute's survival seemed dim. But SEERI has tided over its initial difficulties and is now a full fledged, well established centre. Some of its courses have been recognized by the M G University (owned by the State) in spite of the fact that universities in Kerala are not always favourable to autonomy and educational freedom.

I have no hesitation to say that if the institution has succeeded and established its reputation as a serious Research Centre, it is due to the sustained and untiring efforts of Fr. Jacob and his associates, especially of Fr. Gevarghese Paniker whose venerable memory is still fresh to our minds. Fr. Jacob has spent himself for this enterprise which he considers essential for the proper growth of the Church in Kerala. He has lost his health but he can have the satisfaction that he has significantly helped the Church in retrieving to a large extent the Syriac Tradition in Kerala. I am very happy that the Malankara Catholic Church has duly recognized his merits and awarded him with an ecclesiastical honor.

The Christian Churches of the Syriac Tradition in Kerala are very happy that this centre is celebrating the silver Jubilee. May I, as a Syro Malabar Catholic, heartily congratulate Fr. Jacob and also wish that this institution continue its great service to the Church even more vigorously and enthusiastically.

The MG University has recognized the language courses conducted here. That is well and good. I wonder whether they would accept the vision behind this project. The Vice Chancellor, if I understand correctly, has spoken here about the reality of cultures connected with languages and the need to encourage them. It is exactly because of this that our constitution has afforded special protection to the linguistic minorities to run educational institutions of

their choice. Our constitution is a genuine democratic constitution that respects all cultures and considers “unity in diversity” as the goal of the Republic. To that extent the Vice Chancellor is right.

But this is not only a matter of language – diversity of religions is also one of the basic features of India. So our Constitution has taken care to protect the freedom of religious minorities and afforded them protection to establish and administer educational institution of their choice. Religion is the soul of all sound forms of culture. Civilizations, as Arnold Toynbee has pointed out, perish not because of attacks from outside but because of disintegration from inside. A culture disintegrates when its soul is forgotten or lost. . Without an integral vision of life (that is going beyond the merely material) sound morality based on such a vision, no society can survive for long. And therefore our educational system should be helpful to such a development. That is why the constitution has made the maintenance of such private institution as a fundamental right. And the Supreme Court of the country in one of its famous judgments in the 1970’s has remarked that such a diverse system of education in a country is the most apt “symbol of democracy”. I wonder whether our Vice Chancellor would agree to that.

Language is a means to discover the culture, secular or religious, which is attached to it. SEERI may be concerned with the Syriac language and the many forms of its secular expression. But, if I understand them correctly, their main aim is to promote research based on a deep knowledge of the Syriac language. We don’t want to import the secular aspects of the culture of the countries for which Syriac was important also in trade, commerce etc and in general in the secular field.

We Christians in Kerala are trying to regain the riches of the religious or ecclesial traditions of the ancient Syriac Churches. That the Syriac Churches have a rich spiritual, liturgical and ecclesial tradition is being more and more widely recognized in the West. This awareness has been for a long time lost in the West and even in India to a great extent. It is only recently that people like Prof. Sebastian Brock and others have come forward to advocate the cause of the great Syriac tradition and to bring out its riches.

Unfortunately in Kerala many Christians of the so called Syriac tradition still look down upon the Syriac tradition and consider it less important than the western ecclesial tradition. This has until recently prevented us from delving deep into the depths of our ecclesial tradition.

Our Christian faith is based on the Word of God revealed to us, handed down from generation to generation. So to be faithful to the revealed truth, we have to constantly return to the traditions of the apostolic and sub apostolic times and the period of the early Fathers. The faith and life of those times is in a way normative for us. The way they held and lived the truth is in a way the model to succeeding generations. To understand the revealed truth in its integrity we have to understand the language through which our faith tradition has been communicated to us from the earliest times.

Unfortunately, we have been neglecting the study of the Syriac language for too long. Even researchers who have taken interest in the oriental heritage had to base themselves on secondary sources. Many of our research theses can be cited to prove this fact. Fortunately, the World Syriac Conferences organized by SEERI have served to be an eye opener to many of us.

To truly go back to our sources we have to be well versed in the Syriac language. It is this mission that the SEERI has undertaken. This is indeed a *Herculean* task. But so far the SEERI has inspired many in Kerala and there are signs of an increased interest in the study of the Syriac language. The regaining of our true spiritual heritage will be a true blessing for the church in India and would lead to the enrichment of the great civilization of our India.

So we have to whole heartedly congratulate Fr. Jacob and his associates – who have been the pioneers in this field. While congratulating them for undertaking this difficult but necessary mission I also implore God's abundant blessings on this venture.

Text of the speech by Dr. Rajan Varghese, PVC, M.G. University, Kottayam

It gives me great pleasure to be here at SEERI and to be part of the 7th International Conference of Syriac — though in a formal and representative capacity. Perhaps this is the only academic centre associated with the M.G. University that organizes World Conferences with such regularity.

When I was invited for the Conference, I was baffled. I was at a loss to decide what I should tell eminent scholars of a language that is exotic and alien to me. On reflection, I realized that Syriac is hardly alien to a person growing up in Kerala. In Kerala, one cannot escape Syriac. This is doubly so for people who have some moorings in the Syrian religious tradition. Even otherwise, Syriac is in the Sunday air, wafting out of the hundreds of churches that punctuate both the urban and rural landscape of the state. Syriac is part of the childhood imagination — present as a formidable combination of incantatory sounds, colourful robes of bearded clergy, and the fragrance of frankincense. Many of my friends have confided that when they were small children they longed to become bishops so that they could have these dazzling robes and headgear. Fortunately, childhood passions give way to other fancies.

SEERI is a Research Centre of the M.G. University for doctoral research. I am aware that this is only one of the activities of the Institute. There are short programmes and certificate courses on the Syriac language, heritage, iconography and church music. The website displays an impressive list of publications — many of them due for republication. The University's digital repository of Ph D theses have a limited number of doctoral studies produced here. There are many more that acknowledge the use of resources at SEERI.

Niche academic institutes of this kind are of special value to the university, which is deeply embroiled in the hectic routines — and sometimes explosive problems — related to the conduct and

supervision of undergraduate and postgraduate studies of hundreds of affiliated colleges and university schools.

It is through niche centres like SEERI that the University can collaborate with very special people and academic communities engaged in useful research in exclusive areas.

For the St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI) this is also a moment of chronological maturity. I felicitate the Institute when it celebrates its Silver Jubilee. I congratulate the Institute for the consistency with which this World Conference is being organized every four years — the frequency is the same for World Cup Soccer. The interval is optimum. I greet and felicitate the persons of great eminence, scholars, friends of SEERI, and the organizers

Thank you

Annexure- VI

Evaluations

(1). By Professor Rifaat Ebied,
The University of Sydney, Australia.

Colleagues and Friends:

At the conclusion of our SEERI 7th World Syriac Conference & Silver Jubilee Celebrations of SEERI, it gives me great pleasure to say that we have had a feast of Syriac studies during the past few days in almost *all* genres of Syriac – history, texts, patristic studies, language, etc. Indeed this has been a wonderful occasion which brought together a large number of leading scholars and students of our beloved sacred language in these beautiful surroundings of Kerala.

Needless to say, this has been achieved due to the hard work, enthusiasm and tireless efforts of the now *Malphono Rabbo*, Father Jacob Thekeparampil, his Assistants, students and Administrative staff of this great Institute.

Father Jacob: I know that I speak on behalf of all my colleagues, both present and absent, in saying that your hospitality has exceeded

all imagination. The way you have organized this and earlier conferences that I have attended is magnificent. I have never ceased to admire your energy, humbleness and modesty. Moreover, the way you have welcomed us and made us feel comfortable is admirable. For your hospitality and warm welcome we are extremely grateful. I am sure we all return to our home land full of joy and splendid pleasant impressions of our enjoyable and fruitful stay at SEERI in Kottayam. May it suffice to say that a very pleasing aspect of this Conference has been the high quality of papers presented, the participation of a number of young and promising scholars from abroad as well as the positive interactions and renewal of friendship with our Indian colleagues who took part in the Conference.

I now turn to some brief suggestions/recommendations:

In the course of the last three decades, i.e. since 1980, there has been a steady interest and increase in the study of Christian Arabic as a genre with close affinity to Syriac studies. It is because of this reason that it was during the third Symposium Syriacum which was held in Gosslar in 1980, that the First International Conference of Christian Arabic Studies was conceived. As someone who has attended all these International Conferences of Christian Arabic Studies and who has also been involved in the study and publication of many Christian Arabic texts/works during the past few decades, I can vouch for the tremendous value of Christian Arabic to the study of Syriac. I therefore strongly recommend the introduction of Christian Arabic studies as part of the syllabus offered at SEERI, given the benefit that can be accrued from the inclusion of such a course.

A brief word must also be said about the need of introducing an Elementary course in the Biblical Hebrew Language as an essential tool for the study of Biblical texts and commentaries in Syriac.

Finally, may I, on behalf of all my overseas colleagues, offer our hearty congratulations to SEERI on this auspicious occasion of its Silver Jubilee Celebrations and also wish it all the best for the future – may God bless this prestigious Institute so that it may succeed and prosper in all its endeavours for the promotion of Syriac studies in India.

(2). By George A. Kiraz on behalf of the
North American Delegates

I would like to first express my sincere thanks to the organizers of SEERI, especially Fr. Jacob and his staff, for their continuous support of Syriac studies in India. This is my second SEERI conference: the first was back in 1994. My evaluation will compare both conferences.

It is clear that SEERI has grown since 1994. It is not only the visible new buildings and extensions, but also there is now a more established staff, each with his or her responsibilities. Additionally, it is clear that the knowledge in Syriac has grown tremendously. I remember that back in 1994, it was only a few who could recite the *ramsho* in Syriac. Now, an army of *qashishe*, *shamoshe* and students chant the *ramsho* in harmony in Syriac.

The North American delegation is one of the smallest due to the timing of the conference as most universities open in September. While it may not be possible to change the timing of the SEERI conferences to July, the North American representation will continue.

There has been a noticeable rise in the quality of the papers (in comparison with 1994) from both the outside delegates and the delegates from within Kerala. The range of topics seems to have also expanded.

As the conference is long in comparison with other conferences (a full week as opposed to three or four days), having long days makes it difficult to concentrate after the first few days. I propose that in the future, the two morning sessions remain as is, but the two afternoon consecutive sessions be turned into two parallel sessions. Hence, the day is shorter and participants will have a chance to spend some time experiencing life in Kerala.

Finally, it was agreed with Fr. Jacob that North Americans who would like to support SEERI and get tax-deduction benefits may do that through Beth Mardutho, a non-profit institution. Beth Mardutho will then provide the grants directly to SEERI.

On behalf of all the participants, I would like to present Fr. Jacob and SEERI with a copy of the facsimile edition of the Chronicle of Michael the Syriac which was recently published by Gorgias Press.

Remarks at the Valedictory Session of the Conference

(3). By Dr. TODA Satoshi:

Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan

Let me begin by expressing my gratitude to Rev. Fr. Dr. Jacob for his efficient cooperation for obtaining a conference visa. This greatly facilitated my first visit to India.

Although I was asked to evaluate this Conference, I would not venture any "evaluations", because I am a newcomer to the Conference, and also because, strictly speaking, I am not a Syriac scholar. So I would limit myself to mentioning a few points which I came across during this Conference.

To me as well as to many participants, the excursion of the Sunday was impressive in the sense that we could see many Christians living in this region with a very lively faith; I am ashamed to add that I have never imagined that such a predominantly Christian region exists in India. Especially impressive was of course the collection of Syriac manuscripts of the family of Rev. Fr. Konat, which was the final destination of the excursion. It vividly shows how much Christians of India, especially those attached to the tradition which goes back to the apostle Thomas, cherish their Syriac origins.

During the period of the Conference I had the chance to visit the library of SEERI, which was also impressive to me. I heard that many books there, as many as two thousand volumes, are photocopies made by Rev. Fr. Dr. Jacob during four years of his stay in Europe. From my own experience I really understand the extent of his effort, because I myself also made an enormous amount of photocopies during some eight years when I stayed in Europe for my doctoral study. However, I did not make photocopies of a journal in its entirety, which Rev. Fr. Dr. Jacob did. I hope that this effort and (if I may add) passion of Dr. Jacob will be inherited and continued by people in the younger generation of SEERI.

Lastly I would dare encourage many students, or rather representatives of SEERI to present their scholarly papers, not only in this Conference at SEERI, but also in conferences which are held elsewhere in the world, although doubtless some of you already have had such experiences. This will enhance further the fame of SEERI and make this Conference at SEERI have still higher reputation in the world. I am sure that many of you are capable to do this. Thank you.

(4). By Dr. Alison Salvesen, Univ. of Oxford.

My first SEERI conference was the second in the series, in 1990, early in my academic career. Since then I have attended all but the one in 1998, when illness prevented me from travelling.

Over that period of twenty years I have seen both the conference event and the institution of SEERI grow and develop. A new, fresh generation of students and scholars is clearly emerging, thanks to the diligence of teachers and the commitment of donors and other supporters. This younger generation needs no convincing of the importance of Syriac, both to the Thomas Christians and more widely to the global Christian tradition. They feel no need to justify their interest in what is their own heritage. They seem to me to be unselfconsciously ecumenical in their thinking on this issue, thus demonstrating that one of the 'E's in SEERI has been achieved! Enduring links have been made with academic institutions and churches across the world from Australia and America to the Middle East and even China.

As for the period of the 7th Conference itself, I found the hospitality as warm as ever and the food as delicious as always. The concern shown for transport arrangements and accommodation means that foreign delegates feel well cared for and able to focus on the papers. The arrangements for the conference visas were efficiently handled by SEERI and communicated promptly to them.

The papers covered a wide range of interesting subjects, and the general academic level of the conference was higher than ever: certainly at the level of the other four-yearly international Syriac conference series, the Symposium Syriacum.

The pace of this particular conference was much kinder to those adjusting to a different time zone and climate. I for one was more attentive in the sessions because I was able to wind down in the evenings and sleep well at night. The more relaxed pace also meant that there was more time to talk to other participants in the breaks. By the end of this conference I felt fresh and invigorated rather than overtired - though the valiant organizers probably needed a good long rest after their considerable labours in making it all run so smoothly! The standard of organization was as good as the best-run conferences of a similar size in Europe, and more personal.

The two major events of the opening ceremony and the Jubilee were wonderful celebrations and efficiently run. The cultural programme was also a memorable highlight.

One major success in the practical presentation of papers was developed in the course of this last conference. This was the use of a data projector to display the written form of the papers to the audience while the presenter was speaking. It made the papers much more accessible and overcame the problems experienced by all and sundry in listening to a variety of different accents in English or to papers given in other languages. SEERI should encourage participants to use this facility in future, and advise them to bring their papers in electronic form. Delegates should also send a short abstract of their paper a couple of weeks in advance, so that it can be listed on the SEERI website and included in the programme.

All in all, it was an excellent conference, and SEERI is to be congratulated for a remarkable achievement.

Sebastian P. Brock

THE SYRIAC 'NEW FINDS' AT ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY, SINAI, AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Background

The visitor to St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, will today find a Greek Orthodox monastery, with most of the monks Greek-speaking, or of Greek origin. Prior to the sixteenth century, however, and the advent of Ottoman rule in the region, the monastery will have been multilingual, with monks who originated from a number of different linguistic backgrounds, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, and Slavonic, as well as Greek. It is this earlier multi-cultural period of the monastery's existence that explains the presence there today of important and sizable collections manuscripts in those languages. Significantly, manuscripts in Coptic, Armenian and Ethiopic are almost entirely absent; the reason for this absence is simple: the monastery has always been Chalcedonian, and so manuscripts in the languages of the non-Chalcedonian, Oriental Orthodox, Churches never found a home there. This furthermore indicates that the Syriac manuscripts in the monastery's library are, with very few exceptions, of Melkite provenance (and here it should be remembered that the Melkite patriarchate of Antioch was for many centuries trilingual, with Syriac as well as Greek and Arabic used in the liturgy: it was only in the 17th century that Syriac finally disappeared from liturgical usage).

The Melkite provenance of the monastery's Syriac manuscripts makes the collection particularly valuable, in that almost all other surviving Syriac manuscripts belong to one of the three other Syriac traditions. Syrian Orthodox, Church of the East, or Maronite.

The Syriac manuscripts of St Catherine's Monastery are also important for their age. Almost all manuscripts earlier than the 10th century come from either St Catherine's or from another Egyptian monastery, Deir al-Suryan, and in both cases it is the dry Egyptian climate that has led to their survival; it is only in extremely rare cases that early Syriac manuscripts have been preserved from elsewhere in West Asia/the Middle East.

The monastery also preserves (or formerly possessed) most of the surviving manuscripts written in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, a dialect that was in use in Melkite circles of Palestine and Transjordan from about the fifth to fourteenth century, almost all of whose literature was translated from Greek.

What is now known as the 'Old Collection' contains some 270 Syriac manuscripts, dating from the fifth to the fourteenth century. These were provided with a summary catalogue by Agnes Lewis at the end of the nineteenth century, and it was on one of her several visits to the monastery with her twin sister, Margaret Gibson, that she first discovered the famous palimpsest Old Syriac Gospel manuscript (Sinaiticus Syriacus 30).¹

Among other famous Syriac manuscripts in the Old Collection is a translation of the Apology of Aristides, a second-century work whose Greek original is lost (though part was later incorporated into the Greek form of the Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph, which started out in India as a Life of the Buddha!).

The 'New Finds'

It was in the course of repairs to a fire in a disused part of the monastery that a blocked-up room was discovered to contain large

1 Her final edition of this, published in 1910, still remains authoritative; no doubt modern techniques of digitizing palimpsests will one day made much more of the undertext legible (the upper text contains Lives of holy women, copied in AD 779).

quantities of damaged parts of manuscripts in Greek, Slavonic, Syriac, Georgian and Arabic. Catalogues for all these have now appeared; in chronological sequence they are:

Arabic, by Y. Meïmaris (Athens, 1985), in Greek and Arabic.

Slavonic, by I.C. Tarnanidis (Athens, 1988).

Syriac fragments on parchment, by S.P. Brock (Athens, 1995).

Greek, by P.G. Nikopoulos and others (Athens, 1999).

Georgian, by Z. Aleksidze and others (Athens, 2005)

Syriac, by Philothée du Sinaï (Athens, 2008).

The significance of these 'New Finds' lies in one or more of the following features:

- they may provide texts that hitherto have been completely unknown;
- they often provide 'joins' with manuscripts in the 'Old Collection';
- they sometimes constitute parts of manuscripts which today are no longer in the monastery, having been illicitly removed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The most notorious case of the last category concerns the great fourth-century manuscript of the Greek Bible, simply known as the Codex Sinaiticus, which is today for the most part in the British Library. In 1859 it had been 'borrowed' by Constantin Tischendorf and taken to Russia where he presented it to the Tsar (a few folios had earlier found their way to Leipzig). In 1933 the Soviet Government sold the manuscript to the British Museum for £100,000, half of which was raised by public subscription. Until the discovery of the 'New Finds' not a single folio of this precious manuscript was known to have remained in the Monastery; the 'New Finds', however, completely altered the situation, for among them were fifteen folios which clearly belonged to the manuscript. Thanks to digital photography, and as a result of a joint project between the Monastery and the

British Library, the entire manuscript has been virtually reassembled.²

The significance of the Syriac 'New Finds'

Some indication of the great interest of the Syriac 'New Finds' had been given by Mother Philothée in the course of the Third International Syriac Symposium, held in Goslar in 1980,³ but it is only now, when her Catalogue has been published, that it is possible to assess the importance of these 'New Finds'.⁴ As with the 'Old Collection', the manuscripts of the 'New Finds' fall into three main categories: the oldest manuscripts are largely biblical (5th-7th cent.), and these are followed in time by manuscripts containing patristic writings (for the most part dating from 6th/7th to 9th cent.); the latest group, the majority of which come from the 13th century, consists almost entirely of liturgical texts. A significant group among the liturgical manuscripts are the liturgical scrolls, some of which are bilingual (Syriac/Greek, Syriac/Arabic); hitherto only very few Melkite liturgical scrolls have been known to exist (and these very probably originate from Sinai).⁵

As is the case with the other languages, the most important of the Syriac 'New Finds' provide one or more of the following three characteristics: they are completely new texts, they belong to

2 Available at <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org>.

3 M. Philothée, 'Les nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Mont Sinai', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *III Symposium Syriacum* (OCA 221; 1983), 333-9.

4 *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinai, catalogués par Philothée du Sinai* (Athens: Fondation du Mont Sinai, 2008). The Catalogue is divided into three sections, covering Scrolls (prefix E = *Eiletaria*), those on Paper (prefix X = *Charta*), and those on Parchment (prefix M = *Membrana*); each number is followed by N (= *Nea*, i.e. 'New Finds'). Her Catalogue is generously provided with photographs and often extensive excerpts of text. It should be noted that some of the datings are over-optimistically early, and the descriptions of the contents are occasionally misleading. The texts in Christian Palestinian Aramaic are described by Alain Desreumaux. The following discussion is very largely confined to the Syriac texts on parchment.

5 See J-M. Sauget, 'Nouveaux fragments de rouleaux liturgiques byzantino-melkites en syriaque', *Le Muséon* 88 (1975), pp.5-30.

manuscripts already known from the 'Old Collection', and/or they are part of manuscripts once belonging to the Monastery but which are today in Western libraries.⁶ Some examples of each of these categories are given below.

New texts⁷

The Catalogue of the Syriac fragments on parchment (no. 43) already includes a damaged folio of the Syriac translation of Hippolytus' *Against Gaius*, lost in the original Greek.⁸ More of the same manuscript is to be found in M53N, and the other contents of this (Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*) enable one to identify the manuscript as belonging to Syr. 19 of the 'Old Collection'.⁹ This work of Hippolytus was cited by Dionysius bar Salibi in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, and so it is good now to have more of this otherwise lost early work of Christian literature.

Several examples of Melkite hagiographical texts have turned up for the first time among the 'New Finds'. Fragments 36, 77 and M13N contain Cyril of Scythopolis' *Life of St Euthymios*, and M11N now shows that his *Life of St Sabas* was also translated. M15N, to which M76N also belongs, contains the *Life of St Symeon the Younger Stylite*, who lived in the 6th century on a column on Mons Admirabilis,

6 For these, see especially P.Géhin, 'Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés': I, 'Les fragments syriaques et arabes de Paris', *Oriens Christianus* 90 (2006), 23-43, and II, 'Les fragments théologiques syriaques de Milan (Chabot 34-57)', *Oriens Christianus* 91 (2007), pp.1-24. See also my note on Mingana Syriac fragments from Sinai, in 'Mingana Syr. 628: a folio from a revision of the Peshitta Song of Songs', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 40 (1995), pp.39-56, here 51-3.

7 Some important identifications have been made by P. Géhin, 'Fragments patristiques syriaques des Nouvelles découvertes du Sinaï', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 6 (2009), pp.67-93 (cited as Géhin 2009, + page number(s)). Some further identifications are indicated in my 'New fragments of Sahdona's Book of Perfection', pp.177-8 (see note 15, below, for the full title).

8 On this, see A. Camplani and E. Prinzivalli, 'Sul significato dei nuovi frammenti siriaci dei Capitula adversus Caium attribuiti a Ippolito', *Augustinianum* 38 (1998), pp.49-82.

9 See Géhin 2009, pp. 84, 92 (listing other fragments of the same manuscript).

outside Antioch. The manuscript (which was written on the nearby Black Mountain in 933) helpfully informs us that the translation was made in 828.

Hitherto no Syriac translation was known of Diadochus of Photike's treatise *On Spiritual Perfection*, but now at least part of one has turned up in M39N.

Particularly important are M44N (and part of M61N) containing a work by Eulogius, who should be identified as Eulogios, patriarch of Alexandria from 580-608; very little of his writings survive in Greek,¹⁰ and so the existence of this Syriac translation in a manuscript which would seem to date from the seventh-century, will be of great interest.

All the texts mentioned so far concern works by Greek authors in Syriac translation. Some new texts by Syriac authors are also to be found. Perhaps most intriguing are some verse texts attributed to two different Isaacs: M9N includes a *memra* on Antichrist attributed to 'Isaac the Teacher', which does not seem to be known from elsewhere, while M40N (to which Fragment no.34 belongs) has a poem on the Nativity attributed to the otherwise unknown 'Isaac the Ihidaya (Solitary)', who should evidently now be added as a fourth poet of this name. M9N also includes some *memre* by Ephrem, two of which appear to be new: on David and Uriah (the title is found in Fragment 30), and on Daniel. The third is the famous *memra* on the Sinful Woman.¹¹

Joins with manuscripts in the 'Old Collection'

An example of this has already been mentioned in passing, in connection with M53N, which turns out to belong to Syr. 19. Perhaps the most important case under this category concerns M81N, with the beginning of Sergius of Resh'aina's *Treatise on the Spiritual Life*,

10 *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* III, 6971-9 (only fragments).

11 Ed. Beck, *Sermo* II.4. The addition of 'of Amid' in the Catalogue (and Géhin 2009, pp.72-3) is due to a misreading of 'myr as 'myd. Another manuscript, M75N (to which Fragment 44 belongs) contains Ephrem, *Sermo* III.2. For Jacob's poem on the Conversion of Antioch, by Jacob, see below.

a work that Sergius prefaced to his translation of the Pseudo-Dionysian Corpus, which survives solely in Syr. 52. Fragment 37 of the 'New Finds', with part of the Ps. Dionysian Letters, had already been identified as belonging to Syr. 52, and further scattered parts of this manuscript have also been recently identified: Milan, Chabot 55¹² and Paris Syr.378.vi.¹³

In several cases one of the 'New Finds' belongs to a manuscript, part of which is in the 'Old Collection', while other parts are scattered around different western libraries. This applied to M53N = Syr. 19, to which there also belong fragments in Leipzig, Milan, Birmingham and (olim) Zurich. Another rather dramatic case concerns one of the several manuscripts with works by Abba Isaiah, dated AD 759: M22N is from the same manuscript as Sinai Syr. 38, other parts of which are now divided between Milan, Birmingham and London.¹⁴

Parts of manuscripts no longer in the Monastery

A dramatic example of this category is provided by M45N, which turns out to be a lost part of Sahdona's Book of Perfection. Most of the manuscript of this work is today in Strasbourg, though further folios are to be found in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and in the Mingana Collection, Birmingham,¹⁵ while the colophon, giving the date and place where the manuscript was written, is in St Petersburg. This colophon is of particular interest since it tells us that the manuscript was copied by Anba Sargis 'in Edessa, the Christ-loving

12 Géhin, 'Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés, II. les fragments théologiques de Milan', *Oriens Christianus* 91 (2007), pp.1-24; here, 21.

13 The identification was first made by I. Perczel at a conference, and subsequently published in the course of an article in the *Revue des études augustinienes* 45 (1999), p.81, note 3; at much the same time the identification was independently made by M. Quaschnig-Kirsch, 'Ein weiterer Textzeuge für die syrische Version des Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagitum: Paris B.N. syr. 378', *Le Muséon* 113 (2000), 115-24. See also Géhin, 'Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés, I. les fragments syriaques et arabes de Paris', *Oriens Christianus* 90 (2006), pp.23-43; here, 37-8.

14 Details of these, and other joins, can be found in Géhin 2009, pp.92-3.

15 Details are given in my 'New fragments of Sahdona's Book of Perfection at St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai', *OCP* 75 (2009), pp.175-8. See also Géhin 2009, p.83.

and blessed city' and completed on 16th March 837; furthermore Sargis goes on to state that he had donated the manuscript 'to the shrine of Mar Moses on the Holy Mountain of Sinai', thus strongly suggesting that there were already at this date some Syriac-monks living at the monastery.¹⁶

M36N/B, f.1 belongs to a manuscript of Basil's Asceticon, the short recension of which survives only in Syriac and Latin. A few further parts of this manuscript have been identified in London (Or. 8608.iv) and Milan (Chabot 38), but it seems nothing otherwise remains of it in the Monastery.¹⁷

Some important biblical manuscripts

The 'New Finds' include a number of early manuscripts with different books of the Old Testament, several of which would seem to date from the sixth century. One of these (M27N), with fragments coming from the end of Genesis, is actually claimed in the Catalogue (p.367) to be the earliest known dated biblical manuscript, AD 355; in the transcription of the colophon on p.376, however, what is clearly the correct date of (December) AG 855 = AD 543 is given. The manuscript is of further interest in that it is the earliest dated witness to the use of the 'ship' colophon, a favourite of Syriac scribes right up to the present day, but also found in medieval Greek and Latin manuscripts.¹⁸

Other sixth- or seventh-century fragmentary OT manuscripts are from Kings (M24N), with a beautiful portrait of King David, Isaiah (M43N),¹⁹ Job (M51N) and I Maccabees (M30N); of these, M24N can be identified as part of Syr. 18 (= 7h10) of the 'Old

16 For other early connections between Edessa and Sinai, see my 'Syriac on Sinai: the main connections', in V. Ruggieri and L. Pieralli (eds), *Eukosmia. Studi miscellanei per il 750 di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Soveria Mannelli, 2003), pp.103-17.

17 Géhin 2009, p.80.

18 See my 'The scribe reaches harbour', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995), pp.195-202, reprinted in *From Ephrem to Romanos* (Aldershot, 1999), chapter XVI.

19 Fragment 6 belongs to this manuscript: 'Lot 4' follows on Fragment 6(a), and 'Lot9' follows on Fragment 6(f). 'Lot 10, f.1' would appear to be the same as Fragment 6(g).

Collection', while M30N is likely to be part of the otherwise largely lost Syr. 279 (7h1 in the Leiden Peshitta).²⁰ Among the manuscripts on paper X39N, the photograph enables the identification of this bilingual Syriac-Arabic text as containing Bar Sira (Ecclesiasticus) 7:10-18.²¹

Among the manuscripts with books of the New Testament two, both palimpsests, are particularly important since they clearly represent new witnesses to the Old Syriac Gospels. In M37N the text was overwritten with Evagrius's Treatise on Prayer (for which see below), while in M39N the Old Syriac has been replaced by Diadochus, On Spiritual Perfection. The generous extracts, especially for M39N, given by Mother Philothée in her Catalogue, make it quite clear that this is an important new witness to the Old Syriac: although for the most part it agrees consistently with Sinaiticus Syrus (S) against the Peshitta, in at least a couple of places it preserves an archaic linguistic form that is lost in S: thus at John 9:16 M39N has *ns'* (*nesse*), instead of *atwata* 'signs' in both S and P,²² while at John 13:14 it has '*wd*, corresponding to *hakil* in P (no equivalent in S).²³

Two small identifications of New Testament passages can be made: the estrangelo fragment pasted on the cover of X10N, illustrated on p.130, contains Mt 6:3-7; and the palimpsest in M23N, illustrated on p.352, contains Jn 3:26-7.

20 For the dispersed constituents see the Peshitta Institute, *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1961), p.7; Fragment 8 also belongs. For the fate of Syr.279 around the turn of the 19th/20th century, see A.S. Lewis, 'Four remarkable Syriac manuscripts, IV. Maccabees', *Expository Times* 13 (1901/2), pp.510-11.

21 This will be from the same manuscript as that noted in passing in my *Catalogue of the Syriac Fragments (New Finds)*, p.76.

22 For *nesse* (which indeed occurs in S elsewhere, at Jn 3:3 and 12:37, and in C at Jn 4:48), see my 'Some diachronic features of Classical Syriac', in M.F.J. Baasten and W.Th. van Peursen (eds), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies presented to Professor T. Muraoka* (OLA 118; Leuven, 2003), pp.95-111, here 107-8.

23 The particle '*wd*, representing Greek *oun* 'therefore', is found several times in the Old Syriac Gospels, e.g. Lk 16:11, 20:17. Jn 11:37 (also quoted by Ephrem, *Comm. Diat.* XVII.6), etc.

Pseudepigraphical texts

M26N, which should very probably be dated to the sixth century, can be identified as containing parts of the Protogospel of James.²⁴ Surprisingly, there are what would seem to be two different manuscripts with the Acts of Andrew and Mathias, M8N, with five very damaged folios containing the opening,²⁵ and M32N, with six folios also in a very poor state, but whose text (to judge from the photograph and excerpt quoted) only very roughly corresponds to the text in Wright's edition.²⁶ Both manuscripts would appear to be early (M32N is pretty certainly to be dated to the 6th century).

Some other patristic texts

The translations of Greek patristic writers are excellently surveyed by Géhin in his article in *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* of 2009 (see note 7), though a few further identifications can be made: M38N, described as 'Instructions to Monks', is in fact part of John of Sinai's *Ladder*, chapter 31 (Letter to the Shepherd).²⁷ The text is clearly palimpsest, with Christian Palestinian Aramaic as the undertext; this makes it clear that M38N must belong to the famous Codex Climaci Rescriptus, bought by Mrs Lewis in Cairo in two parts, in 1905 and 1906, and whose undertexts she then published.²⁸ M38N, consisting of eight folios

24 The excerpt given from f.1 is from chapter 2.1, that from f. 2 is from chapter 6.2, and that from f. 5 is from chapter 17.1. A.S. Lewis published another early witness to the Protogospel of James, to be found as the undertext of an Arabic manuscript she had acquired in Cairo (very probably originating from Sinai); see her *Apocrypha Syriaca* (Studia Sinaitica 11 (London, 1902), pp.2-22 (text), 1-12 (translation); the translation is evidently the same, though there are a few variants..

25 Corresponding to p.102 of the edition (from BL Add. 14645) by W.Wright, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1871). This text is quite different from the poem on the same subject attributed to Ephrem, ed. M. van Esbroeck, in *VII Symposium Syriacum* (OCA 256; 1998), pp.92-105.

26 F.3 evidently represents a different recension of the narrative in Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, p.109.

27 The illustration contains the end of section 43 to the end of 50.

28 A.S. Lewis, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (Horae Semiticae 8, Cambridge, 1909); for her purchase of the manuscript, see pp.xi-xii. An entire monograph was devoted to the Greek undertexts, by I. Moir, *Codex*

(constituting Quire 18), thus provides another example of the 'New Finds' preserving part of a manuscript the rest of which had long ago been taken from the Monastery.

M61N, which the Catalogue describes as a 'compendium on the art of logic', is in fact from the Life of Antony, the extracts quoted corresponding to sections 73-80 of Draguet's edition (these sections form part of Antony's discussion with some pagan philosophers).

Here mention might be made of a few of the most interesting texts.²⁹ M37N contains sections 24-119 of Evagrius's Treatise on Prayer in an older and better version than the extract published long ago by I. Hausherr; further texts by Evagrius are to be found in M10N. John Chrysostom is particularly well represented, with parts of a number of manuscripts of his Homilies on Matthew and on John. Gregory of Nazianzus is represented both by his Letters (M35N/B) and by his poems (M34N, M35N/A). The Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers, and other Egyptian monastic texts, are also quite well represented,³⁰ and in several cases the 'New Finds' can be identified as belonging to manuscripts in the 'Old Collection'. The Apophthegmata also feature among the Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts, including in a very damaged papyrus.³¹

A number of *memre* by Jacob of Serugh are to be found: M25N + M67N turn out to contain Jacob's series of *memre* on the Six Days of Creation.³² Jacob is again represented in M9N, alongside works by Ephrem and Isaac the Teacher (see above); the *memra* in question

Climaci Rescriptus (MS Gregory 1561, L) (Cambridge, 1956). The manuscript, which had been left to Westminster College, Cambridge, was recently sold (Sotheby's, July 7th, 1909). Mingana Syr. 639 also belongs to this manuscript.

29 For details of all these, see Géhin 2009.

30 M33N, M78+89N, M83N).

31 The names Anoub and Poimen can be made out on fragment 1 (pp.636-7), but none of the several passages in the alphabetical series where both men feature seem to fit.

32 M25N is attributed to Basil in the Catalogue, but left as unidentified in Géhin 2009, p.77. The photograph of M25N corresponds to Bedjan, III, p.132

can identified as that on the Conversion of Antioch.³³ It is interesting to find that the Edessan martyrs are represented in two manuscripts (M1N and M57N).

Liturgical texts

Not surprisingly, liturgical texts feature prominently, both among the parchment 'New Finds' as well as among the paper ones (where they constitute almost all the manuscripts). Here I single out M47N, a Euchologion, which includes the end of an anaphora specifically attributed to John Chrysostom, the text of the Presanctified liturgy (*rsham kasa*) and a baptismal rite. The excerpts quoted from the anaphora include what must be part of the epiclesis, the prayer following the Our Father, and a post-communion prayer: none of these, however, corresponds to anything in the known Anaphora of St John Chrysostom. The wording of the epiclesis is in fact unique, with the passive verb 'may (the Holy Spirit) be sent (*neshtalah*) ... and come (*ni'te*)',³⁴ while the prayer following the Our Father corresponds closely to that in the Anaphora of James. The baptismal service is specifically attributed to Jacob of Serugh, but, to judge by the excerpts quoted, the text is not the same as the service attributed to Jacob in the Maronite tradition; instead, it would seem to be largely identical with an old Syrian Orthodox service that is attributed to Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria!³⁵ (The normal Melkite baptismal service, attributed to Basil, is to be found in M17N).³⁶

33 Edited in the additional vol. VI, *memra* no. 13, of the Gorgias Press reprint (2006) of Bedjan's edition of Jacob's *memre*.

34 For the varying constructions used in epicleses, see my 'Invocations to/for the Holy Spirit in Syriac liturgical texts: some comparative approaches', in R.F. Taft and G. Winkler (eds), *Comparative Liturgy fifty years after Anton Baumstark* (OCA 265; Rome 2001), pp.377-406, here 382 ('type 5(b)'), 385-6 (reprinted in *Fire from Heaven* (Ashgate, 2006), chapter IX); the nearest parallels are in two Ethiopian anaphoras, of the 318 Fathers, and of Cyril of Alexandria (I); see A. Hänngi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12; 1968, pp.174-5, 197.

35 For this, see my edition, 'A new Syriac baptismal ordo attributed to Timothy of Alexandria', *Le Muséon* 83 (1970), pp.367-431. M47N should probably be dated to 8th/9th century, rather than 6th century.

36 M69N (to which Fragment 61 evidently belongs) is also described as belonging to a baptismal service; in fact, however, it is part of the

*Some surprises: texts not of Melkite provenance*³⁷

In her preview of the Syriac 'New Finds' Mother Philothée had already indicated the presence among them of a work by Babai the Great. The manuscript in question is M20N, an extensive, but not quite complete manuscript in a hand that is plausibly dated to the 7th or 8th century. The Babai in question is described as 'blessed', and on the grounds that one text (f.80) can be identified as a text by Babai of Nisibis, Géhin supposes that all the texts under Babai's name are by Babai of Nisibis, but this seems to me far from certain. In any case, none of the other excerpts quoted in the Catalogue can be identified as coming from any hitherto known text by either Babai. The new heading on the folio illustrated on p.336 reads 'On residence in a monastery of many (brethren) and the benefits to be found therein'. The same manuscript also contains extensive portions of Shubhalmaran's Book of Gifts.³⁸

One manuscript, M19N, is clearly of Syrian Orthodox provenance since it contains the Harklean Gospels. The colophon informs us that the manuscript was copied in AG 1592 (= AD 1280/1) in the monastery of P'qsynt (= Paximatia, 'dried biscuits') in Cilicia, which is known from some other thirteenth-century sources.³⁹

At least one further manuscript, M54N, with the Life of Antony, must also be of Syrian Orthodox provenance if Géhin is correct (as seems very likely) in identifying this as belonging to the same manuscript as British Library Or. 5021,⁴⁰ for the colophon of that

Blessing of the Epiphany Waters (and corresponds to pp.98-9 of E.A.W.Budge's edition of the Syriac texts in the British Library).

37 See also my 'Syriac on Sinai' [full title in note 15], pp.116-7 for some other non-Chalcedonian manuscripts.

38 Edited by D. Lane, CSCO Scr. Syri 236-7 (2004); the excerpts quoted in the Catalogue all belong to Part VI. Among the manuscripts on paper is one (X41N) with Elijah of Nisibis' work on homographs. The existence of a further East Syriac text, on paper, is noted in my *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds)*, pp.76-77.

39 See E. Honigmann, *Le Couvent de Barsauma et le patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie* (CSCO Subs. 7; 1954), pp.67, 72.

40 Géhin 2009: 84-5. (Note that the 'Letter of Anthimus', based on Margoliouth's short notice of the manuscript, should be 'Letter of Antony', i.e. Epistle 1).

manuscript states that it was written (in 902/3) in the Monastery of St Paul in Egypt, in the days of Dionysius (Syrian Orthodox) patriarch of Antioch and Michael (Coptic Orthodox) patriarch of Alexandria.⁴¹

The above selection of items should suffice to give a taste of the wonderful riches to be found among the Syriac 'New Finds' at St Catherine's Monastery, as disclosed now in Mother Philothée's precious catalogue.

41 See my 'Notulae syriacae', *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), pp.69-78, here 74-6. For the strong possibility that the scribe, Elisha of Zuqnin, might be the same person as the Elisha of Zuqnin, who copied the added f.66 in the manuscript (Vat. Syr. 152) containing the Chronicle of Zuqnin, see A. Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV* (Toronto, 1999), p.9. Among the manuscripts on paper there is also one which will be of Syrian Orthodox provenance, X2N, with *sedre* for the liturgical year.

Baby Varghese

WEST SYRIAC LITURGY: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF RESEARCH

In most of the theological disciplines, a decade is a rather long period, because several hundreds of studies are published every year. This is true for the studies on Western liturgy as well. However, in the case of the non-byzantine Eastern liturgies, this is not the case. This explains the reason for selecting a rather long period of time in the case of the West Syriac Liturgy. If we go through the standard bibliographies on West Syriac liturgy, we can note that during the last one hundred years only a few dozens of original studies have been published¹. In his Review *L'Orient Syrien* (1956-1967), Mgr. Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis had reviewed about 150 books. But there are only two entries on the West Syriac liturgy. Even the number of

1 See the nearly complete bibliography by : S.P.Brock, *Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1960-1990)*, Parole de l'Orient, Kaslik, 1996, pp. 184-208 ; ID., « Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1991-1995) », pp.241-350 (on liturgy : pp.309-317); J.M.Sauget, *Bibliographie des liturgies orientales (1900-1960)*, Rome, 1962 (On West Syriac Liturgy : pp.110-129). (Far from being complete). For a survey : A.Raes, „ L'étude de la liturgie syrienne; son état actuel", *Miscellanea liturgica* L.C.Mohlberg I, (Rome, 1948), 333-346; S.Brock, „Syriac studies in the Last three decades: Some Reflection", VI *Symposium Syriacum* OCA 247 (Rome, 1994), 13-29; K.Samir, „ Les études syriaques au Liban », V *Symposium Syriacum* OCA 236 (Rome, 1990), 423-430. see also S.Brock, „ Two recent editions of the Syrian Orthodox Anaphoras", *EL* 102 (1988), 436-445. (gives information on the published anaphoras).

doctoral dissertations is not very large². Unlike several non-byzantine Eastern Liturgies, West Syrian tradition does not lack source materials. A considerable amount of source materials, especially those related to baptism and Eucharist have been published in the 20th century.

1. Sources of West Syriac Liturgy published before 1900

The first West Syriac liturgical text to be printed was the Syriac Orthodox baptismal ordo (attributed to Severus of Antioch: +536) and parts of the *Ordo Communis*. The text was published in Antwerp in 1572 by Guido Fabricius Boderianus (Guy Lefevre de la Boderie) under the somewhat misleading title *D. Severi Alexandrini quondam patriarchae de ritibus baptismi et sacrae synaxis apud syros Christianos receptis liber*³. The text (in Serto characters and rubrics in Estrangelo) is printed in parallel with a Latin translation. For those who were not familiar with the Syriac script, the text is repeated at the bottom of the page in Hebrew characters. The first edition of the Anaphoras for the Maronites [*Missale Chaldaicum juxta ritum Ecclesiae Nationis Maronitarum*, Rome, 1592/94 : containing 14 anaphoras] served to introduce the rich collection of Syriac anaphoras in the West⁴. Sixty years later in 1655, Jean Morin published the Syriac Orthodox Ordination liturgy with an introduction, Latin translation and notes⁵. In the 18th century J.A.Assemani published several West Syriac liturgical texts of baptism and Eucharist with Latin translation⁶. E.Renaudot's publication of the Latin translation of more than forty West Syriac anaphoras introduced the richness of the Syriac liturgy to the European scholars⁷. P.Lebrun's French

2 A list of unpublished dissertations on the West Syriac Liturgy is to be prepared.

3 Latin translation was reprinted in Paris in 1610 and 1654 in M.de la Bigne (ed), *Bibliotheca patrum et veterum auctorum ecclesiasticorum*, Vol.VI.

4 In fact the Maronite and West Syriac liturgies have a common history until the 13th/14th century.

5 Jean Morin, *Commentarius de sacris Ecclesiae ordinationibus*, Paris, 1655 and 1686 (pp.474-503) ; Antwerp, 1695 and 1709 (pp.402-439).

6 J.A.Assemani, *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae universae*, 7 vols., Rome, 1752 ; Paris-Leipzig, 1902 ; Farnborough, 1968.

7 E.Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1716; Frankfurt-am-Main (2nd ed.),1847.

translation of the anaphora of Saint James and passages from the commentary of Jacob Edessa, served to introduce the West Syriac tradition to the French speaking world⁸. The name of H.Denzinger also needs to be mentioned among those who incited European academic interest in West Syriac liturgy⁹. The Roman edition of the West Syriac anaphoras was widely known in Europe¹⁰. Similarly the English translation of the Anaphoras by G.B.Howard¹¹ and F.E.Brightmann¹² helped the English-speaking world to discover the West Syriac Liturgy. J.S.Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*¹³ still serves as one of the most important tools for research. In 1886, the Malankara Orthodox Church (India) published five anaphoras with *ordo communis*, which was almost unknown in the West¹⁴.

2. Beginnings of the Researches on the West Syriac Liturgy:

The credit of publishing the major study on the West Syriac Liturgy goes to Anton Baumstark whose work on the Festal Breviary and the Liturgical Year still remains unmatched¹⁵. His *Geschichte*

8 P.Lebrun, *Explication de la messe*, Paris, 1779, Vol.IV, 581-625.

9 H.Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium* [...], Würzburg, 1864, Graz, 1961.

10 *Missale Syriacum iuxta ritum ecclesiae antiochenae syrorum*, Rome, 1843

11 George Broadley Howard, *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies: comprising the Anaphora of St James (Minor), St Peter, The Twelve Apostles, Mar Dionysius (Bar Salibi), Mar Xystus and Mar Evannis, together with the Ordo Communis, Translated from Syriac manuscripts obtained in Travancore by George Broadley Howard*, London, 1864.

12 F.E.Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western, t.I, Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896.

13 J.S.Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 2 Vols. Rome, 1719-1721 (Contains several extracts of the Syriac documents).

14 Pampakuda, 1886. It contains the Syriac text of the following anaphoras: St James Minor, Dionysius Bar Salibi, Mathai Royo, Eusthaios of Antioch and Julius of Rome.

15 A.Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Bd.3, Heft 3-5, Paderborn, 1910, XII, 309p. Also, ID. „Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518“, *Römische Quartalschrift* XI(1897), 31-66; XIII (1899), 305-323; ID., „Zwei syrische Weihnachtslieder“, *Oriens Christianus* (NS), I (1911), 193-203; ID., „Karwoche und Ostern im Kirchengesangbuch des Severus von Antiocheia“, *Cäcilienvereinsorgan* XLVI (1911), 63-66.

*der syrischen Literatur*¹⁶ is one of the main sources of information regarding the documents as well as the manuscripts of West Syriac liturgy. Baumstark's researches on the Lectionary¹⁷ were carried on by several scholars such as F.C.Burkitt¹⁸, Odilo Heiming¹⁹, A.Vööbus²⁰, G.Rouwhorst²¹ and K.Jenner²².

The publication of the commentary of Dionysius Bar Salibi (+1172) on the Eucharist by H.Labourt²³ and that of Moses Bar Kepha (+903) by R.H.Connolly and H.W.Codrington²⁴ was a

16 Bonn, 1922; Berlin, 1968.

17 A.Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordenungen des ersten Jahrtausends*, LQF 3, Münster, 1921, XII, 196p. [2nd ed. 1972].

18 F.C.Burkitt, "The early Syriac Lectionary System", in *The proceedings of the Museum Academy* XI (1921-23), 301-339.

19 O.Heiming, "Ein jacobitisches Doppellektioar des Jahres 824 aus Haran in den Handschriften British Museum Add. 14485 bis 14487 ..", Patrick Granfield and Josef A.Jungman (ed), *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten* Vol.II (Münster, 1970), 768-799.

20 A.Vööbus, *The Lectionary of the Monastery of 'Aziza'el in Tur 'Abdin, Mesopotamia*, CSCO 466 Subsidia 73, Louvain, 1985. ID., *A Syriac Lectionary from the Church of the forty Martyrs in Mardin, Tur 'Abdin, Mesopotamia*, CSCO 485, Subsidia 76, Louvain, 1986.

21 G.Rouwhorst, "Les lectionnaires syriaques", in Christian-Bernard Amphoux & Jean-Paul Bouhot (ed), *La lecture liturgique des Epîtres catholiques dans l'Eglise ancienne*, Histoire du texte Biblique: I, (Lausanne, 1996), 105-140. [For the West Syriac tradition, pp.118-136: with complete bibliography and summary of important studies].

22 K.D.Jenner, *De Perikopentitels van de geillustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs (ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syriaque 341). Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de oudste Syrische perikopenstelsels*, (Diss. Leiden, 1993).

23 H.Labourt, *Dionysius Bar Salibi, Expositio Liturgicae*, CSCO 13-14, Paris, 1903 (Syriac text and Latin translation. English translation by B.Varghese, *Dionysius Bar Salibi: Commentary on the Eucharist*, Mōrân 'Eth'ô -10, SEERI, Kottayam, 1998).

24 R.H.Connolly & H.W.Codrington (ed), *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy by George Bishop of the Arab Tribes and Moses Bar Kepha, together with the Syriac Anaphora of Saint James and a Document entitled the Book of Life*, Oxford, 1913. [Syriac text and English translation]. [A new English translation with introduction notes is to be published in Mōrân 'Eth'ô, Kottayam]. In fact Bar Kepha's commentary on the Eucharist was partly published by Konat Mathen

landmark in the study of the West Syriac Anaphora. Thus two important documents on the Syriac Version of the anaphora of St James were made available to the liturgists. Dr. Sebastian Brock's edition of "An early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy"²⁵ and Jean Sader's edition of John Dara's Commentary²⁶ are important contributions to the history of the anaphoras.

3. Researches on the Anaphoras:

We have already mentioned the important editions of the West Syriac anaphoras that were available in the beginning of the twentieth century. The first major study on the anaphora was undertaken by A. Rücker who published a critical edition of the anaphora of St James with an introduction²⁷. Rücker had studied the manuscript tradition and consulted 57 manuscripts (of which five are of Maronite origin), belonging to a period extending from 8th to 19th century.

The Patriarch I.E. Rahmani's manual²⁸ is a useful reference book, as it contains numerous quotations from manuscript sources (often without giving the references). It contains useful information regarding the historical development of the Syriac version of the anaphora of Saint James (pp.140-252), as well as a description of different anaphoras (pp.273-313).

Malpan in *Simat Haye*, a Syriac Journal he edited from Pampakuda (1907-8). [Contains the commentary up to the lifting up of the anaphora]. Connolly was unaware of this edition. This Syriac journal published the complete text of Bar Kepha's Commentary on Baptism. Most of the Western scholars are still unaware of this Syriac Journal. (There exists an English Translation by K.A. Aytoun: see below). I have re-published the Syriac text with an English translation: B. Varghese, "Moses Bar Kepha: Commentary on Baptism", *THE HARP* XXIV (2009), 55-82.

25 S. Brock, "An early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy", *JTS* 37 (1986), 387-403.

26 Jean Sader (ed), *Le 'De Oblatione' de Jean de Dara*, CSCO 308-309 ; SS. 132-133, Louvain, 1970 [Syriac text with French trans]. Eng. Tr. B. Varghese, *John of Dara. Commentary on the Eucharist*, Moran 'Eth'o 12, SEERI, Kottayam, 1999.

27 A. Rücker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora nach der Rezension des Jaquob(h) von Edessa*, LF-4, Muenster-Westfalen, 1913.

28 I.E. Rahmani, *Les liturgies orientales et occidentales. Étudiées séparément et comparées entre elles*, Beyrouth 1929.

A. Baumstark and H. Engberding, two pioneers of the modern liturgical scholarship published some of the important West Syrian Anaphoras, or pointed out the striking characteristics of some of them[Baumstark: Anaphora of the Athanasius of Alexandria and Engberding: Anaphora of the twelve apostles]²⁹. *Oriens Christianus* was one of the earliest journals to publish articles on West Syrian Liturgy. As we have noted the important articles of Baumstark and Engberding appeared in that prestigious journal. The only printed text of the Syrian Orthodox *Anaphora of Kyriakos of Antioch* appeared in *OC* in 1905³⁰.

One of the oldest Syrian Orthodox anaphoras, attributed to John I, Patriarch of Antioch (+648), was published by H. Fuchs³¹.

The most significant publication in this field is undoubtedly the *Anaphorae Syriacae*, critical edition of the West Syriac Anaphoras, thanks to the initiative of Alphons Raes (1896-1983). Between 1939 and 1981, 22 anaphoras were published (of which 9 bear his name). This series now moribund needs to be continued. In his introduction (AS. I-I, pp.v-xlxi), Fr. Raes gives a list of 70 anaphoras and a description of the important manuscripts. Fr. Raes' Latin translation of the anaphoras is available in the famous *Prex Eucharistica* edited by A. Hänggi and I. Pahl³².

G. Khouri-Sarkis published a series of articles in *L'Orient Syrien* (1956-1967) on the historical development of the West Syriac Pre-anaphora, *Ordo Communis* and the Syriac Version of Saint James. André Tarby's *La Prière eucharistique de l'Eglise de Jérusalem*,³³

29 A. Baumstark „Eine syrische Liturgia sancti Athanasii“, *OC II* (1902), 90-129; ID. „Die syrische Anaphora des Severus von Antiochien“ *JLW II* (1922), 92-98.

H. Engberding, „Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte“ *OC 3s XII* (1937), 213-247; ID. „Die westsyrische Anaphora des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus und ihre Probleme“ *OC 4s* (1955), 33-47.

30 K. Kaiser, „Die syrische Liturgie der Kyriakos von Antiocheia“, *OC V* (1905), 174-197.

31 H. Fuchs, *Die Anaphora des monophysitischen Patriarchen Johannan I*, Münster in West., 1926.

32 *Specilegium Friburgense* 12 (1968), 101-415.

is the first major study on the anaphora of Saint James, taking both Greek and Syriac versions into consideration. Tarby has given special attention to the theological contents of the anaphora (pp.89-181). A decade ago John Fenwick's study put forward an interesting theory according to which, the Jerusalem redaction of the Greek version of Saint James is in fact a conflation of Palestinian sources with an early form of the anaphora of Saint Basil³⁴. Recently I have tried to trace the history of the Syriac version of Saint James³⁵. I have published in Malayalam a historical and theological study on the Syriac Saint James, pre-anaphora, *Ordo Communis* and Post Communion³⁶. (I hope to publish an English version soon).

In the case of the Pre-anaphora, the studies of P.E.Gamael and G.Khoury-Sarkis need to be mentioned³⁷. (These two studies were made at the same time and apparently the authors were not mutually aware of the work of the other). I have also published an article on this subject³⁸. A document published by Rahmani and translated into French by G.Khoury-Sarkis is a unique witness to the history of the pre-anaphora, as it was celebrated in sixth century churches

33 Théologie Historique 17, Paris, 1972

34 John R.K.Fenwick, *The Anaphora of Saint Basil and Saint James*, OCA 240, Rome, 1992.; ID., *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, Grove Liturgical Studies 45, 1986.

35 Baby Varghese, *The Syriac Version of Saint James. A Brief history for Students*, Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Studies 49, Cambridge, 2001. ID., "The Anaphora of Saint James and Jacob of Edessa", in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed), *Jacob of Edessa and The Syriac Culture of His Day*, (Leiden, 2008), 239-264.

ID., "The Anaphoras other than that of St James and their theological Importance", in Johns Berchmans and James Puthuparampil (ed), *The Liturgy of St James: Its Impact on Theologizing in India*, (Pune, 2009), 32-56.

36 B.Varghese, *Yakobinte anaphora suriani sabhayil*, Madroscho 4, SEERI, Kottayam, 2002 (pp.232).

37 P.E.Gamael, *Avant-Messe Maronite*, OCA 174, Rome, 1965; G.Khoury-Sarkis, "La réforme liturgique dans les Eglises de langue syriaque", OS 9 (1964), 323-382.

38 B.Varghese, "Early History of the Preparation Rites in the Syrian Orthodox Anaphora", *Symposium Syriacum* (ed. R.Lavenant), OCA 256 (Rome, 1998), 127-138.

where both Greek and Syriac were used³⁹. The studies of Fr.R.F.Taft on the Byzantine Liturgy cover a good number of Syriac documents. J.Sader's study is also important for the history of the Syrian Orthodox Eucharistic Liturgy⁴⁰.

Among the general introductions, the names of H.W.Codrington, J.M.Hanssens and J.Godard need to be mentioned⁴¹. There are not many studies on the particular themes of the anaphora⁴². The studies of J. Mateos⁴³ and R.F.Taft⁴⁴ on the Byzantine liturgy provide precious information on the early History of Syro-Antiochene liturgy. However the influence of the Byzantine Liturgy on the Syrian Orthodox Liturgy has not yet been the subject of any major study. The influence of Saint James on the redaction of the later West Syrian anaphoras was never the subject of a detailed study⁴⁵.

4. Studies on Individual elements of the Anaphora

Among a few studies on the individual elements, the study of A.Raes on the 'words of institution' needs particular attention⁴⁶.

39 G.Khoury-Sarkis, « Cérémonial pour la réception d'un évêque syrien au VI^e siècle et les liturgies des catéchumènes », OS II (1957), 137-184. Taft gives an English translation in *Great Entrance*: pp. 40-41

40 J.Sader, *Le lieu de culte et la messe syro-occidentale selon le 'De Oblatione' de Jean Dara*, OCA 223, Rome, 1983.

41 H.W.Codrington, *Studies of the Syrian liturgies* London, 1952.
J.M.Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, t.III, *de missa ritum Orientalium* (pars altera), (Rome, 1932), pp.598-622;
J.Godard, " Traditions anciennes de la grande prière eucharistique, I. La tradition syriennes orientale", *Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 47 (1966), pp.247-278.

42 Among those studies which deserve special attention: A.Raes, " Les paroles de la consecration dans les anaphoras syriennes" OCP 3 (1937), pp.486-504.

43 J.Matéos, *La célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie Byzantine*, OCA 191 (Rome, 1971).

44 R.F.Taft, *Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of saint John Chrysostom*, OCA 200, 2nd ed. Rome, 1978. ID., *A History of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. Vol.IV. The Diptychs*, OCA 238, Rome, 1991.

45 Tarby has made a few remarks on this subject. *La prière eucharistique...*, p.34, n.33.

46 A.Raes, " Les paroles de la consécration dans les anaphores syriennes", OCP III (1937), 486-504.

M. Arranz's study on the Post-Sanctus focuses on the theology of the 'economy of salvation'⁴⁷. Gabriele Winkler has studied the central part of the anaphora from 'comparative liturgical' perspective⁴⁸. As we have noted above, P. Gamael, Khouri-Sarkis, B. Varghese have studied the pre-anaphora. The studies of V.S. Janeras⁴⁹, E. Klum-Böhmer⁵⁰ and S. Brock⁵¹ on the Trisagion provide a comprehensive survey of the researches on the hymn. Brock's studies on the Epiklesis provide very important insights both from historical and theological perspectives⁵².

On the history of the *Sedre*, J. Mateos' studies are invaluable⁵³. The contributions of Khouri-Sarkis⁵⁴ and Jacob Thekkeparambil⁵⁵ also merit attention.

5. Baptismal Liturgy:

The Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy, attributed to Severus of Antioch (+536) was published by Boderianus in 1572 (*see above*).

47 M. Arranz, "L'économie du salut dans la prière du Post-sanctus des anaphores de type antiochien", *LMD* 106 (1971), 46-75.

48 Especially, G. Winkler, « Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht I : Anmerkungen zur oratio Post-sanctus und Anamnesis bis Epiklese » *OCP* 63 (1997), 363-420.

49 V.S. Janeras, " Les byzantins et le trisagion christologique " I *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore de Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* .t.II (Rome, 1967), 469-499 .

50 E. Klum-Böhmer, *Das Trisagion als Versöhnungsformel der Christenheit*, München-Wien, 1979.

51 S. Brock, "The Thrice-holy hymn in the liturgy", *Sobornost/ECR* 7:2 (1985), 24-34.

52 S. Brock, « Towards a typology of the Epicleses in the West Syrian Anaphoras », in H.J. Feulner, E. Velskovska und R. Taft (eds), *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, (OCA, 260; Rome, 2000), pp.173-192; ID., "The background of some terms in the Syriac Eucharistic Epicleses", *THE HARP* 13 (2000), 1-12.

53 J. Matéos, " Sedré et prières connexes dans quelques anciennes collections " *OCP* 28 (1962), 239-287. ID., « Trois recueils anciens de Prooemia syriens », *OCP* 33 (1967), 457-482.

54 G. Khouri-Sarkis, " Le sêdrô dans l'Eglise syrienne d'Antioche ", *OS* I (1956), 88-96.

55 Jacob Thekkeparampil, *Sedre and Rite of incense the West Syrian Liturgy*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institute Catholique de Paris, 1977.

This text was later reprinted in a curtailed form by J.A.Assemani (*Codex Liturgicus...* Vol. I-III), along with five other versions of the Baptismal Ordo attributed to Severus⁵⁶. Assemani had published the texts in an awkward way dividing the ordines into three different parts, each part being given in a separate volume. [Volume One contains the introductory part of the service with exorcism and the signing of the forehead. Vol.II: Consecration of the water and the pre-baptismal anointing; Vol.III: immersion and the post-baptismal anointing]. The Latin translation of the ordines published by Assemani have been given in their complete form by H.Denzinger in his *Ritus Orientalium* (Vol.I, 1863)⁵⁷. The texts published by Assemani and Denzinger were the main source used by the Western scholars until recently.

Most of the Western scholars turned to the West Syriac baptismal ordines in their discussions on the question of the relation between baptism and confirmation. Before the fifth century a post-baptismal anointing was absent in the Syriac tradition. The order of the baptismal rites was anointing – immersion and communion. In an early tradition, attested by the Syriac Acts of Thomas (third century), oil was poured over the head of the candidate with a glorification/invocation. Later the anointing of the head followed by that of the body became the normal custom. The oil was consecrated with an invocation of the Holy Spirit and the pre-baptismal anointing was regarded as the anointing of the Holy Spirit. A Post baptismal chrismation became a common practice only by the sixth century. The absence of a post-baptismal anointing puzzled many of the Western Scholars. Some of them concluded that Confirmation preceded baptism in early Syriac tradition. Other bluntly stated that Confirmation was absent in early Syriac baptism.

Until the 1970s no major study on West Syrian baptismal liturgy was undertaken. In 1972, Dr.Sebastian Brock published an important

56 For the details: S.Brock, " Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy", *JTS* ns.23 (1972), 16-64; (here p. 17-18). Also J.M. Sauget, "Le 'Codex Liturgicus' de J.L.Assemani et ses sources manuscrites pour les 'ordines' de l'initiation selon la tradition syro-occidentale », *Gregorianum* 54 (1973), 339-352.

57 For the details: Brock, *Ibid.*, p.18; On the other printed texts, p.18-19.

study on the Syrian Orthodox Ordines : *Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy*⁵⁸, followed by a series of articles on the hitherto unknown or ignored baptismal ordines which were widely received among the scholars.⁵⁹ Dr. Brock's studies were continued by B. Varghese, tracing the history of the baptismal liturgy and of the Consecration of the Myron down to the thirteenth century⁶⁰. An English translation with a commentary of the Baptismal Ordo abridged by Bar Hebraeus (+1280) has been published by Mathew Elenjickal⁶¹. From the Maronite tradition, A. Mouhanna's work needs to be mentioned, for the Maronites and the West Syrians share a common liturgical tradition, before the latter was latinised.⁶².

6. Liturgy of Ordination

The ordination rites of the West Syrians also remain an unexplored area. In 1655 the ordination liturgy was published by J. Morin with a Latin translation and notes.⁶³

58 JTS ns.23 (1972), 16-64.

59 S. Brock, "A New Syriac Baptismal Ordo attributed to Timothy of Alexandria, *Le Muséon* 83 (1970), 367-431.

ID., "The consecration of the water in the oldest Manuscripts of the Syrian Orthodox baptismal liturgy", *OCP* 37 (1971), 317-332.

ID., "A remarkable Syriac baptismal ordo in Add.14518", *Pd'O* 2 (1971), 365-75.

ID., "A Short Melkite baptismal service in Syriac", *Pd'O* 3 (1972), 119-130.

ID., "The Anonymous Syriac Baptismal Ordo in Add.14518", *Pd'O* 8 (1977-78), 311-346

ID., "A baptismal address attributed to Athanasius", *OrC* 61 (1977), 92-102.

ID., "Some early Baptismal Commentaries", *OCP* 46 (1980), 20-61.

ID., "Baptismal themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh", *OCA* 205 (Rome, 1978), 325-347.

ID., "Epiklesis in the Antiochene Baptismal Ordines", *OCA* 197, (Rome, 1974), 183-218.

ID., *Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Ordines*, Kottayam, 1979.

60 B. Varghese, *Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne*, CSCO 512; Sub.82, Louvain, 1989.

61 Mathew Elenjickal, *Baptism in the Malankara Church. A Study on the Ritual of the Malankara Church*, Bangalore, 1974.

62 A. Mouhanna, *Les rites de l'initiation dans l'Eglise Maronite*, Rome, 1978.

63 Jean Morin, *Commentarius de sacris Ecclesiae ordinatioibus*, Paris, 1955 & 1686; Anvers 1695 & 1709

The text of the ordination of priests has been published by R.Graffin⁶⁴. The complete text has been published by Cardinal Tappoouni for the use of the Syrian Catholics⁶⁵. A French translation of the consecration of the bishops and patriarchs (from the Charfeh edition) has been published by Dom.B.De Smet along with the notes by G.Khoury-Sarkis⁶⁶. The first and the only study of the subject was done by René Mouret.⁶⁷ Fr.Mouret has pointed out the characteristics of the "Tagrit rite" used under the Maphrianate of Tagrit (The Syrian Orthodox primate in the Persian territory).

7. Mgr.G.Khoury-Sarkis and L'Orient Syrien

The publication of the review *L'Orient Syrien* (1956-1967: 12 volumes in 48 numbers) undoubtedly contributed greatly to the progress of the research on West Syriac liturgy. In fact the main goal for launching a new review was to promote the study of the liturgy⁶⁸. About one hundred articles were published on Syriac liturgy, of which a great majority was on the West Syriac tradition. With a dream to reform the West Syriac Liturgy⁶⁹ (which was unfortunately

64 R.Graffin, " Ordination du prêtre dans le rite syrien jacobite", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* I-2 (189), 1-36.

65 *Ktôbô d-tekso kumroyo d-meshtamshin b'îdtô kadishtô antiokoyo d-surohé*, 2 Vols. Charfé, 1950-52. It should be used with caution, because the text is often amended

66 B.De Smet, „ Le rituel du sacré des évêques et des patriarches dans l'Eglise syrienne d'Antioche", *OS VIII* (1963), 164-212 (= Charfeh text. Vol.II, pp.159-223); Introduction by Khoury-Sarkis, *ID.*, pp.137-164.

67 René Mouret, *Le rituel syrien d'Ordination de Jean Morin (1655)*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation; University of Paris-Sorbonne, 1990. For the summary of this important study:

R.Mouret, " Un rituel d'ordination de Tagrit", in Paul de Clerck & Eric Palazzo (ed), *Rituels. Mélanges offerts au Père Gy O.P.*, (Paris, 1990), 170-180; *ID.*, " Studies on the ordination liturgy of the 'Holy Church of the Syrians of Antioch", *THE HARP* 2 (1989), 65-69.

68 See the *Prospectus* published in 1955, quoted by F.Graffin, "Les étapes de l'Orient Syrien", in *Memorial Mgr.Gabriel Khoury-Sarkis*, (Louvain, 1969), 275-285 (here p.277).

69 G.Khoury Sarkis, " Projet de restauration de la liturgie syrienne d'Antioche", *OS IX* (1964), 409-442;
ID., " Projet de restauration de la liturgie de Jérusalem-Antioche", *OS X* (1965), 3-40;

never materialized), Mgr Khouri-Sarkis published more than a dozen of important articles on the historical evolution of the Syriac Version of the Anaphora of Saint James. As we have already noted, Mgr.Khouri-Sarkis reviewed two books on the West Syriac liturgy. The first one was: Archidale A.King, *Liturgies d'Antioche.Rite Syrien et rite chaldéen*(Paris, 1966, 288pp). In his very long review he was very critical of Fr.King's work and had pointed out a series of "errors" that the book contained⁷⁰. Thanks to his book review with a summary, the commentary on the Eucharist by Fr.I. Saka (*Fushoq Qurobo* published in Arabic) was made known to the non-Arabic world⁷¹.

8. Parole de l'Orient:

Following the demise of Mgr.G.Khouri Sarkis (1898-1968), in 1970 the reviews *Melto:Recherches Orientales* (Jounieh – Lebanon) and the *L'Orient Syrien* were fused together under the new name *Parole de l'Orient*. The editorial responsibility of the new publication was entrusted to the professors of the University of Holy Spirit, Kaslik, Jounieh-Labanon. Even though it published a few articles of S.Brock (notably the edition of the sources of the West Syriac liturgy)⁷² and of J.Thomajean⁷³, *Parole de l'Orient* did not contribute much to the promotion of the study of West Syriac liturgy. (Between 1991 and 1995, not even a single article on the subject was published).

The colloques *Patromione syriaque* organized by the *Centre d'Etudes et de recherches Pastorales [CERO]*, Antelias, Lebanon

ID', "La réforme liturgique dans les Eglises de langue syriaque" OS IX (1964), 323-382 (on the pre-anaphora). See also, L.Cataix, "Commentaire au projet de restauration de la messe syrienne", OS XI (1966), 51-90.

70 OS XII (1967), 241-255; XII (1967), 560-569.

71 I.Saka, *Fushoq Qurobo* Liban, 1963; OS XI (1966), 380-387.

72 S.Brock, "A Calendar attributed to Jacob of Edessa" *Pd'O* 2 (1971), 379-388; cfr. Supra note.41.

73 J.Thomajean, "La semaine liturgique dans le rite syrien", *Melto* 2 (1966), 95-114.

ID., "Les trois vendredis consécutifs pour la commémoration des défunts et le culte des morts dans la liturgie syrienne", *Pd'O* 2 (1971, 379-388.

also need to be mentioned here. The themes of three of the colloques were on liturgy: Colloque II: *Le génie de la Messe Syriacque* (1994); Colloque III: *Le sacrement de l'initiation. Origines et prospective* (1996); Colloque IV : *Péché et Réconciliation hier et aujourd'hui* (1997).

9. Liturgical Architecture

One of the earliest commentaries on the church architecture is available in Syriac. It is a description of a church built in Edessa in the middle of the sixth century by Bishop Amazonius and dedicated to the Holy Wisdom⁷⁴. However, the evolution of the liturgical architecture has not yet been studied. On the early history of the Syrian architecture, we have the studies by J.Lassus⁷⁵ and more recently by E.Renhart. [Several illustrations of the early monuments are found in Hans Hollerweger, *Living Cultural Heritage: Tur Abdin*, Linz, 2000].

10. Liturgical Music and hymnography

The first study on the West Syriac Music was done by Dom J. Jeannin and Dom J.Puyade⁷⁶, published in *Oriens Christianus* in 1913 in two parts. The first part is dedicated to a historical study and the second to musical study. The historical study has rightly pointed out the influence of Byzantine octoechos on the West Syrian Music.

The most important contribution in this field was made by H.Husmann⁷⁷. A useful review of the literature has been given by

74 Syriac text and French translation: Basile Aggoula, "Une description de la cathédrale justinienne d'Edesse dans un poème syriaque", in Ayoub Chehwan and Antoine Kassis (eds), *Etudes Bibliques et Proche-Orient ancien. Mélanges offerts au Père Paul Feghali* (Beyrouth and Jounieh, 2001), 309-322.

Eng.tr. A.N.Palmer, "The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 117-167.

75 Jean Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie: Essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage liturgiques des édifices du culte chrétien en Syrie du IVe siècle à la conquête musulmane*, Paris, 1944.

76 „L'octoechos syrien", OC ns III (1913), 82; 277-298.

77 H.Husmann, *Die qale gaoanaie des Beit Gaza*, in Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 273,4, Wien, 1971. [For other works by Husmann; S.Brock, *Syriac Studies* (1996), p.202.

A.Cody⁷⁸. However, in the West Syrian *octoechos*, (which was adopted from the Byzantine tradition in the 10th/11th centuries), there exists local variations. The western musical notations are not always helpful to translate the subtleties of the local traditions, which are handed over orally. A joint study by the Syriac and western scholars is very important to preserve a tradition which is at the verge of disappearance.

11. Liturgical Year

Baumstark's study on the West Syrian Liturgical year (published in 1910) still remains as the only major work on the subject⁷⁹. Between 1910 and 1960 about 13 studies were published on the Syrian Orthodox Liturgical Year and most of them are mere descriptions destined for the beginners. However, the study of B.Botte merits scholarly attention⁸⁰.

The Mosul edition of the *Penqitho* in seven volumes by the Dominicans is a major contribution (1886-96). Though edited by the

78 A.Cody, "The early history of the Octoechos in Syria", in N.Garsoian, T.Mathews and R.W.Thomson (edd.), *East of Byzantium, Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, (Washington, DC, 1982), pp.89-114. The following works also to be noted: O.Heiming, *Syrische 'Eniane und griechische Kanones. Die Hs.Sachau 349 der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, LQF 26, Münster, 1922, VIII+126 pp.

ID. "Die 'Enajane der Berliner Handschrift Sachau 349" OC 3s. V (1930), 19-55.

S.Brock, "Syriac and Greek Hymnography: Problems of origins", *Studia Patriastica* 16 (TU) 129 (1985), 77-81. Reprint in S.P.Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Variorum Reprints, 1992 (ch.VI).

79 A.Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*, [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Bd. 3., Heft 3-5], Paderborn, 1910; XII, 308 p. Aslo

ID. "Zwei syrische Weihnachtslieder" OC ns.I (1911), 193-203;

ID. "Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518:", *Römische Quartalschrift* XI (1897), 31-66; XIII (1899), 305-323.

ID. "Karwoche und Osternacht im Kirchengesangbuch des Severus von Antiocheia", *Cäcilienvereinsorgan* XLVI (1911), 63-66.

The study by G.J.Cuming also merits attention: "The Liturgy of Antioch in the Time of Severus (513-518), in *Festschrift T.J. Talley* (Washington, 1990), 83-103.

80 B.Botte, "Les dimanches de la Dédicaces dans les Eglises syriennes" OS II (1957), 65-70.

Catholics, it is an invaluable source for the study of the liturgical year. The *Penqitho* of Pampakuda in 3 volumes (1962-1963) was published thanks to the initiative taken by the late Fr. Konat Abraham Malpan⁸¹. Francis Acharya of the Kurishumala Ashram has published an adapted translation of the Mosul *Penqitho* and made its rich content known to the students of Syriac liturgy⁸². Fr. Stephen Planthottathil, a former student of SEERI has done a theological study of the Mosul *Penqitho* for his doctoral studies in Rome⁸³. This is the major study by an alumnus of SEERI. In recent years several of our students have translated the portions of Pampakuda *Penqitho* as part of their Master's dissertation.

12. Canonical Hours

As in the case of other areas, most of the studies on canonical hours are descriptions for the beginners. The canonical hours do not lack source materials. We need a study similar to that of J. Mateos' *Lelya Sapra*⁸⁴. Fr. Mateos has pointed out several common elements that the Syrian Orthodox Community of Tikrit share with the East Syrians.

The studies of J. Puyade and A. Raes published in *l'Orient Syrien* need to be mentioned⁸⁵. J. Tabet's study is also important for the students of canonical hours⁸⁶.

81 On this edition: S. Brock, "Some hidden Treasures of the Pampakuda *Fenqitho*", *THE HARP* XX-2 (2006), 59-73.

82 *Prayer of the Harp of The Spirit*, 4 Vols. Vagamon, 1980; 1982; 1985 and 1986.

83 *Themes of Incarnation in the Sedre for the Period of Suboro- Yaldo, according to the Mosul Fenqitho*, Moran 'Eth'o 30, SEERI, Kottayam, 2009.

84 J. Matéos, *Lelya-Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des Matines Chaldéennes*, OCA 156, Rome, 1959 (510 p).

ID., « Les Matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriens », *OCP* 26 (1960), 51-73 ; ID., « L'invitatoire du nocturne chez les Syriens et chez les maronites », *OS* XI (1966), 353-66 ; ID., « Prières initiales fixes des offices syrien, maronite et byzantine », *OS* XI (1966), 489-98 ; ID., « Les strophes de la nuit dans l'invitatoire syrien », F. Graffin (ed), *Memorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968)*, (Louvain, 1969), pp.71-81.

85 J. Puyade, "Composition interne de l'office syrien", *OS* II (1957), 77-92 ; III (1958), 25-62 ; ID. « Les heures canonicales syriennes et leur composition », *OS* III (1958), 401-428. A. Raes, « Les deux composantes de l'office divin syrien », *OS* I (1956), 66-75.

86 J. Tabet, *L'office commun Maronite. Etude du Lilyo et du Sapro*, Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint Esprit, 5, 1972.

13. Theological Studies/Liturgical Theology

Often the theological studies on the West Syrian liturgical texts were done by European (mainly French and Germans) Catholic orientalists, who were not always very sympathetic towards the Eastern Churches and often used the liturgical texts as “proof texts” to support some of their hypothesis. The best example is J.Jungmann’s famous book *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*⁸⁷. However, the most sympathetic approach was taken by Fr.I.H.Dalmais who published several articles on the theology of West Syrian liturgy (often his studies cover the East Syrian Liturgy as well). In fact in the liturgical Conferences organized by the St Sergius Orthodox Institute in Paris (popularly known as *Conférences S.Serge*), Fr.Dalmais was often the only person to present a paper on the Syriac liturgy. The first major original theological study based on the liturgical texts was done by E.P.Siman, a Syrian Catholic priest of the Dominican order⁸⁸. Fr Siman translated a large number of Syriac texts from the Mosul edition of the Penqitho as well as other Syriac texts for the first time in to a modern language. Though his work was very well appreciated in the French speaking world, he did not continue his studies in Syriac liturgy. Recently I have published *West Syrian Liturgical Theology*, which was very well reviewed by my colleagues in Europe⁸⁹.

15. Sacraments and sacramental theology

Most of the Western scholars know the Syrian Orthodox sacramental theology through the highly biased and unsympathetic

87 Originally published in German in 1925; Revised German edition in 1962. English translation published by Geoffrey Chapman, 1965 ; 1989.

88 E.P.Siman, *L'expérience de l'Esprit par l'Eglise d'après la tradition syrienne d'Antioche*, Théologie Historique-15, Paris, 1971. ID., « La dimension pneumatique de l'Eucharistie d'après la tradition syrienne d'Antioche », In *Expérience de l'Esprit : Mélanges Schilleebeeckx*, Le Point Théologique 18 (1976), 97-114.

89 Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004. Also my article: “Prayers addressed to Christ in the West Syrian Tradition”, in B.D.Spinks (ed), *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer. Trinity, Christology and Liturgical Theology*, (Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 2008), 88-111.

study by Wilhem de Vries, who understood the *roze* of the Syriac Church in terms of the Latin scholastic theology. However, we should be thankful to W.de Vries for pointing out several sources which will be certainly useful for the students in the future⁹⁰. P.Hindo also had collected several sources related to the sacraments⁹¹. For the marriage, J.M. Sauget has given an introduction with a French translation of the liturgy⁹². On the structure of the sacramental celebrations, I have made a modest contribution⁹³.

16. Comparative Liturgy

Students of West Syriac liturgy should be thankful to the 'School of Comparative liturgiology' for its contributions in the advance of researches. After the death of Anton Baumstark (d.1948), who developed the methods of 'Comparative liturgiology', very few have followed his paths in the study of the Syrian Orthodox Liturgy. Baumstark's method was carried on by H.Engberding, especially in studies on the Byzantine 'anaphora of St John Chrysostom' and the Syriac 'anaphora of the twelve apostles'⁹⁴. In their studies on the anaphora of St James, A.Tarby and J.R.Fenwick have followed this method⁹⁵.

90 W.de Vries, *Sakramententheologie bei den syrischen Monophysiten*, OCA 125, Rome, 1940; ID., « La théologie des sacrements chez les Syriens monophysites », OS VIII (1963), 261-288.

91 P.Hindo, *Disciplina Antiochena antica, Siri III, Textes concernant les sacrements*, Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, *Fonti, Serie II, fasc. XXVI, Vatican, 1941*.

92 J.M.Sauget, "Le mariage dans le rite syrien occidentale", OS II (1957), 3-37.

93 B.Varghese, „La structure des liturgies sacramentelles“ in F.Cassengina-Trévedy et I.Jurasz (ed), *Les Liturgies syriaques*, Paris, 2007, pp.145-172. ID., « Structure of Sacramental celebrations- Syriac Tradition », *THE HARP* XXV (2010), pp.201-228.

94 H.Engberding, "Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexzte", OC 3.s. XII (1937), 213-247; ID., „Die westsyrische Anaphora des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus und ihre Probleme“, OC 4.s III (1955), 33-47; ID., „Das Verhältnis der syrischen Timotheusanaphora zur koptischen Cyrilluliturgie“, OC 4.s VI (1958), 55-67.

95 Op.cit.

In the 1960s, Juan Mateos and his disciples popularized the methods of Comparative liturgiology. Fr. Mateos' brilliant students, especially Miguel Arranz and Robert Taft were rather interested in Byzantine Liturgy. However Gabriele Winkler, a leading member of the Mateos School of Comparative liturgiology, has demonstrated the importance of the Syriac liturgy for the study on the Armenian liturgical tradition⁹⁶.

Conclusion

Our survey is far from being complete. This is an essay, a first attempt, which needs to be completed. In recent years Syriac studies have advanced considerably. Several scholarly seminars and colloquia are organized every year. But there are very few studies on the West Syriac liturgical heritage. Apart from the liturgies of baptism, Eucharist and the consecration of Myron, we have very little knowledge of the historical development of the Syrian Orthodox liturgy, namely the ordination, funeral, monastic tonsure, marriage, anointing of the sick, consecration of the Church,, daily offices and the liturgical year. Even in the case of the Anaphora, its early history, especially before the time of Jacob of Edessa, still remains obscure. The music and hymnody need to be studied from a historical and theological perspective. To promote studies and researches, and providing opportunities for young Indian scholars, SEERI has been organizing conference once in every fourth year since 1985. Since 2008, the Syrian Orthodox arch diocese of Aleppo has been organizing a similar conference ("Aleppo Syriac Conference") once in every

96 Gabriele Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, OCA 217, Rome, 1982; ID., „Zur frühchristlichen Tauftradition in Syrien und Armenien unter Einbezug der Taufe Christi“, OKS 27 (1978), 281-306.

ID., "The history of the Syriac pre-baptismal anointing in the light of the early Armenian sources", OCA 205 (1978), 317-324; ID., " Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier. Ihre Affinität mit syrischen Gedankengut", in H. BECKER and R. KACZYNSKI (ed), *Liturgie und Dichtung* (St Ottilien, 1983), 381-419.

ID., *Das Sanctus: Über der Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Formwirken*, OCA 267, Rome, 2002; ID., „Beobachtungen zu den im ‚ante Sanctus‘ angeführten Englen und ihre Bedeutung“, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 183 (2003), 213-238.

two years. The results of these conferences are published and made available to the members of the Churches belonging to the Syriac tradition. But the response from the theological students and young clergy has not yet gained much momentum.

Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese,
Professor,
SEERI, Kottayam.
frbabyvarghese@asianetindia.com

James Steephen Olikal

A FEW CONCEPTS OF MAR JACOB OF SERUG ON WOMEN AS WE SEE THEM IN HIS MIMRE

I consider a debate on my topic would be highly opportune and beneficial because this is a period of heated discussion with in the Church as well as through out the world on the plight and empowerment of women and ways and means are being prepared elsewhere for its achievement, where a glance at the views of Mar Jacob of Serug, one of the early fathers of the Church on the issue would certainly supplement them.

At the very outset I have to admit my limitations in handling the topic 'the Concept of women' mainly due to two reasons; the first being the vastness of the theme having its various and diverse facets in ontological, physiological, psychological, sociological, Biblical and many other levels and the second being the unavailability of an integral and entire view of Mar Jacob on this matter due to the reason that his ideas on it are spread all over the places of his writings. More over, the absence of many of his voluminous works' translations into modern common languages blocks me from going in to the details of all those works except for few references here and there from the works of other sholars. Hence I am forced to restrict my sources mainly on Mar Jacob's "Four mimre on creation" which was edited by Khalil Alwan.

Being a saint who is dedicated, loyal and obedient follower of the word of God, the thoughts of Mar Jacob of Serug is solely rooted in the scripture and hence his narrations are totally a portrayal influenced by scriptural notions. Naturally the concept of woman of Mar Jacob is also drawn on the same canvas. Hence an overview of Biblical perception of woman turns out to be essential.

A close look at the creation narrative in the Book of Genesis would make clear the original status of man and woman which is not one's inferiority in front of the other. They are not contradictory to each other, but complementary of the same essence. That was why, unlike any other creature or creation, God creates woman from with in man himself and this is the reason why Adam exclaims "This is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" and since she is taken out of him he called her 'woman' (Gen. 2/21-23). Here one doesn't excel the other. The word used in that context "a helper like him" (Gen. 2/18), is commonly understood not as 'a slave like' but only as 'a co-worker', 'complementary constituent', and a paired or harmonizing element'. Later we see that sin enters among them, catastrophic events take place, this original plan of equality is overturned and pain and feelings of separation, superiority and subjection had crept among them.

The rabbinical literature considered woman in a low esteem where the male Jew used to thank God for saving him from creating either a gentile or a slave or a woman. To an extreme extend women were counted one among the properties of men (Ex. 20/17 also ref. Gen. 12/12 ff, 20/2, Judg. 19/ 24ff). The Wisdom literatures of OT as well as the stories like that of Delilah in its other parts, use to draw a Misogynistic character which taught people to keep away from the snare of women (Prov. 6/24-26, 7/5-27, 19/13, 21/9, 25/24, 27/15 etc). But it is to be noticed that the existence of woman is usually considered only in connection with men. On the other hand the OT literature also extols the excellence of women and brings to the forefront the pictures of some of the Israelite women like Hanna (I Sam. 1/ ff), Deborah (Jud. 4/4), Judith, Esther (Esth.2/16), Rahab (Josh. 2/1ff) etc. who are sometimes placed even above Judges, prophets and rulers and they are found selected by God for

His redemptive purposes for Israel. Thus woman is pictured in OT a mixture of both good and evil.

Even though not much revolutionary changes occur in the NT time in the attitude towards women, a clear shift and assumption in the perception on woman can be seen in Jesus Christ who was the best friend of women and was in favour them. His words, ordinances and performances earned them more justice (Lk. 18/1) and freedom in the society which in turn raised their status up. Majority of the followers of Jesus include women.

Even though St. Paul basically is in accord with women's status and mutual interdependence of both the sexes when he significantly says that in Christ there is no difference between male and female (I Cor. 11/11-12) we cannot hide few of his pro-male teachings such as the denial of permission to speak and the insistence for their silence in the church (I Cor. 14/34 ff), their submission as the essential character of their modesty (I Tim 2/9 ff, Eph. 5/21 ff) etc.

Mar Jacob of Serug has drawn his own picture on women certainly influenced by these diverse versions of the Bible on women and hence a fusion of diverse notions on women can also be seen in him. Even though his views are neither exhaustive nor complete he spoke on women in many of his mimre. It is noticeable that the voluminous collection of his mimre include many of the Biblical woman characters in their title role such as 'On the Canaanite Woman', 'Samaritan Woman', 'Ten Virgins', 'Sinful Woman', 'The Widow with two small coins', 'The Widow's son whom Jesus raised', 'The Woman who was bent double', 'The Woman with an affliction', 'The Woman with Seven Husbands', nearly nine mimre on Virgin Mary etc as we see them in the collection edited by Paul Bedjan and Sebastian P. Broke.

In his "Four Mimre on Creation" we find many of his views on woman but solely based on the character of Eve and the Bl. V. Mary, the mother of Christ. Hence I have to apply an inductive method starting from them for finding out his concept on women.

Mar Jacob doesn't give the impression of being prejudiced to conceive woman only an insignificant part of man but gives her

individuality which is proper to her. In his "Four Mimre on Creation" Mar Jacob doesn't seem to give much emphasis in narrating the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam (Gen. 2/21-22) as equal to the importance he gave to describe the creation of Adam from the dust. But he is not a misogynist; rather in some places he extols the dignity of woman and her responsibilities in the redemptive work of God. In one occasion, extolling the greatness and discernment of St. Mary (III 437 ff), he retorts to an existing false impression that woman is lesser than man in many respects, and says, "Behold, from this lovable girl, every one should learn that the nature of woman is not in want of knowledge" (III 455-456).

Mar Jacob portrays Mary, the mother of Christ, the best example of woman. How much he is thrilled to speak about Mary, can be seen in his verse; "The history of Mary had stimulated me to speak here and it doesn't allow me to pass over it plainly" (III 439-440). The poet points out that Mary is wiser than Eve because she did not receive a message blindly, even if it was conveyed by an angel until she understood its reality through a series of valid questions (III 448-454) where as Eve followed the words of a serpent with out any investigation (III 446). The poet calls Mary a lovable girl and tells every one to imitate her (III 455) and from her he comes to a conclusion on the nobility of women (III 456). This Eve - Mary parallelism can be seen else where in his many other mimre (See Moran Etho No. 25, 2005 PP 245 ff). This is a typical example for the objectivity of Mar Jacob and it proves that his views are purely issue based and never biased.

In his mimre Mar Jacob gives due prominence to woman through Eve and through her to all women. It is a custom that the person's name that we give importance must be mentioned first in a sentence and also usually in modern languages female characters are being mentioned first when both the sexes are to be mentioned alike. We see Mar Jacob employs this pattern in much advance and in several places he mentions Eve's name first and then only he mentions Adam's name (I 123, 129, 132, III 603 etc).

While discussing in the mimre the status of Eve in the Garden of Eden what really came out were Mar Jacob's notions on the rank

of women. The poet attributes sovereignty over the garden to Eve also along with Adam, her husband and this can be inferred from the verses from the conversation between Eve and the serpent where she repeats 'WE' many times. For Eg. "We are given authority from God on all of them that are in Eden" (III 377, 380), "We can eat from all the trees of paradise" (III 371, 375) etc. Here, the mind of Mar Jacob is a clear for the equality between man and woman in the share of God's wealth. Impartiality between men's and women's individuality can also be seen from the poet's comparison of Adam and Eve with two tablets of commandments made by God's own hand of which one is not more valuable than the other. Eve was portrayed in the mimre as a free one who goes her own way and takes her own decisions, even though they went wrong (III 505, 507, 509, 517 etc).

Before her sin, Mar Jacob considers her status in the garden as its resident and possessor (IV 158, 164 ff, 173, III 292), one who is specially cared by God (IV 159 ff), sumptuous and hence never in want of something (III 890) etc. She was the queen in the garden who was gloriously dressed (IV 163) and this glorious garment was of creatorship (III 573). She, along with her husband, was the proposed inheritor of the tree of life (III 1049-1050). In many other places Mar Jacob replicate the common notion on Eve as the bride and wife of Adam (IV 159, 176, III 506, 639, 780, 796, 802, 893, 895, IV 162, 166, 168). She was created as the partner (III 552) and helper to Adam (III 783-784). She is the mother to the whole children to be born through out the ages (III 891 ff, 906, 912, 917 etc). From these descriptions one can easily infer that Mar Jacob views woman through the eyes of God as a highly and equally valuable being.

She is also pictured in the mimre as physically powerful and valiant even to break open the fence of ordinance (III 505 ff, 513 ff), cross over the limits and make a giant leap (III 507 ff), to travel with a stranger (III 510) etc and her valiance is clearly expressed in the verses; "She pressed onward, entered, coveted, approached and plucked the fruit. She snatched, ate, and then turned back in order to extend to Adam" (III 547-548).

Mar Jacob is amazed at the brilliance of Eve in her pre-sin state which is also an account of poet's appreciation on women's

attractiveness, which may be contrary to its present days' notion as good looks of the physical appearance. In agreement with St. Paul, Mar Jacob also asserts that the beauty of a woman is her inner sanctity. Eve was as dazzling in the garden for many reasons; her nature was beloved (I 123-124) in addition to her status of a child of God (IV 173, I 124), she was clothed by God with magnificent light and dazzling brightness (IV 163) in order to make her the bride of Adam and the queen of Eden (IV 159 ff) and this appended her elegance.

Besides mentioning her valiance, the poetic mind of Mar Jacob as any other great poets do in order to narrate feministic features, calls her 'the Soft One' (III 367, 391, 425, 429, 564, 756) 'an infant' (III 334, 462), a virgin (IV 159) etc. But none of these descriptions are for narrating the weakness of woman but was only to portray her innocence and comeliness. In this sense he says that Eve was an innocent pair and a lovely companion to Adam (I 124, III 296, 298). In order that the reader may feel her gentleness, the poet takes the symbols of mild creatures of the universe, such as chick (III 292), dove (III 296, 388, 393, IV 177), partridge (III 397), sparrow (III 298) etc.

Mar Jacob doesn't limit the magnificence of an individual in a single person, but his imaginative mind extends it to all the offspring and through them tries to find out the greatness of the ancestor. The descendants of Eve have immeasurably elevated the splendour of their mother. Bl. V. Mary, the most beloved woman of all ages (III 437-456), the promised child, Jesus Christ (III 891-920, 897 ff), Abel, Enoch, Elijah (II 224, 227-228, 233-234) and many others like them who attained eternal life have raised the dignity of her mother Eve. Thus the poet extolled the greatness of the motherhood of a woman and he considered it a great gift and power from God.

Since Mar Jacob is neither prejudiced nor partial but only truthful in expressing the facts that is before him he is not reluctant to point out the faults of woman based on the life of Eve. But none of these accounts of the poet on the stained phase of Eve were for belittling her anyway but were only for narrating the entrance of sin into the world, her role in it and God's merciful involvement in eradicating it.

The poet considers impulsiveness a character of a below average woman. Eve was blameworthy because she was a woman of troubled wisdom (III 444), because in her tumult and with out any investigation she accepted the enticing words of Satan (III 433-436, 457 ff). Mar Jacob refers this impetuous nature of Eve and its worse after effects in his other homilies also like "On forty days' fasting" etc. where he compares the catastrophic impulsive desire of Eve with Jesus' victory over the impulses (Moran Etho No. 25, 2005 pp 248). And in the four mimre on creation he speaks of another occasion of Eve's hastiness as "It was she who planned to clothe her husband with the borrowed garments, hence, she was the cause to strip him off from the glory" (III 639-640, 641-646). The temperament of the poet appears to be enraged against Eve because she was the first in transgressing the commandment and he portrays her so zealous to cross the limit before any one else do it (III 505, 442, 494, 507, 511 ff, 570, 579, IV 181). Disregarding her power of reasoning she allowed herself to be carried away through her hallucinations (III 518 ff, 600) and consequently her reasoning power was enslaved by the lustful desire (III 519, 543-544). On the contrary Mar Jacob finds the abominable silence of Eve before the serpent a major reason for her death and makes a thoughtful statement; "Sometimes silence causes damage to those who possess it" (III 495).

Perversion from the right path is characterised in the mimre as an evil phase of women like Eve. The poet elaborates it saying; "The sin struck her conscience and perverted her" (III 543), "She abandoned the way which was instructed by the righteous one and in her will she adopted the pathless desert with the stranger" (III 509-510), "She listened to the deceit, attended the falsehood and believed firmly the shameful language" (III 545).

The passion for something which she likes to possess is said to be a common character of women. The poet puts Eve's passion for the tree and its fruits at the centre in the garden in these words "All the trees that were in paradise were worthless for her and towards one alone she looked intensely" (III 527-528), "She considered it desirable and she was enslaved so as to approach it and she began looking consciously at it alone. There she did not make her sight to

gush forth on its surroundings, because, on it alone she had fixed the eyes pleasantly" (III 519-522). The amount of pressure of lust in Eve can be counted from the poet's statement, "the hateful lust was bursting forth in her" (III 517). Keenly looking at her actions the poet asserts "The lust for that tree bruised her when she looked at it" (III 539). But finally he assesses it as "This passion for iniquity gained her the regret of the soul" (III 583) and condemning her he says, "In her sight it (tree) was greater than God and His ordinance" (III 600).

Bearing in mind the faithlessness Eve had shown towards God, her husband, towards the commandments, towards her own responsibilities etc, the poet goes to the extreme of calling her 'a harlot' (III 17). Like a harlot who follows a deceitful beckoning for illicit enjoyment and transitory benefit, Eve also followed the beckoning of the robber, the serpent (III 512). She found pleasure in being with some one other than God or her husband (III 395-396) and she did not resist the deceit that separates she and her husband and God (III 425 ff, 446 ff, 458, 459 ff, 499, 501-502). Seeing all these, the poet doesn't try to choose a slighter word other than 'harlot' suitable to designate Eve. In this context of Eve's causation for Adam's defeat, the poet calls Delilah of the OT "the second Eve" who cheated Samson, ("On Samson" 67 in Moran Etho No. 25, 2005 pp 245).

Mar Jacob expresses in his mimre the so called talkative nature of women and their alleged inability in keeping secrecy. Eve trusted the fraud, the serpent and revealed every secret to him that the benevolent God had handed over to Adam and Eve and thus she cheated God (III 387-390). The poet scolds her imprudence, "Oh, the perturbed mind, the discourse regarding you should have been with prudence" (III 390). Hence she became eligible to be called 'Heartless' by the poet (III 389).

The poet scoffs also at those who find fancy in giving ears for whispering. Following the evil whispering of the serpent Eve fancied very much on the ensuing splendour of divinity through eating the fruit from the forbidden tree (III 502). The poet evaluates her too childish comparing to the cunningness of the serpent (III 463, 460)

and an exercise of little amount of her good sense would have fled the serpent from misleading her (III 491 ff). Her silliness made her to weigh more the fancies of the world than trusting God's plans (III 599-600).

Even though the poet accepts the position and status of women he doesn't tolerate any one's attempt to go beyond it and overtake men. Basically Eve was an essential component of Adam (Gen 2/22), resident and possessor of Eden (IV 158, 164 ff, 173, III 292, 371, 375), gloriously dressed and loved by God (IV 159 ff 163) and the anticipated possessor of the tree of life (III 1049-1050), bride, wife and partner of Adam (IV 159, 176, III 506, 639, 780, 796, 802, 893, 895, IV 162, 166, 168, III 552) etc. But, according to the poet Eve elevated herself unnaturally. He says, "The pride snatched the dignity that was introduced in the history, and behold, in her tumult, she raised herself also above Adam" (III 503-504). According to him she wanted to become chief to Adam in divinity (III 506) and in her attempt she was vulgarly successful in defeating her husband (III 514).

It was Adam who was appointed and entrusted by God to tend and keep his fellow beings and creatures (Gen. 2/15). But the poet finds a paradox in Eve's extension of the fruit of the prohibited tree to Adam and thus feeding him (III 536, 548, 567) and in making clothes for covering Adam's nakedness (III 638-639, 643, 645). The harshness of her attitude towards her husband is clearly pictured in the mimre as "She did not invite Adam in order to eat from it first; instead, she made haste to be declared eldest in divinity" (III 537-538). In her haste she was not even willing to pose a moment and consider her husband for a while (III 540). Her attempt to triumph over her husband was miserably failed (III 895-896). Here one may find fault with the poet for his favouritism for male domination but a closer examination will reveal that the real intention of the poet was the exhortation for maintaining each one's divinely allotted position.

It is noticeable that Mar Jacob doesn't favour priesthood for women because he condemns yet a similar attitude of Eve. The priest extends the sacrificed meal that gives eternal life from the altar to the people in order to make them pure, eternal and divine.

The poet compares the performances of Eve with the actions of a priest because she plucked the fruit from the tree that contains life and extended the meal to her husband so that they may become equal to God (III 535-536) and never die. She not only wanted to overcome her husband (III 503-514) and cross the limits of the divine law (III 547) but also she tried even to go beyond the almighty, her creator (III 678, 891). According to the poet, one of the reasons why God punished her was this; "You will beget children in pain and suffering, because you raised yourself above the magnificence and great glory of the Divinity" (III 891-892).

From the mind set of Eve, in certain verses of the poet allude to women's alleged obsession for new garments. While narrating on the tunic of the garden he asserts "My brothers, perhaps, Eve might have done this first, that, she might have woven a garment of leaves for Adam in order to clothe him. It was she who planned to clothe her husband with the borrowed garment of leaves" (III 637-639). As said by the poet, Eve had woven this garment of iniquity along with the serpent; she, through her insolence and the serpent through his wicked counsel (III 683-684).

This zeal of Eve for clothing Adam with the new garment of leaves can also be considered very positively as her innate, womanly and motherly nature to look after the members of the house.

The poet assesses that reluctance to bear the accountability of one's own action is a sign of an imbalanced and immature personality. Following her husband she also tried to excuse herself from the liability of committing her sin and placed it on the shoulders of the serpent and thus proved her immaturity (III 805 ff).

The concept of Mar Jacob regarding the place of woman in the family also can be traced from his mimre where one will easily find male dominant thoughts of the poet. But his notion of family is solely based on the H. Scriptural perception of the family where male genus is the head of the family (b'aalo III 893, 896) who has to protect and look after other members of the family and so he calls Adam "Tiara" (hudo). It is his duty to work hard and earn the livelihood for him and for the family (III (45-948). He is the husband (gabro III 506, 514,

536, 550, 895,), bridegroom (IV 158, 166), couple (IV 162, 168) and the partner (III 540). In this sense the poet makes statements such as "She was given to you by the Maker as a help giving one. She is not a counsellor and thus to instruct the perverse way" (III 783-784). Since Adam refused God's ordinances and followed Eve's counsel, the poet harshly calls him "thief" (III 781) and he warns Eve saying, "You will never be the mistress of your husband according to your thought" (III 896). These concepts of the poet may be debated.

Taken all these views of Mar Jacob together, even though he doesn't seem to define in an exclusive statement about the status of woman, he is not a misogynist as the rabbinic literature do so as to deny any of the ranks and merits of them. He admires all the brightness of women at the same time he is not hesitant to point out their faults and stands with folded hands before all women who are beloved to God. As we all know, being a bishop of the church, all exercise of the poet is for exhorting people through his mimre to follow the ways of God and attain eternity. And since his expressions on the concepts on women are also for the same purpose, any of his seemingly negative connotations on women need be considered only part of his teaching technique.

Rev. Fr. James Steephen Olickal
St. John's College
Anchal, Kerala
India

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 3

13. The Tree was to him

like a gate;

its fruit was the veil

covering that hidden Tabernacle.

Adam snatched the fruit,

casting aside the commandment.

When he beheld that Glory

within,

shining forth with its rays,

he fled outside;

he ran off and took refuge

amongst the modest fig trees.

(Continued in page 128)

Dimetros Woldu

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ST. EPHRAIM IN THE ETHIOPIAN TRADITION

Introduction

The name Ephraim is a familiar and beloved name in Ethiopia. Its popularity as a boy's name (it is the name of one of the most celebrated Ethiopian Academics in the U.S. Ephrem Isaak who is a well known activist for peace and reconciliation in Ethiopia) comes from its association with the great Syrian Saint, whose fame is no less in Ethiopia than elsewhere in the Christian Orient. Ephraim has been lauded by inspired Orthodox Fathers and Doctors, including Basil, Chrysostom and Jerome, he has been proposed as a model to imitate and nurture. Gregory of Nyssa compared St. Ephraim the Syrian to the 'River Euphrates because he irrigated by his waters the Christian community to bring forth fruits of faith a hundred-fold'. The fecundity of Ephraim's poetry was not limited to the banks of the Euphrates, but embraced also the Nile and many other rivers flowing through centers of Christian civilization. Inevitably, the image of the great Saint, and the work ascribed to him varied from place to place. The specialist on St. Ephraim Andrew Palmer commented: "The lesson from the past is that each culture constructs a picture of Ephraim according to its own lights."¹ The intention of this paper is to

1 Andrew Palmer "The Influence of Ephraim the Syrian" in Hugoye - Journal of Syriac Studies, Vol. 2:no.1. Jan 1999.

explore the figure of St. Ephraim as he has become known in the Ethiopian tradition. The theme of how Ephraim is represented in different cultures and Church traditions has been the subject of different conferences and seminars such as the Symposium: Conference on the Influence of St. Ephraim the Syrian SOAS 17-18th Dec. 1997. However, they have by no means exhausted the subject; and the traditions of Ethiopia lying on the periphery of the Christian Orient are as yet little known or appreciated.

The intention of this paper is to present Ephraim the Syrian as he has become known to us in the Ethiopian tradition. Efforts are also made to relate the Ethiopian understanding of him to academic views concerning the literature of St. Ephraim. Like many figures of Ethiopian hagiography Ephraim is presented as a colorful and dramatic character, who had marvelous visions, and extraordinary encounters with supernatural persons. Yet no doubt he still displays characteristics with which scholars from other traditions are familiar.

St. Ephraim in the Ethiopian Context

St Ephraim should be seen in the context of the close bonds linking the Orthodox Churches in Ethiopia and Syria, many of the issues pertaining to the Ethiopian legacy of St. Ephraim, pertain to the bonds between the Syriac and Ethiopian traditions in general. In the words of the Ethiopian Patriarch: "The links between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Syrian Church are longstanding. Ethiopia's first bishop Frumentius was a Syrian by origin. Likewise the 'Nine Saints' were also Syrian by origin, ... That the righteous who somewhat later flocked to Ethiopia were also of Syrian origin is probable in the light of the intense efforts of the Syrian fathers to translate Sacred books from Syriac, Greek and other languages into Ge'ez, and to build churches, monasteries and schools throughout the region... Thus, Ethiopia's ties with Syria were established and strengthened mainly through the faithful missionary efforts of these Holy men who settled in the region... Through their influence many of the monasteries founded in Ethiopia incorporated distinctly Syrian elements. Ethiopias literary language Ge'ez, contains many Syrian words thought to have been introduced to the language largely through

the translation of the old and New testament according to the Antiochian text rather than that of Alexandria. Hable Sealssie notes that the Ethiopian liturgy resembles the Syrian rite more closely than the Alexandrian; Many of Ethiopia's ancient churches were built with distinctly Syrian style of architecture."²

The Ethiopian ecclesiastical tradition unequivocally ascribes certain works to St. Ephraim and assumes that they were translated at a very early stage. This reflects the situation in other sister oriental Orthodox Churches: "Translations of Ephraim into Armenian were made at the beginning of the fifth century, just after the Armenian alphabet was invented."³ However, from the perspective of the existing literary sources, this is problematic, since most of the texts of St. Ephraim now used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) are apparently later translations from Coptic or Arabic. In general this connects with one of the basic underlying issues in Ethiopian Syriac relations, that there is clear evidence of a formative Syriac influence in the monastic spirituality, ecclesiastical language and literary traditions, artistic heritage and most other important aspects of Church life, yet it is difficult to document this evidence on the basis of the existing manuscripts and literary texts in usage in the EOTC today.

The spirit and literary tradition of St. Ephraim was obviously present in Ethiopia from a very early stage: "Ephraim's art is akin to that of the bard in an oral culture and so was well designed as a literary model for new compositions by the Armenians, who knew only an oral culture. He was indeed imitated in Armenia, as happened in Egypt and in Ethiopia, too."⁴ The Nine Saints who laid the basis of Classical Ge'ez Christian civilization, could scarcely have neglected to bring with them the wealth of Syriac heritage with which they were familiar.

2 Patriarch Abune Paulos Filsata: *The Feast of the Assumption of The Virgin Mary and the mariological Tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church ...* A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy... Princeton New jersey may 30, 1989 pp. 120-121.

3 Andrew Palmer, *Opp. Cit.*

4 Andrew Palmer, *Opp. Cit.*

The early history of Ethiopia is enshrouded in obscurity, we have reliable historical records from the time of the introduction of Christianity, then a big gap, with documentation resuming around the twelfth or thirteenth century. "The darkness which not unnaturally surrounds the history of the country all through these early times does not clear till we come nearly to the end of the thirteenth century... It seems extremely probable that some at least of the liturgies were translated during this period. It is hardly likely that the Church could have existed without fixed liturgical services. No doubt they were afterwards revised and perhaps interpolated, their number too may have been increased ... we have it is true no liturgical manuscripts from this period, but neither have we manuscripts of the Bible [later proved incorrect] or any other work."⁵

The well known Ge'ez scholar Getatchew Haile, emphasizes the aspect of our lack of knowledge of the development of early Ge'ez literature. "Although evidence is lacking, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that some liturgical books were also translated into Ge'ez for the new Church. [He comments on how earlier translations were adjusted on the basis of later Arabic texts] Scholars are now scrutinizing the Ge'ez version of the New Testament to determine which of the several Greek rescensions may have served as the Vorlage... The Ge'ez New Testament manuscripts we have inherited show that the translation was revised several times, mostly on the basis of Arabic versions. [Furthermore, he comments about what may have happened to early Christian literature:] The Aksumite Dynasty was apparently followed by rulers who attempted to destroy the literary heritage of the young church."⁶

Ethiopian history was punctuated by violent military activities, rebellions by subjugated peoples and foreign invasions. Were early manuscripts destroyed during persistent wars, or consciously later replaced by or adjusted according to translations from Arabic to Ge'ez?

- 5 J. M. Harden. *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* J. M. Harden... London, Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Macmillan and Co. New York and Toronto 1926, p. 11. 22, 23, 27.
- 6 Getatchew Haile, "Ethiopic Literature" pp. 47-55 in *African Zion the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, Roderick Grierson (Ed.) Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1993, pp. 47 and 48.

(Ethiopians are notorious for preferring new things, and using them to replace what is old and worn. For example popular pilgrimage Churches such as Debre Libanos were regularly demolished and rebuilt.) Was there some other explanation for the clear early transmission of Syriac heritage, and yet the difficulty in documenting it on the basis of the extant texts? Only further research and potentially new future discoveries will provide solutions to these questions. Meanwhile we are left with the perplexing situation that official EOTC tradition firmly maintains the existence of early Syriac influences, as borne out by the whole tenor and spirit of the early ecclesiastical tradition. This would include an early translation of St. Ephraim's and related works to Ge'ez. Yet the extant manuscripts evidence on the basis of academic scholarship does not support this. As far as the understanding of the Ethiopian Orthodox faithful are concerned, Ephraim the Syrian was present as a formative figure from the very earliest period of Ethiopian history, and acted as an inspiration to Ethiopian sages, ensuring that his influence remained alive and thriving up to this day.

The Ethiopian Corpus of St. Ephraim's Work, and their Significance

St. Ephraim is said to have 'written three thousand myriad poems if one counts them all together', his writings cover almost all ecclesiastical doctrines including commentaries on Sacred Scripture and the mysteries of the faith; sermons on obligations and on the interior life; studies on the sacred liturgy; hymns for the feast-days of our Lord and of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, for the processions of prayers and penitential days, for the funerals of the departed. In all of these, his purity of soul shines forth as a 'burning and shining evangelical lamp'. Most of St. Ephraim's sermons and exhortations are in verse, though a few sermons in prose have been preserved. If we put aside his exegetical writings, the rest of his works may be divided into homilies and hymns. The homilies (Syriac *memrê*, i.e. discourses) are written in seven-syllable verse, often divided into two parts of three and four syllables respectively. He celebrates in them the feast of Our Lord and of the saints; sometimes

he expounds a Scriptural narrative or takes up a spiritual or edifying theme. The seven syllable verse form has not been preserved in the Ge'ez translations of his works. However, the content and other basic features of the Ephraimic style are none the less apparent.

As in other areas of the Christian Orient, lessons for the ecclesiastical services were often taken from the homilies of St. Ephraim in Ethiopia. This parallels the custom of Ephraim's day when they were read in public liturgical assemblies along with the works of the Orthodox Fathers and Doctors. Some of Ephraim's texts were included in the order of service for the Holy Week Gebre Hememat, or popular litanies such as the Weddase Amlak, or ascetic texts including the 'Mashafa Monokosat' and 'Gannata Monokosat'.

The list of the Books in the EOTC tradition usually considered to have been written by St. Ephraim is as follows:

Wedasse Mariyam

The prayers for Thursday and Wednesday in the Weddase Amlak

A Homily on the Second Sunday in Lent

A Homily on Monday, Thursday included in the Gebre Hememat...

A Homily on Easter Eve..

A Homily on Satan and death in a version of the Gebre Hemamat ...

Several Homilies in Mashafa Monokosat

Extracts from Homilies on Mary and on the precious Pearl and No. 20 of the Hymanote Abaw

A Homily on Fasting, Repentance and Prayer

A Homily on the Transfiguration

Four Homilies on the last Judgement, on repentance and on evening prayer..

Sayings cited in 'Gannata Monokosat'

Excerpts "on the spiritual Life"....

Sayings 'Negera Medhanit'.⁷

7 According to the Ethiopian scholar Megabi Megabi Hadis Rodas Tadese, an expert on the exegesis of the Wedasse Mariyam from Ba'ata Le Mariyam monastery, a noted center of traditional education in Addis Ababa.

All the books ascribed to St. Ephraim are important, obviously those used in liturgical services and popular litanies were more familiar to the faithful, whereas some of the others gathered dust on the shelves of monastic libraries in relative obscurity. There can be no doubt that the most important work by far is the 'Wedasse Mariyam' which is praised by the scholars, and used by the common people who pray it every day.

There has been debate in academic scholarly circles about the authenticity of the works ascribed to St. Ephraim. Those familiar with the traditions of copying and passing on manuscripts realize that some interpolation and augmentation is inevitable: "The intellectual Euphrates of the Church' was augmented by many tributaries. To restrict the study of his influence to that of his undiluted, authentic works would not do justice to the impact of his example. We need to analyze the vast corpus which goes under his name to be able to decide how much of it is indebted to him for at least a part of its content or an aspect of its form."⁸

References to St. Ephraim in Ethiopian Spiritual Literature

In addition to the Books which are directly ascribed to St. Ephraim there is a further number of books with passages mentioning him, and describing his life story and contribution to the Ethiopian tradition.

The Ethiopian Synaxarium (i.e. order of readings on the lives of the Saints, the Archangels and aspects of the divinity, for each day of the ecclesiastical year), refers to St. Ephraim in the readings for the Ethiopian month of Hamle (i.e. roughly equivalent to July in the Western Calendar.) This gives a short account of his life and activities according to the Ethiopian perception

The Commentary of the initial part of the Wedasse Mariyam recounts the traditional version of the story of St. Ephraim. It is related how he was inspired and directed to write the Wedasse Mariyam and how the Holy Virgin appeared to him and blessed him. There are further narratives about how he met Basil the Great and was ordained as a Deacon, and there is information about his teacher Jacob of Nisbis.

8 Andrew Palmer, 'The Influence of ...' *Opp. Cit.*

A famous dogmatic work the Heymanote Abaw contains a subsection about the teaching of St. Ephraim with special regard to Christology and Mariology. Furthermore the Commentary (Andemta Hymanote Abaw) supplies further information about the saint, apparently from oral sources.

Certain versions of the Ta'amera Mariyam - the Miracles of Mary, especially the (abridged version) by Tesfay Gebre Selassie gives details about his life story. It describes how the Virgin Mary came to St. Ephraim on a Monday and told him to praise her. He was initially frightened and asked how he could praise her in competition with the choirs of angels and martyrs? She said to him that the Holy Spirit would illuminate him and give him knowledge. Consequently, after receiving the blessing he stood in front of the Virgin and blessed her. Elaborations of this theme are often represented in Ethiopian iconography.

Furthermore it is described how St. Ephraim prayed the prayer of the Annunciation of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, and her response the Magnificat. It is said that he prayed this sixty four times, every day.⁹ St. Ephraim had a dream, in which he saw a pillar of light stretching from Earth to Heaven, constituting a bright shining light. The angel of the Lord told him that the pillar symbolized St. Basil the Great, because he functioned as a pillar to the Church and by his teaching he eliminated darkness from the believers. St. Ephraim put great emphasis on defending the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin using symbolic representations often connected with Old Testament typology to achieve this.

St. Ephrem in Ethiopian Spiritual Art

The popularity of St. Ephraim is reflected in his representation in pictorial art, especially the mural paintings in churches and in manuscript miniatures. He is often represented as one of the fathers or doctors of the Church, frequently in connection with

9 The number 64 is a symbolic number said to correspond to the age of the Virgin Mary. She lived with her parents three years, twelve years in the Temple, thirty four years with Her Beloved Son, and fifteen years with St. John the Apostle, this adds up to 64 years.

representations of the Virgin and Child. The most famous and common representation depicts how he was blessed by the Virgin Mary, and thus empowered to compose the Wedasse Mariyam in seven days. He is normally shown kneeling or standing with outstretched hands before the Virgin, while she reaches out to him with a cross of light. The cross of light is a theme we also find in Coptic representations of the Virgin and Child such as famous Icon of the 'Mother of Light' in the Church at Isna.¹⁰ St. Ephraim is normally depicted as a traditional Ethiopian saint, with ecclesiastical robes and the 'qob' - monastic cap, indicating that he has taken holy orders.

The Historical background and context of the Wedasse Mariyam

Throughout history theologians have reflected upon and addressed questions of doctrine in the evolution and development of theological thought about Mary. This process gained momentum after the Council of Ephesus in the year 431, which declared Mary to be the Theotokos, the Mother of God. "The tradition and teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church holds firmly to the belief that the Wedasse Mariyam is the work of St. Ephrem the Syrian, the fourth century Church father. St. Ephrem possessed a very deep love for the Virgin Mary whose perfect sinlessness is described as a witness to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception."¹¹ Ephrem was described as the 'lyre of the Holy Spirit', he never sounded sweeter than when he was asked to sing the praises of Mary or to celebrate her perfect virginity, her divine maternity, or her full patronage of mercy toward man.

Like other forms of prayer, the Wedasse Mariyam is traditionally learned by heart, since it is commonly used in daily private meditation. The Wedasse Mariyam or 'praises of Mary' is divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week, and represents one of the best known and loved of all the marian devotions. Praised for the

10 Gabrielle Giambardini OFM, *Il Culto Mariano in Egitto III*, Franciscan Printing Press Jerusalem 1978: Fig. 3 the Representation of the Mother of Light in the Church of Isna

11 Abune Paulos, *Filsata: The Feast of the Assumption..* Opp. Cit.

beauty of its language, the variety and beauty of its metaphors, the Wedasse Mariyam is the daily prayer, recited both in private and in communal worship. Commentary recitation occurs during one season only; each service of the all night vigils during the fifteen days preceding the feast of the Virgin's Assumption is followed either by the service of the divine liturgy or by the recitation of the Wedasse Mariyam; on Saturdays and Sundays, the recitation of the Wedasse Mariyam follows the service of the divine liturgy; on other days it precedes it. The recitation occurs in a dramatized way: one person sits down and reads the book - on a chair on a Carpet, the person commentating holds a cross - wearing a special white garment - and comments more than two hours orally thus it constitutes a sort of dialogue.

The text of the Wedasse Mariyam employs the same type of Old Testament typology which we find in the writings of Origen and St. Yared. Already in the first section the Sunday reading Mary is described as the 'second chamber of the Holiest of Holies' where the 'table of the Covenant - with the 'Ten Words' was kept, thus connecting her with the 'tabot' or arc which is at the centre of Ethiopian spirituality. Subsequently this is associated with the incarnation and mediation of Christ and the shedding of his Holy Blood in the New Covenant. Thus the text emphasizes the role of Mary in the history of salvation and the redemptive work of Christ, associating ideas from the Old and New Testament. Subsequent sections continue in a similar vein: Mary is described as the Golden Candlestick that holds the light of the world; the censer of Gold which held the coals of the blessed fire (of the divinity); the garden of delight, a 'great chariot' fashioned out of flames of fire; the rod of Aaron; the tabot (tabernacle or arc) the sanctuary and the Golden pot of manna. It ends with a request for Mary to intercede to Christ that he may 'confirm us in the right Faith', 'bestow upon us mercy and compassion' and 'forgive us our sins'. The text for subsequent days emphasizes themes such as 'Mary as the second Eve' (Monday), the perpetual virginity of the Virgin (Tuesday), door of the sunrise - pure Bride-chamber of the Holy Bridegroom (Wednesday), the burning bush (Thursday), the God-bearer and Mother of Light (Friday), and the 'spiritual city wherein God the Most High took up His Abode

(Saturday). It ends with a tone of rejoicing, whereas the first Eve brought forth children in toil and suffering, the second Eve heard a voice saying 'rejoice, O full of grace, thou hast brought forth for us the Word of the Father, the King, the God of creation. He came and delivered us for He is the Compassionate.'..

The Wedasse Mariyam speaks about the holy will of God, to save humanity, and God's favor towards the Virgin Mary in choosing her to be the principal instrument of His work of salvation. Thus, the name Wedasse Mariyam may be somewhat misleading because it implies exclusive focus on marey, while, in fact, the focus is on the mystery of the incarnation and the one favored by God.¹²

Ethiopian Orthodox tradition recounts how St. Ephrem prayed the Magnificat sixty-four times daily in the earnest hope that God might give him an eye to perceive the vast and wondrous mysteries of the blessed Virgin, and a voice to express the unspeakable beauty of the Mother of God. Not only did God answer his prayers, but the Holy Virgin herself, accompanied by angels and the saints of God, appeared to him on a glorious throne of light and asking him to praise her. When St. Ephraim out of humility and awe, responded, "How shall I praise you, when not even the angels and earthly saints are able to render proper praise to you?" The Virgin commanded him to speak only the words which God would reveal to him through the Holy Spirit. In saying this, the Holy Virgin recalled her own wonder and humility at the Angel's annunciation'... How shall this become to be, since I have no husband," and the answer of the Lord 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you' (Luke 1:34-35)... Tradition records how St. Ephraim set himself to the task of praising the Holy Virgin, completing the Wedasse Mariyam in just seven days.¹³

The Origin of the Wedasse Mariyam

The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity defines the Wedasse Mariyam or 'Praises of Mary' as: "an important collection of seven prayers, one for each day of the week, in honour of the Virgin Mary, often found in Ethiopic manuscripts alongside the Psalms

12 Abune Paulos, Filsata: The Feast of the Assumption.. Opp. Cit.

13 Abune Paulos, Filsata: The Feast of the Assumption.. Opp. Cit. pp. 16-17.

and Canticles. Traditionally attributed to Ephraim the Syrian, it seems in fact to have been translated at least in part from the Copto-Arabic Theotokia, hymns to the Virgin Mary which are part of the Psalmodia, a choral service (and service-book) of the Coptic church."¹⁴ Similar views are held by the majority of Western Scholars,¹⁵ although opinions as to the exact origin of the Theotokia Hymns vary.

Well respected Ethiopianists such as Ignazio Guidi insist that: "Wedasse Maryam dates from the period of Zar'a Ya'quob and is of Egyptian origin... [Guidi continued that King] Zar'a Ya'aqob... commanded the celebration of numerous festivals in honor of the Madonna, St. Michael and other Saints... he had different texts composed or translated like those of... St. Ephraim the Syrian."¹⁶ In contrast "Littman insists that the Church Hymn-Book Wedasse Maryam is closer to the Coptic version than to the Arabic [and thus] belongs to the 'second period' of religious literature [not the] third period - the Golden Age with figures like Zara Ya'aquob and Na'od..."¹⁷

It is difficult to trace the text's historical development - either on the basis of internal or external criticism. The office in honor of the Mother of God which seems to have been the origin of the Theotokia Hymns is associated with different figures. The Egyptian scholar Aba'el Barakat at the end of the XIIIth century refers to a local tradition, which partially attributes the writing of the Theotokia to St. Athanasius. Two stands of tradition associate it with St Athanasius

14 The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity, Edited by: Ken Parry, David J. Melling, Dimitri Brady, Sidney H. Griffith and John F. Healey, London 2001.

15 See also Ethiopian Orthodox Church. (1943), Enrico Cerulli - Il Libro Etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino, vol. 1. Studi Orientali Pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale. Rome: University of Rome. (1933), Wallis Budge Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Hanna. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (1911), 'Der mutmassliche Verfasser der koptischen Theotokien und des äthiopischen Weddâsê Mârjâm', Oriens Christianus, n.s., vol. 1, pp. 215-16.

16 Ignazio Guidi, Storia della Letteratura Etiopica - Roma Istituto per L'oriente 1932 - Pubblicazioni dell'istituto per L'Oriente, pp. 30, 56.

17 J. M. Harden, An Introduction to Ethiopic.. Opp. Cit. pp. 11, 22, 27.

and the Syrians St. Ephraim and Simon Vasaio. From a modern literary criticism perspective it appears unlikely that the collection of Theotokia could have been the work of a single author or composed in a single period, but rather involved a development at different periods including yearly, monthly and daily cycles of prayer. This constituted a process of gradual formation around a nucleus based on elements in the liturgy of the nativity honoring both mother and son, which were celebrated from the second and third centuries. At its origin were ancient theological ideas especially the divine maternity of Mary and her perpetual virginity.

The traditions of St. Ephraim were linked with the existence of the Syrian Monastery in Shehite (Wadi E-Natroun, the principal area of monastic settlement between Cairo and Alexandria) where he is supposed to have lived some time. Also the monk Simon Vasaio sometimes viewed as co-author was a monk at the monastery of Shehite. The Marian liturgy seems to have been transmitted to Ethiopia from Egypt and not vice-versa. In contrast to scholars such as De Fries who think that the Theotokia translation into Ge'ez was made directly from the Coptic, others such Conti Rossini, Crum and Grohman assume it was made from the Arabic on the basis of a supposed mistake in the Arabic orthography. Thus the Wedasse Mariam was apparently a translation of the hymnology of the Coptic month of Kiakh in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There may have been some connection with the Metzhafe Berhan of King Zar'a Ya'aqob.¹⁸

Certain scholars distinguish traces in the texts indicating an origin not anterior to the VIIth century. The contribution of St. Ephraim and Simon the Vasaio to the composition of the Theotokia could be considered as part of a diverse and gradual process. The portion of the Nativity of Christ with its praise of the Mother of God, could have been the original source of the Theotokia hymns, but the division in days came later. Thus, the hymnology to the Blessed Virgin was translated into Arabic in the XIth-XIIth centuries, after being formed

18 Gabrielle Giamberdini OFM, - *Il Culto Mariano in Egitto* Vol. II Sec. VII-X. Franciscan Printing Press Jerusalem 1974, pp, 231, 233, 235, 236, 237, 250, 259, 254, 255, 257, 261.

through a slow and progressive development, a process of evolution over centuries in which both Egyptian and foreign authors participated. From the third century the Blessed Virgin Mary is addressed in texts as the Theotokos - Mother of God. The names connected with the Theotokia texts include: St. Athanasius (373), St. Ephrem the Syrian (373), St. Cyrill of Alexandria (444), Vasaio the Syrian (521) and Benjamin of Alexandria (662), according to texts from the fourth to seventh centuries. There was a slow momentum culminating in the formation of a daily liturgy.¹⁹

The Significance of the Wedasse Mariyam

H. H. Patriarch Abune Paulos wrote in his PhD dissertation that the Weddase Mariyam "speaks about the holy will of God, to save humanity, and God's favour towards the Virgin Mary in choosing her to be the principal instrument of His work of salvation. Thus, the name Wedassie Maryam may be somewhat misleading because it implies exclusive focus on Mary, while, in fact, the focus is on the mystery of the incarnation and the one favored by God."²⁰ We can link this with the central idea of Eastern spirituality - the theology of deification by grace. Mary is the human being who most resembles the perfect image of God, the incarnate Word. In her the divine image can be contemplated. Because God's incarnation as the Christ was at the centre of the Eastern Church's theology, Mary was praised as the great Theotokos. She has reached the final glorification towards which the church aspires.

The simpler faithful, especially the poor and the deprived, have sought in Mary a strength which enabled them to interpret life, to experience the love of God in their lives, to feel accompanied and not abandoned, and to continue to hope, no matter how bad the circumstances and tragedies of their lives. Christopher O'Donnell has pointed out the remarkable parallel between Luke 1 and Philippians 2:5-11, between Jesus and Mary as examples of poverty and humility raised to unimaginable glory: Jesus took the form of a

19 Gabrielle Giamberdini OFM, - *Il Culto Mariano*, Opp. Cit. pp. 270, 271, 273, 276, 277, 282.

20 Abune Paulos, *Filsata: The Feast of the Assumption..* Opp. Cit.

slave (Greek *doulos*, Phil. 2:7); Mary describes herself as a slave (Greek *doule*, Luke 1:38). Jesus humbled himself (Phil. 2:8); Mary describes her state as one of humiliation (Luke 1:48). God exalted Jesus (Phil. 2:9); the humble are exalted (Luke 1:52). Every knee shall bend...confess that Jesus is Lord (Phil. 2:11); "all generations will call Mary blessed (Luke 1:48). The similarity of Greek expressions throughout seems to suggest deliberate borrowing by Luke to illustrate the mystery of poverty being exalted in both Son and mother."²¹

As indicated before tradition links the composition of the *Wedasse Maryam* with the recitation of the Magnificat, by St. Ephrem and both texts share certain features. The Magnificat (Luke 1: 46b-55) refers to the liberation of humans from oppressive structures, and a renewed relationship with God. An even deeper reading shows that the Magnificat describes the liberation of humankind from its own sinfulness by the power of Christ's incarnation, while a more spiritual allegorical reading, describes the oppression of humankind by sin death, and the power of the devil as having been overthrown through the salvation that Christ wrought for us. Ephraim, in his commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron* 1.28, wrote that, in the Magnificat, "Mary began to preach the new kingdom" - implying that the entire Magnificat is a proclamation of what the Kingdom of God means. In other words, Mary tells us that in the Kingdom of God, which has been inaugurated by the conception of the child in her womb, God does great things for those who are lowly, has mercy on those who are in awe of God, disperses the arrogant, casts down the rulers and lifts up the lowly, fulfills the promises made to Abraham and his descendants. This [implies that] according to St. Ephraim the kingdom of God is characterized, at least in part, by the reversal of fortunes of the arrogant/rulers/rich and the lowly/hungry. "The *Wedasse Maryam* like the Magnificat invites us to participate humbly and nonviolently in the salvific action that God is already carrying out to overturn the world's systematically violent structures of oppression... existing on both the physical and spiritual level ... If we join ourselves to Christ and to his work of

21 Christopher O'Donnell, *Life in the Spirit and Mary*, Glazier, Wilmington 1981, p. 45.

freeing the human race from all forms of oppression, then we will also be able to join Mary in praising God for the wondrous work of salvation that God continues to carry out for us.²²

St. Ephraim and St. Yared

The works of Ephraim were often considered to be part of a stream of tradition which also contained other notable figures. The great spiritual poet and exegete Aphrahat's work might be considered a base for Ephraim, just as Ephraim was a base for Jacob of Sarugh, and Jacob of Sarugh a base for the great medieval theologian and exegete St. Giorgis of Gasicha. However of all the spiritual writers the works of St. Ephraim and those of St. Yared are most similar. They have the same sort of sort of profound depths and use of style.

St. Ephrem the blessed deacon of Edessa is honored for his preaching of the divine word and the training of his disciples in the purity of Sacred Scripture. He also acquired honor as a Christian musician and poet. He was so accomplished in both arts that he was called the "lyre of the Holy Spirit." As such he is closely associated in the Ethiopian tradition with St. Yared. Both of them were interpreters who absorbed and successfully mediated biblical and patristic data, producing poetic melody as refined biblical exegetes. The importance and the everlasting impact of literature of St. Yared on Christian Ethiopia can hardly be overestimated. He lived during the reign of King Gebre Meskel (circa 534-548 A.D.) and is acclaimed by tradition, hagiography and iconography as the founder of the Ethiopian hymnody, whereby he acquired the epithet Mahletay - the melodious. The introductory text of the Synaxarium of [the Ethiopian Month] of Genbot 11 introduces him as Yared the Melodious, who resembles the Seraphim, the father of the original Ge'ez Literature. "The five books attributed to him rank nearly as highly as the canonical books of the Sacred Scripture, and are of primary importance for liturgy.

22 Alex C. J. Vogelpoel, *The Canticle of Mary : A Song of Revolutionary Praise*, Theology 3347: Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours and Liturgical Year, Very Rev. Prof. Peter Galadza 16 October 2008, Edited August 2009, (obtained via internet) .

Next to the Bible the Yaredian corpus is indispensable to the Life of the Ge'ez Rite."²³

There are many incidents in the lives of both saints which make them resemble each other. In his youth Ephraim, bewails in his little book of confessions, that he was languid and remiss in resisting the temptations by which that age is usually troubled. He was hot tempered, easily angered, quarrelsome, and unrestrained in mind and language. But while in prison on a false charge, he began to despise human things and the empty joys of this world. Therefore, as soon as he was exonerated, Ephraim at once put on the habit of a monk and ever after devoted himself completely to the exercises of piety and to the study of the Sacred Scriptures. Likewise Yared is represented as a person who had initially had great difficulties with his studies, but received divine inspiration to persevere. Troubled by his wife's infidelity instead of carrying out his initial resolve to kill her lover, he dedicated his life to God entirely. Just as Ephraim was according to tradition commanded by the Virgin herself to compose her praises, likewise there are accounts of him (together with other saints) meeting the Virgin and being instructed to compose her praises. The *Liber Axumae* recounts an episode involving a: "meeting between the three righteous servants of God Abba Heryaquos Bishop of Behensa, the Potter from Syria and Priest Yared from Axum, in which Mary spoke to them about giving praises."²⁴

The Ethiopian scholar Hable Selassie states that the sources for the *Digwa* (the most important text of St. Yared) are the Bible and the works of the Church fathers, and that he displays a 'breath-taking grasp of the Biblical text.'²⁵ It is a challenge to discern the sources St. Yared used: "The identification of texts, quotations and allusions as well as the sorting out of the provenance of images, patterns or argumentation and explanation is a difficult enterprise.

23 Tedros Abreha, "Quotations from Patristic Writings and References to Early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared", *Le Muséon Revue D'études Orientales* Tome 122 - Fasc. 3-4, Louvain la Neuve 2009, pp. 331-404.

24 Tedros Abreha, 'Quotations from Patristic ...' p. 334, see also *Liber Axumae*, CSCO, 54-58:Script. Aeth. 24-27, Louvain, 1909, p. 5.

25 Tedros Abreha, 'Quotations from Patristic ...' pp. 336, 337.

Quotations in Ethiopian literature are generally anonymous or vague when provided. They are mostly drawn from memory and transmitted orally, and as a consequence there are always differences in the wording of the same quotation... In general one could say that St. Yared's writings reflect a good acquaintance with Scripture and with several other extra-biblical books, like the Cyrillian Corpus."²⁶

St. Yared's most privileged hermeneutical method is a moderate allegorical interpretation, like Origen Yared approaches the Old and New Testaments as a single book corresponding to the one Logos.²⁷ ... Origen's *Philokolia*; in Chapter 6,2, states: The Divine scripture is a single musical instrument of God' [the psalter is compared to a zither] Everything in the Old Economy is considered a type of the New and as containing the logos. Thus persons events, facts sayings, animate and inanimate things of the old Testament are seen as 'icons, types, paradigms, of the New. The new Testament is sister to and closely related to Mosaic oracles.: indeed it is composed of the selfsame elements. The whole of scripture is one single book, because it was spoken by the one Holy Spirit.²⁸ We see the same hermeneutical methods characterizing the work of St. Yared and St. Ephraim, and many other Ethiopian spiritual writers. Furthermore, scholars have distinguished that: "Much of the imagery [of Yared] has an Ephraemic flavor as well."²⁹ For example, Ephraim's imagery makes use of "sun, fire, light and warmth to illustrate the Trinity, which is shared by Yared."³⁰

26 Tedros Abreha, 'Quotations from Patristic ...' p. 360.

27 Tedros Abreha, 'Quotations from Patristic ...' p. 384.

28 A. Robinson (Tr.) *The Philocalia of Origen*. The text revised with a critical introduction and Indices. Cambridge, 1893, p. 45-48.

29 Tedros Abreha *Le Mu s  on Revue D'  tudes Orinetales Tome 122 - Fasc. 3-4 Louvain la Neuve 2009 ... Quotations from Patristic Writings and references to early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared* pp. 331-404.

30 cfr. E. Beck, *Ephr  ms Trini   tslehre im Bild von Sonne/Feur, Licht und W  rme (CSCO, 425: Subsidia 62) Louvain 1981*

St. Ephrem as Archetype of the Semitic influence in Ethiopia

Megabi Hadis Rodas Tadesse is one of the many Ethiopian scholars who has boundless admiration for St. Ephrem, and associates him with quintessential aspects of Ethiopian spiritual literature, particularly its Semitic orientation. He insists unhesitatingly that: "St. Ephrem's approach is the Semitic approach - it is easier to understand than the sophisticated Alexandrian approach .. within a short number of words he conveys a lot of information ... He communicates in the form of poems, just as St. Yared, St. Jacob of Serugh, Aphrahat and Georgis of Gasicha. He transmits theological truths in the form of poems - not only in poems but also in homilies and commentaries."³¹

St. Yared in some way must have harmonized and synthesized elements of the indigenous oral traditions of the local people in his works, which thus became an excellent medium for spreading the Gospel message. It is likely that the Axumites like other Semitic peoples had an associative form of poetic or oral literature, perhaps tending to some of the conventions which we find in Hebrew and Arabic literature. Ephraim in some way became in the popular imagination the archetype of this Semitic literary heritage, his works were considered to embody it and give it expression in a special way.

One characteristic which also pertains to this Semitic orientation is a certain quality of immediate spontaneous communication, which is one of Ephraim's hallmarks. "the way that Ephraim was aware that literature lacks the spontaneity of word-of-mouth communication; yet even when he was writing to be read, he maintained a lively interaction with his reader. This is the secret of his 'awakening' quality. He surprises and puzzles, poses questions and riddles, gives room for more than one answer, and even appears to go too far, then to check himself."³² Ethiopian scholars such as Megabi Hadis Rodas Tadesse, insist that such qualities of St. Ephraim shine through in the Ge'ez works attributed to him in the Ethiopian tradition.

31 According to the Ethiopian scholar Megabi Megabi Hadis Rodas Tadesse, an expert on the exegesis of the Wedasse Mariyam from Ba'ata Le Mariyam monastery, a noted center of traditional education in Addis Ababa.

32 Megabi Hadis Rodas Tadesse

Conclusion

Ephraim, 'God's lyre', saw his name as a combination of the words 'fecundate' and 'sea'. 'The prophet of the Syrians' - their 'greatest teacher' - did inspire lesser poets, one of whom called him 'the ocean on which all the ships of poets sail' (Jacob). It is a challenging task to trace the trajectory of the transmission of Ephraim's literature to Ethiopian languages. Concerning the Wedasse Mariyam well known Western scholars saw a gradual development from a core of literature connected with St. Ephraim, Vasiao the Syrian or St. Athanasius, connected with the nativity celebrations, which was translated from Coptic or Arabic.

Early Ethiopian history is obscure, scholars think there must have been early translations at least of the liturgy, but they are not attested to. There is certain evidence that earlier translations of the Bible were revised on the basis of later Arabic texts, and that at certain periods there was virtually a systematic attempt to destroy the original church literary heritage through wars and related activities.

Some elements of Ephraim's literature may have been translated at a very early period, as the Ethiopian tradition insists, and then and then lost during the numerous wars and the various invasions which characterize Ethiopian history. Or it may have been harmonized with later translations made from Coptic and Arabic. What is without doubt; is that for Ethiopians Ephraim has always been present. In the Ethiopian imagination he is the archetype of the Semitic heritage in the Ethiopian Christian tradition, with its poetic associative way of thinking. Furthermore, the Ethiopian Ephraim corpus has the same immediate, spontaneous quality, which is characteristic of Ephraim's works in general. His style resonates with that of the towering figures of Ethiopian religious literature, such as St. Yared and St. Georgis of Gasicha.

Sensational recent discoveries have reversed previous ideas concerning early Ethiopian literature: "The Garima Gospels are one of the Christian world's richest and most exquisite treasures. Untill recently, scholars have always assumed [them to be] dated back to the 11'th century. But recent carbon dating has proved what the

monks believed all along: the books are among the oldest Gospels in existence. New dating techniques have put the creation of the two books to somewhere between 330-650 A.D., making them a close contender to being the most ancient complete Christian text."³³

Perhaps future discoveries will shed new light on the transmission of Ephraim's work to Ethiopia. Whatever the circumstances Ephraim remains one of the best loved and most respected figures in Ethiopian spiritual literature, and an inspiration to those who came after him. Various works are used in different liturgies for Holy Week and other occasions throughout the Christian year. Above all the Wedasse Maryam is always on the lips of the Christian faithful and gives them hope and courage to face the adversities of everyday life. Thus Ethiopia has much to contribute to our knowledge of Ephraim's literature and its relevance in the world of today.

Fr. Dimetros Woldu
Governing Board Member,
Univ. of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Bibliography

[Patriarch] Abune Paulos Filsata: The Feast of the Assumption of The Virgin Mary and the mariological Tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church ... A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy... Princeton New jersey may 30, 1989.

Alex C. J. Vogelpoel, The Canticle of Mary : A Song of Revolutionary Praise, Theology 3347: Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours and Liturgical Year, Very Rev. Prof. Peter Galadza 16 October 2008, Edited August 2009, (obtained via internet) .

Andrew Palmer "The Influence of Ephraim the Syrian" in Hugoye - Journal of Syriac Studies, Vol. 2:no.1. Jan 1999.

33 Jerome Taylor, 'Unearthed, the Ancient texts that tell story of Christianity - A British Bookbinder has restored ancient copies of the Gospels dating back to the fourth century, - The Independent Newspaper, London, 6.7.2010, pp. 22-23.

E. Beck, Ephräms Triniä tslehre im Bild von Sonne/Feur, Licht und Wärme (CSCO, 425: Subsidia 62) Louvain 1981.

Enrico Cerulli - Il Libro Etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino, vol. 1. Studi Orientali Pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale. Rome: University of Rome. (1933),

Christopher O'Donnell, Life in the Spirit and Mary, Glazier, Wilmington 1981.

Gabrielle Giambardini OFM, Il Culto Mariano in Egitto II Sec. VII-X and III, Franciscan Printing Press Jerusalem, 1974 and 1978.

Getatchew Haile, Roderick Grierson (Ed.), "Ethiopic Literature" in African Zion the Sacred Art of Ethiopia, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1993, pp. 47-55.

J. M. Harden An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature J. M. Harden... London, Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Macmillan and Co. New York and Toronto 1926.

Ignazio Guidi, Storia della Letteratura Etiopica - Roma Istituto per L'oriente 1932 - Pubblicazioni dell'istituto per L'Oriente, pp. 30, 56.

Jerome Taylor, 'Unearthed, the Ancient texts that tell story of Christianity - A British Bookbinder has restored ancient copies of the Gospels dating back to the fourth century.' - The Independent Newspaper, London, 6.7.2010, pp. 22-23.

Ken Parry, David J. Melling, Dimitri Brady, Sidney H. Griffith and John F. Healey, (Ed's) The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity, Blackwell Publishers, London 2001.

A. Robinson (Tr.) The Philocalia of Origen. The text revised with a critical introduction and Indices. Cambridge, 1893, p. 45-48.

Tedros Abreha, "Quotations from Patristic Writings and References to Early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared", Le Muséon Revue D'études Orientales Tome 122 - Fasc. 3-4, Louvain la Neuve 2009, pp. 331-404.

Wallis Budge, Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Hanna, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911.

Jacob Vellian

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE NEW (2009) TEXT OF QURBANA OF CATHOLIC CHALDEAN CHURCH IN USA

During my visit to Mother Mary Chaldean Church Detroit in November 2009, Father Borgi, the parish priest, presented me with two texts of their Qurbana Taksa – one in Syriac and the other in English, both were recently published (2009). The Chaldean church of North America was pre-occupied with adapting and simplifying their Qurbana text to the present day situation for the use of the faithful most of whom were unfamiliar with the Syriac original. Of course some had the benefit of the affinity between their spoken Arabic language and the liturgical Syriac language. But many preferred to have the whole liturgy basically in English. The present two texts are formed in the above background.

The Syriac text entitled *Taksa d'Raze* with 57 pages in black and red color is presented as a formal Taksa. Prayers of option are printed in shade\brackets. Every page is printed with decorated line borders. The English book entitled *The Chaldean Mass in English*, with Syriac title *Taksa d'Raze* has 33 pages. It is basically in black letter with side title such as, **Priest and people**. The special feature of the version is that a few prayers/hymns to be used by the people are given in Syriac with English transliteration: thus,

1. *lakumara* and its refrain *Tau U Maudayu* (Lord of all) we praise you (we adore you)
2. *subha l'aba* (*gloria patri*)
3. *qaddisha alaha* (trisagion)
4. *onitha d'raze-m'sambaroo sabres* ("I have trusted in the Lord" – offertory hymn)
5. *Slamma ama kon-u ammak* (Peace be with you)
6. *Qudsa l'qadishe* (Holy things to the holy)
7. *Had ava qaddisha* (One holy father, one holy son)

These are helpful for the ordinary Chaldean faithful to sing at least part of their Qurbana in the original Syriac language. At least some of the children immigrated from Mosul area in Iraq know the basic Syriac language. For others and for the future generation it will be helpful to provide such a transliterated text in order to instill a sense of Syriac language and tradition. Similar is also the case of the Syro-Malabar church which also could have helped the faithful with similar provisions. In fact among us some are doing it.

A FEW STRANGE CHANGES

The following points need close attention and critical evaluation:

1. In the *onitha d'Raze* (page 11) for the second part only three stanzas are given, leaving out the other three stanzas.
2. Apostles' creed is given instead of the normal Niceo-Constantinopolitan creed.
3. The first *g'hantha* in the anaphora of the Apostles is left out with a curious transition from the creed to the "To you lord, we offer glory, honor...(page 12).
4. It is strange to have given the direction "sit" for people right at the beginning of the anaphora (page 14).
5. Again it is surprising to note that immediately after the *sanctus*, the words of institution is introduced with the phrase, "When the

time came for Jesus to suffer...on the night in which he was betrayed..”(page 16). Hence the third *g'hantha* (on page 51) is left out without paying attention to the importance of the *g'hantha* prayers in East Syrian anaphora.

6. The fourth *g'hantha* is shortened (page 18).

7. The deacon's admonition to “remain silent and with reverence” which was to be given right at the beginning of *Epiklesis* is given after the *Epiklesis* (page 19).

8. Prayers of incense are given, but not prescription to use the incense (page20).

9. In the hymn *barekmar* (thrice) sung by the priest, there is a response by the people “truly we are unworthy”. In the Malabar Qurbana there is this hymn *barekmar* and the response was *amen barekmar*. After the restoration (1960) this response was omitted considering the fact that major manuscripts do not contain it.

10. At the rite of fraction, the direction is given to raise the chalice (page22) instead of the raising of the Eucharistic bread.

11. The prayer after the second “Our Father” is given as optional in Syriac text (page 48). Such prayers of option are left out in the English text (page 24).

12. The third Lord's Prayer before the final blessing is given as optional in the Syriac and the English text (page31).

CONCLUSION

Rev. Fr. Borgi of the Mother Mary Chaldean church in Detroit USA, who was also involved in the preparation of these text is not very happy with the final product (From a personal conversation with him in November 2009). The emphasis in the composing of the *Taksa* was adaptation and shortening and in the process the basic principles of liturgy and the specific tradition of the East Syriac liturgy were not taken into account seriously. In the light of the above observation it is hoped that these texts already used *ad experimentum*, will be revised carefully before finalizing

Bibliography

1. Taksa d'Raze, (Detroit 2009).
2. The Chaldean Mass in English, (Detroit 2009).
3. Taksa d'qudasa, Ernakulam 1960.
4. Malabar Missal - (as per the use of the church of the East Syrians of Malabar) Typical Edition, Rome 2003.
5. Malabar Qurbana, Typical Edition, Rome 2005.
6. F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford 1896.
7. The liturgy of the Holy Apostles Addai and Mari (Syriac), URMI 1893.
8. Taksa d'qudase (Syriac), Urmi, 1890.
9. Missel Caldeen, Paris, edited by Pierre Yusif, 1982.

Msgr. Dr. Jacob Vellian
Kaduthuruthy

Jean Paul Deschler

WORD AND MEANING

A Glossary in Liturgy and Iconography with Special Reference to the Theology of the Eastern Churches

1. Religion and Mental Narrowness

Mental narrowness might be regarded as the original condition of a newborn child who firstly needs material food for its physical survival. But very soon the human being shows an astonishing mental openness which is able to capture and conquer the surrounding world.

Children are naturally eager to learn, and the human brain offers such a surprising capacity that we could continue learning for decades. Later, however, many people seem to return to the first shape, being more or less contented with increasing material goods. And most people, after a period of education and learning, are not concerned with further studies. Their behaviour reminds of a grown-up cat that makes an effort to catch a mouse only when it is hungry. If satisfied and full, it prefers to remain lying somewhere.

We frequently hear stereotyped opinions such as: "There is no nation maintaining Latin as its vernacular. So why learn Latin? It's useless." Such a view may be called short-

* Dr. Jean-Paul Deschler, Basel, Switzerland, is a philologist and theologian, protodeacon of the Greek-Catholic Melkite Church.

sightedness or prejudice. In fact, this kind of moderation and restraint in the field of intellectual activities is especially evident on the level of religious matters.

Convinced adherents of a specific religion and faithful members of a denominational Church often show a monocultural and limited prospect. Such intellectual narrowness is found not just in simple believers, but even in learned theologians, because their education has been one-sided and unbalanced. So most Christian Churches and organisations are either only interested in their own history and tradition, or they merely promote one aspect of Christian faith and spirituality.

In conclusion we can say that the loss of the former communion between Eastern and Western Churches, lack of historical knowledge and deficiency of intercultural sensitivity have led, on the one hand, to self-imposed limitations, combined with apathy and ignorance, and have created, on the other hand, a feeling of superiority, combined with a polemic and aggressive attitude.¹

2. Vocabulary and Intellectual Horizon

In the course of the 20th century, European and American publishers released many works in the realm of Eastern theology, liturgy and iconography, and numbers of illustrated books make the grand creations of the sacred art accessible to the westerners.

Some of these books offer a glossary listing a couple of technical terms, but the explanations rarely include sufficient linguistic information, e. g. on etymology, gender and pronunciation. As a result, many readers use such terms incorrectly, and the mistakes are passed on and spread.

¹ In spite of this observation we cannot agree to the assertion that religion is the cause of wars.

Therefore a small manual, entitled **Word and Meaning – A Glossary in Liturgy and Iconography with Special Reference to the Theology of the Eastern Churches**, is intended to give the required information. It does not claim to replace the relevant works (encyclopaedias, monographs etc.), but will provide the accurate comprehension of the wanted words: their derivation, spelling (in original alphabet and transliteration), their meaning and connotations. So this book attempts to convey the results of manifold research to the users, both to amateurs and to scholars, since research has to support practical as well as academic endeavours.

In the following, some examples may give an idea of the arrangement applied to the entries and their explanations on several levels, as well as of various questions connected with the terms.²

Glossary Examples and Tables with Comments

Lamb n. (Germ. > G. Lamm ‘young sheep’): The square-shaped seal on the **prosphora**; Gr. ἀμνός {amnos} m.; CSL. агнецъ {agnec"} m. Cf. **Agnus Dei**, **Pascha**.

Explanation in plain words:

The English word *Lamb* is derived from a Germanic neuter, which became *Lamm* in German. Round brackets () enclose linguistic explanations: original language, derivation; between single quotation marks ‘ ’ meaning or etymology. After the colon: definition of the term; corresponding expressions in other languages; the Greek term is given in Greek alphabet, followed by the Latinized transliteration in curly

² Here I give only a few entries drawn from the *Glossary* with some additional comments which do not appear in the book, since the introduction will give more information how to use it.

brackets { }; both the Greek and the Church Slavonic words are masculine. Compare the entries **Agnus Dei** and **Pascha** as well as the other keywords printed in bold.

Image f. (Lat. *imago* ‘imitation’): s. **antitypos**, **icon**.

Image is an English loanword borrowed from *imago* which is a Latin feminine, stressed on the *a*, the underlined vowel. See further information under the entries **antitypos** and **icon**.

Antitypos m. (Gr. ἀντίτυπος {antitupos} ‘instead of the print, stamp, image’): image, replica of the **prototype**; CSL. ѿзображѣнїе {izobra-zhenīe} n. ‘outprinting’. Cf. **Archetype**, **Typos**.

The foreign word *antitypos*, a Greek masculine noun, pronounced according to IPA [anditipos], but transliterated {antitipos}, becomes the loanword *antitype*, with stress on the first syllable. The Church Slavonic term is neuter. – IPA s. below.

Icon f. (Gr. εἰκών, εἰκόνα {eikōn, eikona} ‘image, portrait’, > Sy. ܐܝܩܢܐ, ܐܝܩܢܐ, {iqonā, yuqnā} // ܐܝܩܢܐ {yuqno}, Arm. Իկոն {kon}, CSL. икѡна {ikōna} f.): 1. image, copy; 2. **sacred** image, **cultic** image of the **Eastern Church**; CSL. а. ѿбразъ {obraz"} m. ‘image’. Cf. **Nikaia**.

This Greek word is used as a technical term in many languages, among others Syriac, Armenian and Church Sla-

vonie; the connotations, however, are not identical everywhere. In CSI. a word of Slavic origin is also used.

Magnificat n. (lat. *magnificat* 'she magnifies [= praises, extols]' Lk 1:46): Canticle, hymn of the Virgin Mary Lk 1:46-55. Cf. **Megalynarion**, **Mawrba**.

Square brackets [] enclose either additional remarks or phonetic transcriptions according to IPA (International Phonetic Association, cf. above).

Qurbana m. (Sy. ܩܪܒܢܐ {qurbānā} // ܩܪܒܢܐ {qurbano} 'approach, offering, sacrifice'; cf. Hb. ܩܪܒܢ {qorəbān} m., Eth. Qurban): 1. (Eucharistic) **Liturgy**, celebration of the **Eucharist**; 2. **Host**, consecrated bread. Cf. **Quraba**, **Anaphora**.

Syriac terms are given in the Eastern as well as in the Western form, in the keyword column the latter in parentheses, and in the explanation after double slash; the ending *-a* is not a mark of feminine nouns as it normally is in Italian. Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopian parallels demonstrate the relation between Judaism and Christianity, both comparability and difference, and show that the Oriental Churches in certain respects are closer to the origins than the Western Churches.

Gmurta f. (Sy. ܩܡܪܬܐ {gmurtā} // ܩܡܪܬܐ {gmurto} 'coal'): consecrated **Host** in the Sy. Rite, in allusion to Iṣa 6:6. Cf. **Gaza**, **Malka**, **Marganita**, **Prista**, **Tab'a**, **Masob**, **Sacrifice**; **Kalbta**.

³ Note the difference between transliteration and transcription.

Such expressions are characteristic of the typological exegesis of the Church Fathers who interpreted Old Testament events, persons and objects as prefigurations of the New Testament: The “live coal” of Isa 6:6 is a type of Christ etc.

Mantrakodi m. (Mal.): Festive garment, which according to an old custom is given the bride by the groom during the marriage ceremony in the **Syriac Church** of India. Cf. **Minnu**.

A particularity of the St. Thomas Church tradition (in Malayalam).

Vardapet m. (Arm. վարդապետ {vardapēt} ‘rose-master’): Senior priest of the Arm. Church. Cf. **Archimandrite**, **Etchege**.

A particularity of the Armenian tradition.

Khachkar, **Khach’k’ar** m. (Arm. խաչքար {xač’k’ar} ‘cross-stone’): Cross-bearing carved memorial stele covered with rosettes, botanical motifs and knotwork patterns representing the **Cross of Christ** as Tree of life (therefore rarely with a crucifix), characteristic of Arm. Church art, deeply venerated by the faithful.

A particularity of the Armenian Church art tradition.

Ġinmisi m. (Cp. ܓܝܢܡܝܨܝ {ġinmisi} m. ‘birth’): s. **Nativity of Christ**.

The letter *ḡanḡa* is one of the characters of the Coptic script, added from Demotic to the Greek alphabet which has been

adopted in the 2nd c. for the Late Egyptian vernacular. The prefix *ḡin-* forms the “gerund”-noun from a verb.

Dabtara m. (Eth.)⁴: **Singer** and dancer in the Eth. **Church**, who has been intensely trained in **theology** and music (without **ordination**). Cf. **Makomiya**.

A particularity of the Ethiopian Church tradition.

Dič f. (Ru. дичь {dich'}) ‘deer, venison’): Dark colour (a brownish grey) on **icons** for shadows in the flesh areas and for a **monk**’s garment, a mix of **carmine**, blue and white, or of **ochre**, blue and **cinnabar**.

There are a great number of technical terms in Russian icon painting.

Hell f. (Germ., e. g. Got. *halja*, OIcl. *hel*, OHG. *hell[i]a* ‘the concealing, covering one’): 1. In pre-Christian mythology the underworld, abode of the departed (corresp. Lat. *infernium* ‘the low [sc. world]’); 2. eschatological place of punishment with perpetual pains for sinners. Cf. **Gehenna**, **Judgement**; **Hades**, **Sheol**.

The denotation of this Germanic word underwent, through Jewish and Christian theology, a remarkable shift, as we can see in Gothic, German, Icelandic and English literature.

⁴ Malayalam as well as Ge’ez terms are given in Latin script only, because relevant dictionaries are accessible to the experts of these languages.

3. Ecumenism and Spiritual Wideness

It is obvious that studying other languages supports the learner's ability to step inside the mind of other cultures. The effort made to understand a different kind of expression equals the quest for greater clarity. This statement may be a truism for experts in oriental and so-called dead languages. But during many centuries theologians took other Churches for heretical, because they used different terms for the same doctrine or applied certain terms with different nuances. Philological research exhibits such topics and enables the theologians to make progress on the thorny way of ecumenism.

In this moment a splendid gathering takes place in this house, in this ST. EPHREM ECUMENICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. This World Syriac Conference is a blissful and hopeful meeting of scholars who, through their translations and interpretations, render a great contribution to the retrieval of the lost Christian consciousness, the awareness that our endangered Christianity needs unity – not a monolingual, monoritual, monocultural uniformity, but *communio*, oneness coupled with diversity of expression. The view into foreign Christian rites and customs gives insights into our own heritage. True ecumenism is fostered by such institutions and such experts able to combine scholarly accuracy with amicable openness: The Churches need persons who help the believers to unite faith and sincerity, *intellectual and spiritual wideness*.

* * *

Bibliographic Guide

A great number of reference-books, manuals, dictionaries, grammars, encyclopaedias, articles and monographs have been helpful for the compilation of this glossary. Though we are obliged to their authors, it is not relevant to list the titles of these works. But

it might be useful to give a *tabular survey* of the academic departments and branches linked to Eastern Churches.

The catchwords serve the users as a guide showing in which direction they could continue the quest in catalogues, periodicals and in the internet, if they need more information and updated research within a special discipline.

Starting from the listed subjects one can find further subdivisions and "auxiliary disciplines" (e. g. sphragistic studies within the fields of history as well as of iconography). Overlapping may occur now and then.

Theology

Ecclesiology
Church history
Liturgical studies
Mysticism
Hagiography
Exegesis
Patristics
Dogmatic theology
Canon Law
Eastern Church hist.
Mythology
Philosophy
History of religions

Philology

Linguistics
Indo-European philol.
Classical philology
Byzantine studies
Germanic studies
Slavonic studies
Romance studies
Oriental studies
Semitic studies
Egyptology
Assyriology
Phonetics
Etymology
Semasiology
Onomasiology
Literature
Poetics
Hermeneutics

Iconography

Iconology
Icon painting
Encaustic paint.
Tempera painting
Fine arts
Symbolism
Emblematic stud.
Semiotics
Palaeography
Archaeology
Architecture
Applied arts
History of art

St. Thomas in Jerusalem and in India



The icon of "New Sunday" (G. Kurisummoottil, 2002) is characteristic of the St. Thomas Church. The Apostle Thomas was the first to call Jesus "my Lord and my God" (Syriac inscription above the halo of Christ).

Paul Blaize Kadicheeni

THE TREATISE ON BAPTISM IN THE CAUSES OF THE SEVEN MYSTERIES OF THE CHURCH BY PATRIARCH TIMOTHY II, 1318-1332

Timothy II who became the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in the year 1318 A.D is considered to be the author of *The Causes of the Seven Mysteries of the Church*. Before being elected Patriarch as successor to Mar Jaballaha III and took Arbela as his Patriarchal seat, he was Metropolitan of Mosul and was known under the name Mar Joseph. In addition to writing the above mentioned book he has promulgated the Canons of the Synod of 1318, and is said to be the author of *The Question on the Office*.

The Causes of the Seven Mysteries of the Church

The most important work of Timothy II is *The Causes of the Seven Mysteries of the Church*. Indications to the contents of this work made us understand that this document on the Sacramental theology would be very useful for gaining a deep knowledge of the Sacramental theology in the Chaldean tradition. Since the original Syriac text has remained in

manuscript form,¹ and no complete translation of the text has been available, this interesting document has remained rather inaccessible to the students of the Chaldean tradition. So we thought that the publication of the Syriac text, its translation into a modern language, and critical studies on the Sacraments treated, - Priesthood, Consecration of the Church, Baptism, Eucharist, Perfection of the Religious, Funeral Services for the Faithful, Marriage, and Penance (passim), - would be very valuable. I had limited myself to Timothy's treatise "On Holy Baptism," which forms the third chapter of this book. Although I had made a detailed study of the treatise "On Holy Baptism" for a Doctorate thesis in theology at the Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas, Rome in 1972, under the title *The Mystery of Baptism*, I had published only the text and an English translation of the treatise "On Holy Baptism" together with an introduction.

In the paper I am presenting now I will give a summary of the ceremonies of baptism and their meaning given by Timothy II.

The Baptismal Liturgy and the Meaning of Baptismal Ceremonies in Timothy II.

Timothy refers to various elements of the Chaldean baptismal liturgy in Sections 7-9². However, it must be noted that he does not give a continuous and methodical description of the baptismal ritual and does not indicate the mutual relation of the various ceremonies he has mentioned in different places. Moreover, the ceremonies he

1 The following are the important manuscripts: Seert 84, Codex no. 81 and 158 of the Convent of Notre-Dame-de Semances, Codex 288 of Chaldean Patriarchate, Codex Vatican Syriac 151, Codex 142 of St. Mark's Monastery, Jerusalem, Codex Mingana 13, Codex British Museum Oriental Additional 9378.

Prof. Sebastian Brock has drawn my attention to the following studies: Jose Kochuparambil on Eucharist, and William Thoma on Consecration of Church, E-mail of September 2008.

2 Paul Blaize Kadicheeni, C.M.I., *The Mystery of Baptism: The Text and Translation of the Chapter "On Holy Baptism," From The Causes of the Seven Mysteries of the Church of Timothy II*, Nestorian Patriarch (1318-1332), (Dharmaram Publications, Dharmaram College, Bangalore-560029, India, 1980), 15-93

mentions do not fully correspond to the traditional Chaldean baptismal liturgy. So it is not possible, and so we don't attempt too, to reconstruct Timothy's Order of Baptism. However, we will just put together in an order all the ritual elements mentioned by the author, with the help of the few indications provided by him, and the traditional Chaldean baptismal liturgy.

A. The Renunciation of Satan and Connected Rites.

In section 17³ Timothy mentions a group of ceremonies most of which do not figure in the traditional Chaldean baptismal ritual. These ceremonies are: the renunciation of Satan, the oath of allegiance to Christ, the confession of faith, the signing on the forehead, exorcism, the sponsor vouching for the candidate, and the writing of the names in the archives.

B. The First Signing.

Timothy refers to a ceremony called the first signing in Sections 16⁴ and 19⁵ and in Section 16⁶ of the treatise on Eucharist. Then in Section 17⁷ there is mention of a signing performed at the beginning of the baptismal rite in connection with the rite of renunciation of Satan. Although the author does not indicate that the ceremonies mentioned in all these places are the same, it is reasonable to think that he refers to the same rite. According to the author, this signing made on the forehead shows that Satan has no more power over the candidate, from now on the property of Christ, and that the seal of Christ on the forehead is a sign of protection against the devil, and a sign of dedication to Christ⁸.

C. The Blessing of the Oil.

In sections 7 and 8⁹ Timothy comments at some length on the rites of blessing the elements of the oil and the water. In the Chaldean rite, traditionally, these ceremonies take the place of the

4 Ibid. 61-67

5 Ibid. 89-91

6 MS Vat. Syr. 151 fol 121v

7 Section 17:4, 81-83

8 Section 16:1-5; 17:4, Ibid 61-67, 81-83

9 Ibid. 15-23

anaphoral part, namely the part corresponding to the consecration of the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharistic liturgy¹⁰.

The blessing of the oil which in the traditional Chaldean baptismal liturgy takes place before the blessing of the water is commented on especially in Section 8¹¹ by referring to the significance of the blessing of the oil newly¹² by the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the oil¹³, and the signing of the new oil with the Oil of the Horn¹⁴ that had been consecrated on an earlier occasion, to indicate the descent of the Spirit upon the baptized¹⁵.

After explaining the meaning of the blessing of the oil newly, Timothy explains the symbolism of the holy oil. He attributes to it various symbolic meanings which are found in connection with the subject of anointing in the Scripture, liturgy and tradition¹⁶. He emphasizes its holiness and attributes to it the power to sanctify¹⁷. Rarely, he speaks also of its power to strengthen¹⁸ and to heal.¹⁹

D. The Blessing of the Water.

Timothy justifies the liturgical practice of blessing the water after the blessing of the oil by comparing them to the female and male principles in human generation.²⁰ As in the case of the blessing of the oil, here also Timothy emphasizes very much the significance of the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the water and the meaning of the signing of the water with the Oil of the Horn to indicate the descent of the Holy Spirit.²¹

E. The Anointing Preceding the Baptismal Washing.

A very important ceremony, which in the traditional baptismal ritual takes place after the blessing of the oil, is a signing with the oil

10 Diettrich, *Nestorianische Tauf liturgie*(Giessen:1903), xx-xxiii

11 Kadicheeni, *Mystery of Baptism*, 19-21

12 Ibid. Section 8:1, 19

13 Ibid.

14 Section 8:3, *ibid.* 21

15 Section 8:6, *ibid.* 23

16 Sections 8-13, *ibid.* 19-57

17 Sections 8;9;10:1,11:2-5;12:1-5, *ibid.* 19-57

18 Section 12:7, *ibid.* 51

19 Section 13:2,3, *ibid.* 53-55

20 Section 7:2, *ibid.* 15-17

21 Section 7:3, *ibid.* 17

performed with three fingers on the chest and followed by the anointing of the whole body.²² Timothy, immediately after speaking about the blessing of the water and oil in Sections 7 and 8, does not speak about an anointing or signing, but proceeds to speak about the various issues related to the holy oil.²³ Then, in Section 14²⁴ he speaks about a signing (*rusina*). Furthermore, in Sections 16²⁵ and 19²⁶ and in Section 16²⁷ of the treatise on the Eucharist he speaks of a second signing. It is most probable that the author is speaking about the same rite in all these instances.

Timothy's explanations bearing on the meaning of the anointing preceding the baptismal washing is spread over a great part of the treatise on Baptism.²⁸ Since the second signing is the ceremony in which the anointing with the newly consecrated oil takes place, his reflections on the meaning of the blessing of the oil through the invocation of the Holy Spirit,²⁹ and the manifold symbolisms of the oil³⁰ is of great relevance here. Moreover, it may be noted that the reference to the sign, and the relationship between the sign and "the circumcision not made with hands"³¹ is a theme traditionally found in connection with the anointing preceding the baptismal washing.³² In the Chaldean baptismal liturgy these themes are clearly mentioned in the prayer for blessing the oil.³³ The explanation in Section 16 based on the rubrics refers to the sanctification of the soul,³⁴ the coming of the Trinity into the hearts of the faithful and the giving of grace,³⁵ and the mystery of the Holy Spirit.³⁶ Thus there are many

22 J.E.Y. Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East* (Mosul:1928), 144-145

23 Sections 9-13, *Kadicheeni, Baptism*, 23-57

24 *Ibid.* 57-59

25 *Ibid.* 67-73

26 *Ibid.* 91

27 MS Vat.Syr. 151, fol.121v

28 Section 7-14, 16:6-9, 19:5, *Ibid.* 15-59, 67-73, 91

29 Section 7-8, *Ibid.* 15-23

30 Sections 7-14, *Ibid.* 15-59

31 Section 14, *Ibid.* 57-59

32 Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, 137-139

33 *Ibid.*

34 Section 16:6, *Kadicheeni* 67-69

35 Section 16:7,9, *Kadicheeni* 69-73

36 Section 16:7, *Kadicheeni* 71

indications that, for Timothy, the anointing preceding the baptismal washing is closely connected with a highly significant moment in the administration of baptism.

F. The Baptismal Washing.

The baptismal washing which traditionally³⁷ takes place immediately after the anointing of the whole body is dealt with in Section 15 by explaining the threefold symbolism of baptismal signing³⁸ and in Section 17³⁹ by referring to the symbolism of death and resurrection. According to the sequence of the rites in Sections 17 and 18 the inscription of the names of the candidates precede⁴⁰ and the "giving of the beautiful garments to the baptized"⁴¹ follow the baptismal washing.

G. The Third Signing.

In a few places Timothy speaks of a third signing which, according to the traditional Chaldean baptismal ritual is performed after the baptismal washing.⁴² As in other writings concerning the Chaldean baptismal liturgy, Timothy's treatise also does not give precise answers to the questions whether this third signing is a rite of anointing with oil or a mere imposition of hands and making the sign of the cross, and whether this rite is a mere concluding ceremony or a rite connected with a highly significant moment of the administration of baptism, like the conferring of the Holy Spirit, etc.

According to the author's words in Section 16, the third signing ratifies and finishes the ceremony of baptism, and ritually expresses the fact that those who received baptism have already been raised to heaven and are made to dwell with Christ.⁴³ So here he gives to this ceremony only the meaning of a concluding ceremony.

37 Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, 145

38 Section 15, Kadicheeni 59-61

39 Kadicheeni 83-85

40 Section 17:6, Kadicheeni 83

41 Section 18, Kadicheeni 85

42 Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, 151

43 Section 16:11, Kadicheeni 73

In Section 19, however, the author says that the third signing which is final sealing is “perfection through the Holy Spirit.” This expression is so strong that some scholars have been of the opinion that Timothy’s words here could refer to a rite comparable to that sacrament which in Western Latin theology is known as Confirmation.⁴⁴ It will not, however, be just to interpret Timothy and other East Syrian authors, exclusively by means of this theological terminology which was developed in the context of baptismal practices in which there were proper post-baptismal rites to express a highly important moment of the baptismal mystery. Moreover, we must bear in mind that Section 19 as a whole is, to a great extent, a quotation from the *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae*, which at times explains the meaning of various ceremonies of baptism typologically. So it is possible that the words, “perfection through the Holy Spirit” have only a symbolic meaning. In order to interpret Timothy, we must by all means take into consideration the fact that he gives very special significance to the consecration of the oil in every administration of baptism, emphasizes the manifold symbolism of the newly consecrated oil, and relates the pre-baptismal anointing to the sanctification effected in baptism, etc. Hence the question arises whether Timothy, in spite of the words, “perfection through Holy Spirit” intended to give the third signing an additional significance related to the sanctification through the Holy Spirit or not.

H. The Eucharistic Communion after Baptism.

Timothy refers to the ancient custom of Eucharistic communion after baptism in Section 18 of the treatise on Baptism and in Section 7 of the treatise on Eucharist. He speaks about the Eucharistic communion as the spiritual nourishment which the baptized receive and make them enter the paradise from which Adam was cast out.

Timothy’s treatise “On Holy Baptism,” thus makes us reflect on some of the themes and problems of the baptismal liturgy and theology in the Chaldean tradition.

44 Cf. W.de Vries, “Timotheus II...” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 8(1942), 91

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 3

(Continued from page 84)

14. In the midst of Paradise God had planted
the Tree of Knowledge
to separate off, above and below,
Sanctuary from Holy of Holies.
Adam made bold to touch,
and he was smitten like Uzziah: II Chron. 26:20
the king became leprous,
Adam was stripped.
Being struck like Uzziah
he hastened to leave:
both kings fled and hid,
in shame of their bodies.

(Continued in page 160)

Li Tang

A MEDIEVAL CHINESE SOURCE ON A CERTAIN SYRIAN CHRISTIAN LORD IN KOLLAM, INDIA

China and India enjoyed an extensive historical and cultural interaction already in the first century, although early trade relations had existed even before our Common Era. According to Chinese historical record *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian, 1st century B.C], Chinese produce and products from Sichuan already reached India in the 2nd century BC.¹ Most of the early Sino-Indian interactions were related to Buddhism after its transmission from North India to China at the end of the first century. This exchange was highlighted through the travelling of Chinese monks² along the Silk Road to India in search of Buddhist scriptures as well as the presence of Indian scholars and monks³ in China. On the one hand, Indian cultural elements began to influence many aspects of the Chinese culture and society, e.g., language, religion, literature, painting, sculpture, music, dance, (Buddhist) architecture, medicine and else; on the other hand, many travelogues were written by Chinese pilgrims and merchants which provided ample information about Indian culture, customs, religions, climate, etc., which in return greatly enriched our knowledge about ancient and medieval India. From the beginning of the Song Dynasty (10th century), maritime trade between the two countries began to replace the ancient overland trade routes on which most of the pilgrims travelled. This maritime trade flourished till the 16th century.

¹ Sima Qian, *Shiji* Vol. 123. *Biography: Da Wan*

² such as Faxian 法顯 (5th century), Song Yun 宋雲 (6th century), Xuanzang 玄奘 (7th century), Yi Jing 義淨 (7th century), etc.

³ For example, Ksahyapamatanga and Pharamaratna who travelled to China on horseback and arrived in Luoyang in A.D. 67.

1. The Role of Kollam in Sino-Indian Relations

Kollam was already a flourishing harbor in the Indian Ocean during ancient and medieval times. As recorded in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, it was known as the Nelcyda to the Greek in the first century AD, which “is distant from Muziris⁴ by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea”.⁵ Kollam was mentioned by the Persian merchant Sulaiman of Siraf to be the Indian port *Kaulam-Male* of the 9th century, which was frequented of by Chinese junks. Marco Polo described that merchants from Manzi (South China), Arabia and Levant came with their ship and merchandise to Kollam and they could make a great profit through import and export of goods. He also mentioned that there were Christians and Jews in Kollam as he travelled there in the late 13th century.⁶

The founding of Kollam in 850 marked the beginning of the Malayalam Era (Kolla Varsham). This area is also called the Second Chera Kingdom (800-1102). The maritime trade flourished during the reign of King Sthanu Rani Verman. This is why Chinese Ming traveler Ma Huan 马欢 in his work *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯胜览 [Captivating Views of the Ocean's Shores, 1433] describes the king and the people of Kollam to be Chölas (鎖里 Suoli).⁷

Chinese trade expanded to Kerala during the Perumal period (800-1122). The main traded goods were spices like pepper and cardamom as well as other local produce like Coconuts and areca

⁴ An ancient harbor near Kochi

⁵ W.H. Schoff (tr. & ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* (London, Bombay & Calcutta 1912), 54.

⁶ See Henry Yule's translation *The Travel of Marco Polo* The book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East, Chapter XXII on the Kingdom of Coitum.

⁷ Ma, Huan. *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯胜览 [Captivating Views of Ocean's Shores], vol. 106: Xiao Gelan.

nuts from Kerala to China: in return Kerala imported Silk, China clay, copper, mercury and others from China. During this time, two coastal chiefdoms in Kerala expanded into two kingdoms by conquering the surrounding island and monopolized the trade. One was the Kollattiri Kingdom in the north centered around Mount Eli; the other was the Venad or Tranvancore Kingdom in the south with Quilon as its center.⁸

Under the reign of the Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan (reigned 1260-1294) in the 13th century, Sino-Indian trade was mainly carried out through the maritime Silk Road, and the main trading points in India as mentioned in medieval Chinese historical sources, were the lands of Ma'bar 马八儿 (Tamil Nadu) on the Coromandel Coast and Kollam 俱蓝 on the Malabar Coast.⁹ These two seaports served also as the transfer stations between the Mediterranean and China.

Information about Kollam was also recorded in the Chinese Yuan dynasty history called *Yuanshi* [History of the Yuan Dynasty]. The compilation of *Yuanshi* was completed in 1370 after the fall of the Mongol rule in China. However, the main sources for the history were from the 13th century or earlier.¹⁰

After the opening of the maritime Silk Road, merchants and diplomats who had travelled to south and Southeast Asia began to provide descriptions about the countries they visited. According to *Yuanshi*, the 13th century China knew of Ma'bar and Kollam as follows: "Among all the foreign countries overseas, only Ma'bar and Kollam could exercise a leading role, and Kollam served as a

⁸ Kathleen Gaugh, "Nayar: Central Kerala" in David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gaugh, eds, *Matrilineal Kinship*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p.303-304.

⁹ Ma'erba (Chinese), Arabic Ma'bar, which is 马八儿 in Chinese. In Arabic, it means "ferry-place" 渡口, It belonged to the Kingdom of Pandya which got independence from Chola Kingdom. Kollam during the 13th century belonged to Kerala Kingdom getting independent from Chola Kingdom.

¹⁰ They are: the Veritable Records of Reign Annals of the 13 Yuan Emperors 元十三朝实录 and the Great Institutional Compendium 经世大典 (both sources have been lost).

backing embankment of Ma'bar. Ma'bar lies 100,000 *li* [50,000 km] away from Quanzhou."¹¹ This sentence may demonstrate how important Ma'bar and Kollam were seen in Indian Ocean trade. According to *Yuanshi*, during the reign of Kublai Khan, several ministers at Yuan court presented memorials to the Emperor Kublai Khan urging him to issue a decree requesting several foreign countries in South and Southeast Asia to have tributary relationship with Mongol-Yuan-China so that those foreign countries would recognize Kublai as their Khan and pay tribute to him. In return the Khan would give these countries trading priorities and confer official titles on their rulers or nobility.¹² Between 1272 and 1296, China dispatched 16 diplomatic missions to India, most of them to Kollam and Ma'bar with the hope of establishing tributary relations with China. Countries such as Champa (South Vietnam) and Ma'bar agreed to send embassies to the Yuan court, whereas Kollam did not respond in the first place. A discussion was held at the Field Secretariat on sending an envoy of 15 persons to Kollam. However the Emperor Kublai Khan emphasized that he should be the one who would make the final decision regarding sending envoys to Kollam.¹³

It seems that establishing a tributary relationship with Kollam became one of the priorities for China in international affairs, for within a short period of time Emperor Kublai Khan ordered envoys to be sent to Kollam. In 1280, a delegation led by the provincial governor Yang Tingbi of the Guangdong Circuit in South China departed for Kollam:

In the 12th month of the 16th year of Zhiyuan [AD1280], [the emperor] sent the *Darughachi* ¹⁴ Yang Tingbi of the

¹¹ *Yuanshi* Vol. 210, *Biographies* 97: *Foreign Countries*.

¹² For a discussion on the Yuan-China tributary system, see Yu, Changsen 喻常森, "Shilun chaogong zhidu de yanbian 试论朝贡制度的演变" [On the transformation of China's tributary system], *Nanyang wenti yanjiu* 南洋问题研究 Vol. 101, no. 1 (2001), 57-60.

¹³ *Yuanshi* vol. 210, *Biography* 97: *Ma'bar*.

¹⁴ *Darughachi* 达鲁花赤 is the Mongolic word meaning "provincial governor".

Department of Military Dispatches¹⁵ in Guangdong and demanded him to summon Kollam [to pay tribute]. In the third of month of the 17th year of Zhiyuan [1281], Yang reached Kollam. The ruler of Kollam Binadi [Benate]¹⁶ ordered his brother Kenaquebulamu¹⁷ [Kanchipuram?] to write briefly a condition of surrender in the Muslim script, which was then given to Yang Tingbi so that he might present it to the emperor. The ruler of Kollam also gave his words that he would send official envoy to pay tribute in the following year.¹⁸

Within the next 18 months, Yang Tingbi made another two voyages to Kollam. The promise of the ruler of Kollam was finally fulfilled. By the 11th month of the 17th year of Zhiyuan [A.D.1282], Kollam, Ma'bar and a number of southeastern kingdoms had all presented a memorial to the Chinese Emperor. Shortly afterwards, the Emperor summoned envoys from Kollam to submit.¹⁹

The court of Yuan-China therefore established a tributary relationship with Kollam. The Chinese records states that in 1284, the envoy from Kollam came to China and brought tributes to Kublai Khan:

¹⁵ Department of Zhao Tao 招討司 was a section for dispatching troupes and summoning enemies to surrender.

¹⁶ Yule noted that Barbosa also tells us that the King of Kaulam was called Benateri (*devar?*). And according to Yule, Dr. Caldwell's kindness enabled him to explain this title. *Pinati* or *Benate* represents *Venadan*. "The Lord of the Venadu," or *Venattu*, that being the name of the district to which belonged the family of the old kings of Kollam, and *Venadan* being their regular dynastic name. The Rajas of Travancore who superseded the Kings of Kollam, and inherit their titles, are still poetically styled *Venadan*. (*Pauthier*, p. 603 seqq.; *Ram*. I. f. 304.). See Henry Yule's translation *The Travel of Marco Polo* The book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East, note no. 1 on the Kingdom of Coilum. According to Menon, The ancient name for Veanaud is Thiruadi. Menon, p. 35.

¹⁷ This is the modern *pinyin* spelling of 肯那却不刺木.

¹⁸ *Yuanshi* Vol. 210, Biography 97. Text in Chinese: [至元]十六年十二月，遣广东招讨司达鲁花赤杨庭璧招俱蓝。十七年三月，至其国。国主必纳的令其弟肯那却不刺木省书回回字降表，附庭璧以进，言来岁遣使入贡。

¹⁹ *Yuanshi* Vol. 11

In the ninth month of the 19th year of Zhiyuan [AD1283]... [the emperor] summoned Yang Tingbi to demand overseas countries [to pay tribute], the foreign countries from the south all sent envoys to pay tribute. The king of Kollam sent envoys to present a memorial [to the emperor], and brought precious produce and a black monkey as tribute...The head of Yelikewen [Erkegün, East Syrian or "Nestorian"] Uzan'er Pielima who resided in the country of Kollam also sent envoys (to the Yuan court) who presented a memorial (to the emperor) and brought tributes of a seven-treasure-tablet as well as two bottles of medicine. Furthermore, the supervisor of Muslims [in Kollam] Mahema (Mahmed) also sent envoys to present a memorial [to the emperor]...²⁰

In the following year, i.e. A.D.1283, the Emperor sent Yang Tingbi again to Kollam. Yang brought with him gifts of bows, arrows, saddles and bridles. Two months later, he arrived in Kollam and granted the king of Kollam by the name of Wani 瓦尼 these gifts as well as a gold tally.²¹ The last record in *Yuanshi* concerning the coming of Kollam envoys to China was in the year 1288.²²

2. The Syrian Christian Lord in Kollam

As mentioned in the previous passage, *Yuanshi* recorded that a Syrian (也里可温/Yelikewen/Erkegün) Christian Lord by the name of Uzan'er Pielima (modern mandarin *pinyin* spelling) 兀咱兒撒里马 who resided in Kollam sent envoys to China in 1283 and paid to

²⁰ *Yuanshi* Vol. 12. (十九年) 九月辛酉,招讨使杨庭坚招抚海外,南番皆遣使来贡。俱蓝国主遣使奉表,进宝货、黑猿一.....寓俱蓝国也里可温主兀咱兒撒里马亦遣使奉表,进七宝项牌一、药物二瓶。又管领木速蛮马合马亦遣使奉表...

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *Yuanshi* Vol. 14.

the Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan. Although this source contained in *Yuanshi* appears to be only one sentence, the information it provides is plentiful. The following is an attempt to give some interpretations to this valuable source.

2.1. On the word “Yelikewen”

The Chinese rendering of Yelikewen 也里可溫 is a loan word from the Mongolic language. It is a phonetic transcription of the Mongolic word Erkegün (*Old Turkic*: Ärkägün), a special name used during the Yuan Period of China, especially after Kublai Khan became emperor, to designate East Syrian (or “Nestorian”) Christians. Chinese Yuan Dynasty sources suggest that this term was not in use in pre-Kublai Khan period. Rather, another term of Persian origin “Diexie 迭屑” (Persian: Tarsā²³) appears in Chinese sources of the early Mongol period to refer to East Syrian Christians.

Since *Yuanshi* uses the term Yelikewen to name the Christians in Kollam, it is quite obvious that Chinese travelers to Kollam found great similarities between the Christians in Kollam and those in Yuan-China. Therefore, the Yelikewen in Kollam refers to Syrian Christians (or Thomas Christians).

2.2. On the name Uzan’er Pielima 兀咱兒撒里馬

It is most complicated if not impossible to identify the person Uzan’er Pielima from the Chinese linguistic perspective. Uzan’er Pielima is the modern Mandarin spelling, however, during the Mongol-Yuan period, Guanhua 官話 (northern Mandarin) was adopted plus the use of vernacular language. The typical characteristics of this Guanhua was the drop of most of the suffix consonants which were present in ancient Chinese. Only “n” and “ng” were kept. For instance, the “m” in the word “Kollam” would be changed to “n”. It is most likely that foreign personal and place names written in Chinese were pronounced differently from what is pronounced in modern Mandarin. The names given in Yuan sources

²³ The Persian word “Tarsā” means “God-fearer”, appears in some Chinese sources in the earlier Mongol period, to designate East Syrian Christians.

could also be influenced by Chinese southern dialect pronunciation, since one would assume that most of the sailors and envoys to South Asia would come from the southern areas of China. For example, Julian (for Kollam) which is the modern Mandarin, would be pronounced like "kulam or kulan".

There seems to be no clear consistency in phonetic transcription of foreign personal and place names during the Yuan period, since Yuan sources themselves used different Chinese characters for the same name.

Uzan'er could be the variation of Uzar, Ozar, Uzal, Ozal, etc. Or could it be Uthiyan (which is a common Indian name)? The "l" and "r" can be interchangeable when translated into Chinese or have the same rendering in Chinese.

Pielima is highly likely the rendering of the Indian name "Perumal", as the middle "l" and "r" are interchangeable in Chinese; and the suffix consonant "l" could be dropped. "A" and "al" sound similar in Chinese so they could have a same Chinese word to transcribe them.

The Name Perumal is certainly an indigenous Indian name. There are several possibilities related to the name "Perumal". First, Perumal is one of the names of Vishnu (in Tamil). Lord Perumal (Vishnu), one of the Hindu Trinity, the preserver of the universe. He represents goodness and mercy. He has the power to conquer evil and upholds righteousness. Secondly, Perumal is also a title of the Chera monarchs (Kulasekhara Perumal). The word "Kulasekharal" is a compound of Sanskrit and Tamil. Kula, Sekhara, signifying head of the race of kings. Kulam is race, Sekhara is head, and Perumal means king.²⁴ Both Christians and Muslims have Perumal as name

If the name "Pielima" in Chinese is correctly identified as Perumal, then it would mean that the head of the Syrian Christians in Kollam during the year 1283 was from the Perumal aristocratic family. To correctly identify this Syrian Christian lord in Kollam, cross references from local Indian sources are mostly needed. The Chinese pronunciation can only provide a general guideline and it would be impossible to identify the person without Indian sources. At this initial stage of this investigation, a preliminary suggestion for

²⁴ Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 2.

the local name of this Syrian Christian King would be Uthiyan Perumal, however, it is subject to verification.

2.3. The Tributes

The Syrian Christian lord also sent a “seven-treasure-tablet” and two bottles of medicine to the Emperor Kublai Khan as tributes. It is not clear what this “seven-treasure-tablet” was. In the meantime, the two bottles of medicine must have been exotic local Indian medicine. Valuable and exotic local produce was typical among tributary goods sent to the Chinese Emperor. This gives clue that the Yuan court was also in search of the Indian traditional medicine.

3. Remarks

The identification of the Syrian Christian lord in Kollam still needs further investigation and it cannot be completed without the help of the local Indian sources. The Chinese source seems to imply that the Syrian Christian community in Kollam appeared to have been such a big one that they formed their own kingdom or chiefdom, because only a person representing a big group, a country, kingdom or chiefdom was in a position to pay tribute to the Chinese emperor. This person must also have the need to be in such a tributary relation with China. Since the ruler of Kollam representing his country already paid the tribute to the Chinese emperor, why did the lord or chief of the Syrian Christian community in Kollam still offer to pay separate tribute to the Chinese Emperor even he was not compelled to do so? The reason is clear and simple, because when a country paid tribute to the Chinese court, it in return obtained a privileged status in trade with China. This gives us the clue that most of the Syrian Christians in Kollam during the 13th century were traders and merchants. Their leader endeavored to support their community in various trade activities. The same is true with the Muslim communities in Kollam because their supervisor also offered to pay tribute to the Chinese emperor. One could assume that the Syrian Christians in Kollam formed such a power community that their leader could represent them in international affairs. He not only had a religious function, but also could exercise political and diplomatic power.

It is known that the ancient history of Kollam traces back to the records of the early Syrian Church in India. Kollam was mentioned

in a letter of the "Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus of Adiabene who died in 660 A.D."²⁵ During medieval times, it appears to have been one of the chief seats of "St. Thomas Christians and it formed with Kayal (Koipatam), one of the seven churches ascribed to the Indo-Syrian tradition to St. Thomas himself."²⁶

Since we lack local Indian sources on the history of early Syriac Christianity in Kerala before the 15th century, the above Chinese source on the Syrian Christian lord in Kollam certainly offers a few new glimpses of medieval Christian communities in Kollam from a different angle.

Dr. Li Tang
University of Salzburg, Austria
litangpken@yahoo.com

²⁵ Quoted from Assem. III, pt. II, 437. It states that a letter written by the Nestorian Patriarch, Jesujabus of Adiabene, who died A.D. 660, to Simon Metropolitan of Fars, blaming his neglect of duty, through which he says, not only is India, "which extends from the coast of the Kingdom of Fars to COLON, a distance of 1200 parasangs, deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness."

²⁶ Yule, *Marco Polo* vol. II, 1875, p.365. See also Williams Wilson Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. 11.*)

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Ma, Huan. *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯胜览 [Captivating Views of Ocean's Shores]. Commented by Feng Chengjun. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1955.
- Schoff, W. H. (tr. & ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*. London, Bombay & Calcutta, 1912.
- Sima, Qian 司马迁. *Shiji* 史记 [Records of the Grand Historian]. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
- Song, Lian 宋濂, *Yuanshi* [History of the Yuan Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.
- Yule, Henry, translated. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East*. London: John Murray, 1875.

Secondary Sources

- Gaugh, Kathleen, "Nayar: Central Kerala" in David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gaugh, eds, *Matrilineal Kinship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.
- Hunter, William Wilson. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. 11 (1881).
- Menon, Shungoonny. *History of Travancore*. New Dehli: Asian Educational Services, 1985.
- Rockhill, W.W. "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century, Part I" in Vol. 15, No. 4, *T'oung-pao* No. 3 (1914), 419-447.
- _____. "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century, Part II" in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 16, No. 1 (1915), 61-159.
- _____. "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century, Part III" in *T'oung-pao* Vo. 16, No. 2 (1915), 236-271.

- _____. "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century, Part IV" in *T'oung-pao* Vol 16, No. 4 (1915), 435-467.
- Sen, Tansen. "Yuan Khanate and India: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" *Asia Major* 19.1/2 (2006), 299-326.
- Yu, Changsen 喻常森. "Shilun chaogong zhidu de yanbian 试论朝贡制度的演变" [On the transformation of China's tributary system], *Nanyang wenti yanjiu* 南洋问题研究 Vol. 101, no.1 (2001), 57-60.

Thomas Kollamparampil

MULTIPLE COVENANTS AND 'THE PEOPLE FROM THE PEOPLES' IN APHRAHAT:

**Insights for a Theology of Religions and the
Ministry of the Church in the World**

The early Syriac Christian writers have some specific insights, based on the biblical themes of 'various covenants' and the emergence of 'the people from the peoples' referring to the Church of Christ. These two themes are main stream aspects of the Syriac vision of the mystery of the Church.¹ All such reflections are founded on the OT vision of divine promises/covenants and the NT vision of the 'new people of Israel', with special indebtedness to Pauline interpretations of the mystical body of Christ. Aphrahat (+ 345 ?) is a pioneer in describing the function and relevance of multiple covenants through different generations of humanity for reaching up to the new covenant in Christ and the emergence of 'the people from the peoples'. His reflections on multiple covenants provide us very profound insights for a theology of religions and cultures. His insights are becoming all the more relevant in the context of worldwide migration of peoples resulting in the need of not merely religious tolerance but mutual religious understanding and cultural adaptations.

1 For a general survey, cf. R. Murray, Symbols of the Church and Kingdom, 41ff.

His interpretation on the emergence of 'the people from the peoples' enlightens the communion ecclesiology and the role of Christians in the modern world. Aphrahat explains how the creator Lord demands a servant role from both the people of Israel and from the Church of the peoples in the world as just people who are 'salt of the earth and light of the world' (cf. Dem XXIII,10). In a sense these insights of Aphrahat stand on par with the insights, 'seeds of the Word' (logos spermatikos) of Justin Martyr and the 'recapitulation of all in Christ' according to Irenaeus and similar other ancient views.

I. Integral Divine Plan and Divine Economy

The central concerns of the divine plan and divine economy are for the divine-human engagement through the stages of creation, redemption and salvation in resurrection. In all these stages, depicted as different covenants, the needed revelation regarding the functioning of divine-human engagement is provided to humanity. Such a revelation has its concrete expression in the integral divine economy founded on the mystery of Christ to be attained from the stage of the mystery of Adam (humanity). Humanity is given the vocation and provisions to understand and believe in that engagement for participation and realization in communion with the divinity. Aphrahat explains this mystery by the biblical analogy of Christ as the foundation stone, building stone and head stone of the whole building up (Dem I, 7). This biblical analogy has both OT and NT moorings that can explain the foundations and the building up of the saved humanity.

From the side of humanity the faith in the economy of the divine-human engagement in a very concrete form is the faith in Christ Jesus who is the embodiment (incarnation) of the divine plan and economy. Aphrahat finds the first Adam as one who is animated by a living soul and the Second Adam (Christ) from above as having the life-giving Spirit (1Cor 15:49; Dem VI,18, XXIII,58). The one who receives the Spirit of Christ is in the likeness of the heavenly Adam, our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is by the Spirit of Christ what belongs to the animated soul (earthly Adam) will be swallowed up by the power of the life-giving Spirit of the heavenly Adam (Dem VI,14, 18). In

every human being by the first (physical) birth the animate spirit is set in the person and through the second birth of baptism the Holy Spirit is received as a portion and participation in the immortal divinity (Dem VI, 14). The basic divinization process according to Aphrahat is the engagement between the earthly and heavenly Adams, or the mutual penetration of the animated soul and the life-giving Spirit which is made manifest and ritually inaugurated in baptism. What is thus inaugurated in baptism should go on and on till its logical end in which the life-giving Spirit will swallow up the animated soul so as to make it reach the glorified stage of salvific resurrection in full glory. This is the putting on of the full image of the heavenly Adam (Dem VI, 18; XXIII, 58).

Aphrahat is quite realistic by explaining the failures of human beings as the tragedy of 'grieving of the Spirit of Christ', the Celestial Adam. Any non-cooperation to the Spirit is an act of grieving the Spirit (Dem VI, 18). This in other words is the opposition and denial of the actions of the life-giving Spirit in one's life. It is opposition to the paths of realization of the Spirit of baptismal life in this world. Aphrahat finds sin as all sorts of reversal from the inspiration and power of the life-giving Spirit. By opposition to the Spirit and the reversal from the Spirit the sins of commission and omission are accounted for. This was first seen in Adam who reversed himself from God and turned to the evil one and his advices. As a result the exalted dust, Adam, turned back into simple dust so as to become food for the serpent. That was the curse into which Adam fell down (Dem XXIII, 3). Adam's opposition to the instructions of the Lord, Israel's unfaithful behavior by rejecting Yahweh (Dem XIX, 3) and the 'grieving the Holy Spirit' by anyone in any age are the same in essence.

By the life-giving Spirit infused into Adam/humanity the power of discernment was given. By such a discernment he should distinguish the good from the evil and know God, his maker. When he knows his maker, God is conceived and formed in him and he becomes the temple of God as a dwelling place of divinity (1Cor 3:16; Lev 26:12; 2Cor 6:16; Dem XVII, 7). So Aphrahat writes:

As soon as a man had known his maker, God was formed and conceived inside the thought of man. He became the temple of God his maker, as it is written, "I shall dwell in them and I shall walk among them" (Lev 26:12; 2Cor 6:16). But if the sons of Adam do not know their maker, God is not formed inside them and he does not dwell with them and he is not conceived in their thought. However they are considered before him like animals and like the rest of the creatures (Ps 73:22; Dem XVII, 7).²

When one knows his maker he becomes a 'ploughed land' in which the seeds can grow and become fruitful (Dem I, 20; XVI, 46; XXIII, 69). The fruitfulness comes out only by putting the Word into deeds, or by the practice of faith, or that is practically by the obedience to the instructions or commandments of the Lord.

The final goal is the Trinitarian communion of humanity through the divine-human engagement in and through Christ (Dem IV, 10, 11; VI, 11; XVII, 7-8). So Aphrahat explains:

When a man sweeps his soul in the name of Christ, Christ dwells in him, and God dwells in Christ. Therefore that man becomes one of the three - he himself, Christ who dwells in him and God who is in Christ - as our Lord said, "I am in my Father, and my Father is in me" (Jn 14:10, 11; Dem IV, 11).³

The central truth is the solidarity of the whole humanity in and through Adam and Christ. Adam/humanity carries the 'seed of righteousness' and promise of glory which became actualized in Christ (Dem XXIII, 14ff). The whole biblical genealogy of human race is depicting how this seed and promise were carried along in the history (Dem XXIII, 14-20). Because of that 'seed of righteousness' just people were there always in all generations. Hence, the economy of the balancing of the just and wicked peoples, good and bad deeds in a single human being, balancing of grace and justice in the world are all there in the history (Dem XXIII, 8-13). Like the blessing in the

2 Tr. K. Valavanolickal, *Demonstrations*, Vol. II, 145. (From this point onwards all references to the two volume English translations of Aphrahat, furnished by K. Valavanolickal, will be referred by volume no. and pages).

3 Tr. *Demonstrations* I, 86-87.

cluster the just people are the blessing in this world of iniquity and injustice (Dem XXIII, 13). The role of the just people in the world are compared to the role of the soul to the body. The upright people are the salt of the earth, the 'medicine of life' for the world, a spring of water in a garden, yeast in the mass of dough, skillful pilots of the ship, and it is because of them the world is preserved (Dem XXIII, 10). In another sense they are the people from the people.

2. Multiple Covenants and Covenantal Fidelity

God has covenants with all generations and tribes as it pleases him. All such covenants were set up for their specific times with specific conditions and later many changes occurred. So there were Abel, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Japheth and others who kept their covenants in their times and believed that their God was one and the same who gave the covenants in each generation as he wished (Dem XI, 3). In Adam there was the command not to eat from the tree (Gen 2:16-17); in Noah it was ratified with the bow in the clouds commanding not to eat life, the blood (Gen 9:3-4); in Abraham the covenant was with the command of circumcision as a seal and sign for the people of God (Gen 17:9-14); in Moses it was with the Law for right observances in view of the fulfillment of several covenants so as to attain the new covenant in Christ (Dem XI,11).⁴ In fact God rewards each one according to his fidelity and his works as explained by Aphrahat:

Understand that as the reward for good deeds is not equal to all people, so also for the evil deeds. People are not judged in a single manner, but every person shall be rewarded the payment according to his works, because the judge is clothed in righteousness and he acts without prejudice (Dem XXII,22).⁵

The basic thrust and purpose of covenants and commandments of Israel were to transform the people in order to make them know their Creator and to do His will. Adam has been formed and the life-

4 Regarding the Syriac vision of the existences of several covenants cf. Ephrem, Commentary on Diatessaron, V,13; Jacob of Serugh, Homily on Creation, IV, 115-144.

5 Tr. Demonstrations II, 247.

giving Spirit has been infused into him by which he was given the power of discernment. This discernment is to distinguish the good from the evil at all levels and ultimately to know God, his maker and sustainer. As soon as man knows his maker, God is conceived and formed in him and he becomes the temple of God (1Cor 3:16). Thus the scriptural wish will be fulfilled as, "I shall dwell in them and I shall walk among them (Lev 26:12; 2Cor 6:16; Dem XVII, 7). This is made possible through different instructions and stipulations to the people for observances and obedience. By obedience it becomes clear that the people are internally and externally transformed to do the will of God. In this respect circumcision in its interiority meant the circumcision of the foreskin of one's heart (Deut 10:16), by which self will, selfish interests and selfishness, coming out of 'stiff-necked behavior', are cut off (Dem XI,5,11). Then only one can conform to the will and plan of God. This true reality of circumcision is fulfilled in the Christian baptism by circumcising the foreskin of the heart of a believer not by knives but by the Word of God (Dem XI,12). The OT Passover was a sign and mystery given to the people. Its truth has come out in the passion and death of Christ. In his passion and death Christ underwent the baptism he wanted to undergo (Lk 12:50; Mk 10:39; Dem XII,10). Passover has to be eaten in the confines of one's own house and that is at present the Church (Dem XII,8). The true Sabbath is giving rest to the will of God in the sense of fulfilling the will of God by choosing what God desires in which heaven and earth will take rest (Is 56:2-4; Dem XIII,13). The aims of dietary laws given to Israel were to restrain the people from their Egyptian idolatry with calves and kids. It is because together with Egyptians Israel adored bulls, calves and kids. So they were commanded to offer those same animals and eat the same to ward off their idolatry in practice. Thus they should know and acknowledge their true God.

Covenantal fidelity in the form of observance and obedience are the way to grow strong in the covenant. This in another aspect is to choose the things which the Lord desires to do so that by which such people will be named glorious in the house of the Lord (Is 56:5; Dem XIII,13). What the human beings do is the decisive element, the judgment and the fruit. All are called to be fruitful in their observance of the covenant, because the kingdom shall be taken

away from the nation so as to be given to the people who gives fruit (Mt 21:43; Dem XXIII,47).

3. 'People From the Peoples', the Church

In OT itself one finds the distinction between true Israelites and false ones or failed ones. According to Aphrahat there is a divine selection process taking place throughout the whole history of salvation. Divine selection begins with Abel, and in fact it is his personal make up and behaviour patterns that resulted in the selection of Abel. So this type of divine selection goes on and on through the ages of Noah (Noah was selected as the father of the second world through the flood), patriarchs, kings, prophets and finally the election of 'people from the peoples' (Dem XIV,33). All such selections were based on the conformity to the will of God and the deeds of building up according to the divine economy. So one finds David prophesying, "Remember your Church which you have acquired of old" (Ps 74:2; Dem XVI,5). This people is the 'People from the peoples' the Christians and they were called so at Antioch (Acts 11:26; Dem XX,10).

(1) Emergence of the 'People from the Peoples'

In the first Demonstration, On Faith, Aphrahat explains the functioning and dynamics of Christian faith which is basically a personal building up on the revealed personality of Christ who is the already laid foundation stone for all Christians. Hence, for a Christian, there is no true foundation other than Christ. If someone builds on any foundation other than Christ that would be on a false foundation, on sand, and the whole construction would crumble and collapse. The integral plan of God is to bring all peoples into the path of the Lord Messiah.

Divine economy is to transform all peoples according to the divine will and plan. This has been more concretely declared and inaugurated in Abraham as Aphrahat testifies, "The peoples who were of all languages were called first, before Israel, to the inheritance of the Most High, as God said to Abraham, 'I have made you the

father of a multitude of peoples"⁶ (Gen 17:5; Dem XVI,1,4). Aphraht, in addition to the calling of gentiles in the promise to Abraham, finds the calling of gentiles in the story of Jacob. In Genesis 26:2,3 the vision of Jacob and his setting up of the stone and its anointing are all referring to the calling of Nations (Dem IV,5,6). Patriarch Jacob foreshadowed Jesus who took two royal daughters, the congregation of the people and that of the peoples. Jacob was guiding two camps (from Leah and Rachel) when he returned from Laban (cf. Gen 32:10; Dem XXI,13; IV,6; XVI,3). Again Aphraht finds the blessing of Judah by patriarch Jacob (Gen 49:10) as a testimony to the blessings of the nations. It is because the role of the tribe of Judah was to carry the sceptre and lawgivers until the coming of the One whom the kingdom belongs and to whom all peoples were looking forward (Dem XVI,1).

Prophets Isaiah and Micah unanimously declared that peoples from distance would go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob. There they will be taught the ways of the Lord and they will walk in his ways, because the Law will go forth from Zion and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem (cf. Is 2:2-4; Mic 4:1-3; Dem XVI,1; XIX,5). The peoples have to really walk in the ways of the Lord by a real change of their hearts. In fact, the change of hearts should be explicit in the pattern of 'beating their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks'. This indicates that people would abandon the way of plunder and start eating from the toil of their hands (Dem XVI,1). Zechariah (2:11; 9:10), Zephaniah (3:9) and Jeremiah (16:19) have also proclaimed how the peoples will convert themselves by abandoning their idols to adhere to the Lord Messiah.

(2) True Heirs of Abraham and the True People of Jacob

Instead of the 'People' the selection of a 'People from the Peoples' took place. "See my beloved, that the vocation of the Peoples was recorded before the vocation of the People. When they sinned in the wilderness, he said to Moses, 'Let me blot out this people, and I shall make you into a people which is greater and more worthy

6 Tr. Demonstrations II, 128.

than they'" (Ex 32:10; Dem XVI,4).⁷ Isaiah 49:6 and 51:4 are all speaking about the peoples who have abandoned the idols and turned to the Lord. Thus the 'People from the Peoples' is of Jacob (cf. Is 2:3-6; Dem XVI,3). The sacrifices of the old Israel were not pleasing to God (Jer 6:2). The People which is of the Peoples is the holy and faithful people which has gone down and adhered to the Lord (Dem XVI, 3). Aphrahat picks up from Jeremiah's description, saying, the Lord's heritage has become to him a 'speckled bird' (?ayra mzirta; cf. Jer 12:9). "I ask you what is the speckled bird? For the speckled bird is the Church of the Peoples. See how he calls it 'speckled'. For it is gathered in from many languages and brought near from far away people" (Dem XII,4; XVI, 2).⁸ The crucial matter is the faithfulness to one's covenant because God had his own covenant at all levels of all peoples. What is counted is the level of faithfulness in the heart and the life accordingly. Hence even from among the peoples there are righteous who walk in the path of the Lord. So Aphrahat writes:

When people from all nations do righteousness, then they are called children and the heirs of Abraham, their father. When the children of Abraham do the unclean deeds of the alien nations, they become Sodomites and the people of Gomorrah (Is 1:10; Dem XI,1).⁹

Even from the old, whoever from among the peoples, was pleasing to God has been more greatly justified than Israel. Aphrahat demonstrates the 'honour of gentile saints' whom God had blessed and rewarded. The exemplary life patterns of Jethro, a priest from the peoples (Num 24:21), Gibeonites (Jos 9:26-27; 2Sam 21:1-9), the Philistine Oberedom and his household (2Sam 6:10-12), Ittai who fed David at the time of persecution (2Sam 15:19-22), Ebed-melech the Ethiopian who raised Jeremiah from the pit (Jer 38:7-13), are 'honourable gentile saints, from the peoples (Dem XVI,6). Rahab, the prostitute also got inheritance in Israel. It is about such matters Moses said, "The stranger that is among you will be higher, and you will be lower" (Deut 28:33). "Ruth the Moabite, from a people smitten

7 Tr. Neusner Jacob, Aphrahat and Judaism, 63-64.

8 Tr. Demonstrations II, 21, 130.

9 Tr. Demonstrations II, 3.

with wrath, came and was assimilated with the people of Israel, and from her seed arose the leader of kings, from whom was born the redeemer of the peoples" (Mt 1:5; Dem XVI,6).¹⁰ Christ is the given covenant, the light that enlightened all peoples. Hence it is said, 'I am the light of the world, believe while the light is with you, walk in the light, so that you may be called the children of light' (Jn 12:36; 8:12 & 1:5). In his coming all places were made smooth, plain, and the glory of the Lord was revealed, and all flesh received the life of God (cf. Is 40:4,5; Lk 3:5,6; Dem XVI,7). With typological parallelism Aphrahat demonstrates the fulfillment of all promises and their effects in Christ. By a comparison series Aphrahat demonstrates that all OT figures such as Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David, Elijah, Elisha and others were prototypes of all that would happen for fulfillment in Christ (Dem XXI,9-20).

Aphrahat distinguishes the children of Abraham from the children of Cain by their life and behavior. This distinction is made from the NT episode of Jesus arguing against the false claim of all Jewish people calling themselves children of Abraham (Jn 8:39,44; Dem XVI,8). A constant watchfulness is necessary for remaining as true children of Abraham. It is in such watchful decision the divine selection and human ascent take place. What is seen in the arguments of Aphrahat is the exegetical and hermeneutical demonstration to show the truth of the formation of 'the people from the peoples'. Aphrahat lets the scriptural episodes and salvation historical developments directly speak for the substantiation of his arguments. In the model of Aphrahat the exegetical and hermeneutical insights could be pointed to deal with the need of abandoning all modern day evil developments in the world. All forms of modern day idols and idolatry of social and communal life have to be distinguished and abandoned. The purpose of the election of a People through Abraham was to make all peoples turn to the Lord in the fullness of time. The 'People' from Abraham had the ministry to bring about the coming of all peoples to the Lord.

4. Ministerial Roles of Israel and the Church

The people of Israel were called into a specific covenant so that they might, by the provisions given to them, turn themselves to

10 Tr. Jacob Neusner, *Aphrahat and Judaism*, 66.

the Lord first and then by their ministry lead other peoples to the same Lord. But on the one hand the chosen people turned to be unfaithful and on the other they turned to idols, abandoning the Lord of Jacob. Adam had to know his creator, but he failed; so Israel too failed. They failed doubly as they did not know their Lord and further they went after alien gods, idols (Dem XVI,3; XV,7; XXI,7; Jer 2:10-13). The old people of Jacob have become 'rulers of Sodom and Gomorrah', in the sense of being unfaithful and iniquitous in their covenantal life. Instead of them a new people of Jacob has been called from the peoples. The old people became 'a strange vine' (Jer 2:21). "Their grapes are bitter and their clusters are bitter for them" (Deut 32:32). Many biblical images of the abandonment of Israel are gathered by Aphrahat, such as, 'rebellious sons' (Is 30:1), 'rejected silver' (Jer 6:30), 'vine of Sodom and the planting of Gomorrah' (Deut 32:32), 'vineyard that brings thorns instead of grapes' (Is 5:2), 'branches that are good for nothing and had been consumed by fire' (Ezek 15:4-5), etc., (Dem XVI,3; XI,1).

The people got mingled in their slavish contexts, both in Egypt and Babylon, with a wrong mind-set crying out, 'let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians, for it was better for us in Egypt' (Ex 14:12; Dem XIX,1). By the provisions of the covenant Israel was given seers and teachers in the form of 'watchman' and 'sound of the trumpet'. They did not listen to them, instead they did what was pleasing to their own will by offering incense to alien gods (cf. Jer 44:16-17; Dem XVI,2). Now-a-days when the people do only what is pleasing to their own self will, out of selfishness, idols and idolatry in the modern versions are created together with many corruptions. Old errors of the people are repeated. Each Christian of every time is under a specific form of the covenant. If he/she does not live faithfully rejection comes by itself as it happened to the 'People'.

Church, the new Israel, should minister for repentance and reconciliation. Demonstration XIV, On Exhortation, is a foundational exhortation that can enlighten all generations of Christians. He teaches from 'the seed and the substance of the Holy scriptures' (Dem XIV, 47). Those who reject the exhortation are presenting the state of their heart, as a bad tree that gives bad fruits and that is a 'plant of

Sodom, whose grapes are bitter' (Deut 32:32). The good man brings out good treasures from his heart (Dem XIV, 48).

Biblical episodes depict how pride and pomp pulled down many from their nobility to humiliation. Adam due to his pride and arrogance with disobedience went out of the divine plan and reverted to dust and became food for the serpent (Gen 3:14; Dem XIV, 10). Adamic generations are still food for the serpent and are subjected to the evil one in many modern versions of the present society. Still God is providing victories to his faithful men and women in all generations. The serpent that deceived Adam is still in the world for misleading people in different ways. The poison of the serpent is active in many modern versions (cf. Dem XIV, 12-13). Strife and jealousy with iniquity are the basic patterns with their varied versions that destroy peace and harmony. It was covetousness that made Adam fall as the whole Paradise was not enough for his covetousness. Following Adam other generations were also falling to covetousness (Dem XIV, 22-24).

Through the sages and prophets God was calling all to repentance as Zechariah advises, "return to me and I will return to you" (Zech 1:3). The Lord looks into the state of the heart of the people and selects his servants. The mind of the Lord can be attained only by the one whose heart's door is open. To such people knowledge and intelligence as well as the roots of wisdom are perceivable (Dem XIV, 35). Many scriptural instructions and advices in symbols and images are gathered together by Aphrahat, such as, robe of glory, vineyard, tower, ladder, herald, grain of seed, and the like, for a righteous, faithful and fruitful life as a good disciple of Christ on the way of the Lord (Dem XIV, 38).

5. Salvific Divine Teaching and Salvific Actions (of God and Humans)

For Aphrahat the goal of the study of scripture is to embody it in the world, in the life of a Christian, in the form of incarnating the Word in life situations. Accordingly for a fruitful biblical interpretation and assimilation the total person needs to be involved, both inner and outer, in community and in personal levels before God. That is the

way of being a 'true disciple of the scriptures' according to Aphrahat (Dem XXII,26). By learning the Scriptures a human being has to know the creator and conceive God inwardly in the thought and in the being of one's self. Then he/she becomes a temple of God for his/her maker. If the children of Adam do not know their maker, God is not formed in them and God does not dwell within them. In that case they are like the rest of the creatures and such humans do not attain the envisaged dignity and perfection of the covenant (Dem XVII,7).

Learning of the will of God takes place through all channels of learning in the material, physical, psychological, spiritual and mystical realms. The will of God carries everything and there is nothing outside the his will (Dem XXIII, 58,61). All world developments have to be in integration with the divine salvific thrusts and plans. The proper integration of all such developments would become fruitful through the instructions from the biblical history. This becomes possible through proper interpretation of the scriptures in the light of faith so as to bring out the 'force and power of the Word' into action (Dem III,12; XXII,26). In all social, theological and spiritual reflections and actions faith-vision should be the guiding light.

All specific covenants are for entering into the 'new covenant' (cf. Jer 31:31-34) in the sense of each one's effective personal engagement with the Lord. All covenants and their stipulations as laws serve as 'pedagogue' and 'instructors' for attaining the goal (Dem II,3). As a result the law will be written in the hearts of the people and they will be His people and He their God (Dem XII, 11). This will make the people grow in the covenant by choosing the things that the Lord desires (cf. Is 56:2,4; 2Cor 6:16; Dem XIII,13). Jesus Christ himself is the covenant given to all as the source of light and salvation so that all might be transformed through him (Dem XVI,7). All salvific covenants in their broader sense are holy accords. Such accords may be handled by wicked people with evil consequences of destruction (Dem XXIII, 56,64). So it is the need of all times to teach the timely covenantal stipulations to the people, especially to the weak members. According to the levels of the growth of the people and the development of the history of salvation, the

stipulations of the covenants would change. At every turn of the social, cultural and religious ambient of the people correct interpretations of the changing stipulations of the covenant have to be made for the life of faith. We have an era of intense globalization, global migration and the resulting social, political and demographic changes. The changing covenantal situations and stipulations have to be traced and defined for the humanity to practise the same for attaining the promised salvation. From the biblical history of salvation we need to arrive at a broader vision of covenantal implications. All such implications have to be hermeneutically demonstrated for each historical phase of humanity.

The signified truths of divine-human relationships, or the content of all covenants, are basically the same. But the signifying observances and conditions, or the signs of different covenants, are different according to the needs of the specific historical situations. Hence, for a foundational learning from the biblical history there is the need of decoding the signifying elements or signs of each covenant. Such decoding of the signs of the covenant will make us understand that the signified truths or content of different covenants do stand in a unified developmental scheme through the ages. In fact the same divine teaching is running through the history with proper clothing of the signs of the covenant according to the changing world situations. Such a development is evident from Adam through Noah, Abraham, Moses and others. This development is still going on in the world of humanity. This factor would become visible only through an eye of faith. Based on such faith-vision new signs of the Christian covenant, or signifying Christian actions/practices have to be established and fruitfully observed in the present day globalizing world. Only then the Christian message would be incarnate in the world of today.

It is through the faith in the ongoing divine-human relationships or covenants in history that a selection of behavior patterns for our times can be made. Humanity's selection of behaviour patterns out of free will becomes the most decisive element. The exercise of human free will can be either positive or negative with regard to bearing witness to the growth or failures of the divine-human relationships, or the Kingdom of God in this world. All covenants are

ways to attain the goal. If they are laid waste, the way of realization is destroyed (Dem XXIII, 55,56,64). Moreover, knowing the Lord and his ways makes one merely attain only the stage of a 'ploughed field' ready for sowing (Dem I, 20; XVI,46; XXIII,68). Upon the 'ploughed field' one has to perform the acts of faith in the mode of incarnating the faith in real life situations. Only such acts of faith will generate 'a people from the peoples'.

Through Christ peoples have been grafted to the olive tree and they have become partakers of the 'fat of the olive tree'. But this new 'people from the peoples', the Church, should also be equally watchful about their own failures (cf. Rom 11:17,18; Dem XVI,8). There are the 'snares of the deceitful one', his net, allurements, etc., that are on the way that can deviate humanity. They are the hidden snares of the evil one (Dem XIV,41). Here all aspects of the deviant behaviours and situations of the world humanity can be assessed and judged. Corrections are to be made for a better humanity reconciled with the divine will, plan and economy.

6. Christian Covenant and Socio-cultural Transformation

Christianity has to be at the service of humanity as the New Israel. The promises given to Abraham and his progeny are attaining gradual realization through the history. Aphrahat explains this fact through his vision of multiple covenants. According to the needs of the historical period and the levels of the understanding **power of the** human society there are different covenants getting **shaped in our** own times. This can be well understood only if we are able to find the mystery of Christ as a reality beyond the frame-works of all types of the past and present Christian thought patterns and categories. Through the attempts of biblical interpretations and theological reflections Christians have the tendency to confine Christ into their set systems and thought patterns. Respecting the mystery of Christ and acknowledging its universality, as the mystery of Christ is for the salvation of the whole created world, with its past, present and future, our mind-set should acknowledge that we could understand and accept only some limited aspects of it through the completed history of humanity. Even for reaching up to this level of understanding

humanity needed several covenants. We should also admit that new covenants for humanity are being set up through various developments in the history. The present day historical developments have some parallel factors with the historical developments of the OT and NT stages. Only by decoding the older covenantal signs and stipulations we would be able to attain the content of the covenants at different levels. Through the decoding of the different covenants one can find that the content or the signified elements of the covenants are concerning the deepening of the divine-human engagements according to the needs of the times. Thus the signified truths are the same but the expressions or signifying elements of the covenants or signs would be different according to the demands of the times.

While the signified reality is running throughout the developmental stages of history, the signifying elements and practices needed for our times have to be created and maintained. Considering this truth in its seriousness the present day Christians and their institutions should be able to identify the present day covenantal significations and practices necessary for attaining the promises to Abraham through the Christ mystery. All the present day corporate engagements of humanity at the international, national and local levels are covenantal engagements with their own attached behaviour patterns and stipulations. Faithfulness to those stipulations are of prime importance.

For an effective Christian service to the humanity it is necessary to establish a proper mind-set and perceive the mystery of Christ. The mystery of Christ should be seen actually pervading beyond the thresholds and confines of human thinking, systems and categories of thought. Whatever is revealed might help one to initiate the travel from the human to the divine realm. But such a journey has to be further guided by the 'inner eye of one's heart and the spiritual senses of one's mind' (Dem I,1). What counts most is the degree to which one carried on by the life-giving Spirit, the Spirit of Christ.

Demonstration XXIII, 50-51 speaks that the beginning of human resurrection is the body (humanity) which Christ put on. Hence the present day humanity should make Christ incarnate through its corporate and individual bodies, through the channels of life and

actions. The nature and patterns of evil people, good people, mystery of Christ, working of evil desires in humanity, are all graphically described by Aphrahat through purely biblical imageries and terminologies (Dem XIV, 37-41). It is through being faithful to the gospel values world humanity would become a 'holy nation' and a 'new people' (cf. Dem V, 23). This is possible only through the faithfulness to the covenants and by obeying the stipulations. The present day covenants are of global nature that affect all peoples of all nations and tribes. Diverse covenants are to be active at the same time for the overall development of the world humanity. The main thrust needed is a sense of the corporateness of the whole humanity in itself and that with the whole creation. The mystical body sense and the incorporation of all with Christ and his salvific teachings are explicit in Aphrahat (Dem XXIII, 50-52).

When the modern day covenants are respected and observed by the international, national and local bodies and systems of the world there would be peace, prosperity and dignified life for humans on the globe. Nutrition for the whole world, just and equitable development for all nations, remedies to environmental pollution, remedies to all forms of exploitations and corruptions at the global, national and local levels, erection of structures of religious, political and social cooperation, etc. can be achieved from concrete covenantal relationships and faithfulness to the proper stipulations legislated by legitimate authorities of the global humanity.

The emergence of 'the people from the people' could be seen at the level of social, sacramental and mystical levels of progression. These three levels could be seen in integration with the human levels of existence in body, soul and Spirit. At the social level all dynamics of the created world with humanity as the steward and custodian can be reckoned. At the sacramental level all channels of divine economy that are active in the world have to be acknowledged and made fruitful by human decision and action. At this level the traditions, patterns of observance are guidelines for humanity. At the mystical level the pattern becomes more subjective and heuristic realization according to one's individuality and levels of progress on the road of perfection. In the much accepted communion ecclesiology the

different Churches and traditions of Christianity have to be acknowledged and respected as co-pilgrims on the march to the Church of Christ, the Kingdom of God. This sort of vision puts into evidence the relevance and fruitfulness of a wider ecumenism in all aspects of social, sacramental and mystical/spiritual life of all.

Conclusion

Aphrahat uses typological parallels and a chain of testimonia for proving his insights. The vision of the multiple covenants and the need of human faithfulness from the heart of humans are challenging and rewarding at the same time. Covenantal perception and the challenges to faithfulness have to be handled for modern day solutions to problems of the corporate humanity in a globalizing and globalized world. The emergence of 'the people from the peoples' really challenges all Christians in their life of witnessing to the person and teachings of Christ. Becoming a true child of Abraham and a member of the people of Jacob requires internal and external reconstructions and reconciliations in the spirit of obedience to the commandments of the covenantal contexts.

In a rhetorical fashion Aphrahat sets up comparison series (cf. XXI,9-20) with historical, typological and theological insights in accordance with the spirit and logic of the history of salvation. Aphrahat's enlightening interpretations are paradigms for adaptations and applications in the religious, social and cultural life of the present day humanity. The 'germinating seeds of the Word' (logos spermatikos) of Justin Martyr and the 'recapitulation of all in Christ' according to Irenaeus shed much light on the deeper ontological aspects of the redemption and salvation in Christ. But the insights of Aphrahat on the multiple covenants and 'the people from the peoples' handle the matters theoretically and practically by a single stroke of biblical interpretation and that makes his views complementary to the other traditions. Above all the concern is on the personal growth and faithfulness to the path of salvation. It has become so possible because Aphrahat interprets the matters from the concrete experiences of the people of God about the life situations and human experiences. Moreover, he is teaching as a disciple of the Holy Scriptures and

from 'the seed and the substance of the Holy Scriptures' (Dem XIV, 47). Hence, his insights and explanations have perennial inspiration, relevance and freshness in every new historical environment and opens new avenues of applicability for further human progress.

Dr. Thomas Kollamparampil CMI
DVK, Dharmaram College
Bangalore 560 029, India.
Email: tkollamparampil@gmail.com

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 3

(Continued from page 128)

15. Even though all the trees
 of Paradise
are clothed each in its own glory,
 yet each veils itself at the Glory:
the Seraphs with their wings,
 the trees with their branches,
all cover their faces so as not to behold
 their Lord.
They all blushed at Adam
 who was suddenly found naked;
the serpent had stolen his garments,
 for which it was deprived of its feet.

(Continued in page 172)

P.V.Philip

ܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܪ ܐܦܪܡ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܪ ܐܦܪܡ ܡܪ ܐܦܪܡ
**ABOUT JOHN THE
EVANGELIST: DISCIPLE
JESUS LOVED**

Jacob of Serugh: ܝܥܩܒ ܕܫܪܘܓ

Your Grace Mar Aprem, Your Grace Bishops of the Free Church, UK, Dear and exalted fathers, Rev. Sisters, Learned scholars of the Syriac language, all distinguished personalities present here,

It is with much happiness but also with a little complex that I stand here to present a paper on the subject of John the Evangelist: the disciple that Jesus Loved. My happiness is that it is a great privilege to stand here in this stage and be permitted to talk. I remember the first world Syriac conference held here in 1987 from September 7th to 12th, two years after the formal inauguration of SEERI. From then on for all that love Syriac, the conference held once in four years is an occasion of great happiness. Kottayam has its place in the map of the world of Syriac scholars thanks to the dedication and committed efforts of Rev. Dr. Jacob Thekkeparambil. To quote Dr. Jacob Thekkeparambil from his Welcome address on the inauguration of the International Conference on Syriac Studies in September 1987, "What a wealth of spiritual, religious and cultural treasures lie unearthed in the Syrian heritage". My complex comes from my

feeling that I am not a scholar in any way the word implies. My love for Syriac and the treasures that lie unearthed comes from the great inspirations imparted by Dr. Thekkeparambil. He always encouraged me to translate, whenever possible, Syriac works into English in my own way. I take this moment to give my respects to the great late Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Panicker, who always found the peace of mind to answer my silly queries. Let me thank every members of SEERI, the organizers of this great conference for the opportunity they have given me. As His Beatitude Baselios Paulose II said in his inaugural address to the Conference in 1987," the legendary tradition has it that even God spoke to Adam, the first man, in Aramaic".

Of all the writers in Syriac, St. Jacob of Serugh is of much importance to me. In the daily prayers of the Malankara Catholic Church one can hardly find prayer of the hours of any one day of the week without a prayer (Bovoozo) composed by St. Jacob of Serugh included in the prayers. Each line of the prayer, the words go deep into the heart of the one who prays and connects him to God whereby he feels himself drawing from the great Source. It is found that every Bovoozo of St. Jacob of Serugh connects one to the God Head, the Trinity in words related to deeds from the Holy Book. For example in the prayer of the hours of Thursday night 3rd kauma , we praise: " Praises to The Father who prepared the Apostles to proclaim the gospel, reverence to Son who send the Apostles to the ends of the world, Praises to the Holy Spirit who gave the grace of tongues to the Apostles". These prayers of St. Jacob that form part of the prayers of each day have great impact on the prayer life of each Malankara Catholic, I should say. There is no wonder that I chose the homily composed by St. Jacob of Serugh by the name " On John the Evangelist: the disciple that Jesus Loved". As St. Jacob of Serugh is greatly known among the Syriac literary scholars it will not be good to say much as introduction about him. But as the presentation requires introducing the writer, may I say about this great Syriac writer known by the names "the flute of the Holy Spirit" and "the Harp of the Orthodox Church".

Jacob was born probably in 451 at Kurtam on the Euphrates District of Serugh. After his education at Edessa, he was ordained

priest and was eventually made a Corepiscopus at Haura. Towards the close of his life at the age of 68 he was made Bishop of Batnan in his native District Serugh. He died in 521. He seems to have taken no part in the Christological polemics of his time and he mostly confined his activity to study and literature.

Jacob is one of the best Syriac writers among the Jacobite Syrians. He wrote a series of metrical homilies. According to Bar Hebraeus he employed seventy amanuenses and composed seven hundred and sixty three metrical homilies. He also composed forty three letters, eight festal homilies, two lives of the saints, an anaphora and a baptismal liturgy. About three hundred of them are now preserved in manuscripts in the European libraries. He also wrote *Madrashee* (odes) and *Sugeetho* (Hymns). Of his prose works, the most interesting are his letters. The characteristics of his style such as great elegance, colourful imagery, and flowery expression have been often pointed out by his critics. His talents for comparisons and contrasts are conspicuous. In his capacity for description he equals the great Indian poet Kalidasa, and the English nature poets Wordsworth and Longfellow. The intellectual keenness and sublimity of thought, combined with beauty and the decorum of style earned for him the titles Flute of the Holy Spirit and Harp of the Orthodox Church.

Numerous extracts from his memre are found in the Liturgies of the Syriac Language (maronite, Syrian, Jacobite, Syro Malabar and Syro Malankara. His name is also venerated in these oriental churches and even in the Armenian Church, as one of the masters of Syriac Hymnography.

One stands wondering at the way these homilies present the greatness of God. The works of St. Jacob of Serugh were to be admitted as composed under the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Book. It is his simple and straight forward style that the introductory part of the homily contains an invocation to our Lord, the Son of God. He considers himself incapable unless power from above descends and empowers him. The invocation to the Lord is found in the beginning of the homily. He believes and expresses his complete dependence on the Lord for each and every one of his works.

I invite you for a journey through the homily of St. Jacob of Serugh in Syriac by name

உரை மீதம் பின் வருமாறு : தொழிலை வா டு.

ABOUT JOHN THE EVANGELIST: DISCIPLE JESUS LOVED

This homily has 235 lines. I do not claim that this translation of mine is the best translation of the same to English. It could have been better. But within the limit of my knowledge and expertise let me take you. The first twenty lines of the homily are the invocation to our Lord for power to write.

Because of your love, our Lord, eloquence moves out of me
I will sing the virtue of the one disciple filled with heroic deeds
Because of him give me word filled with marvel and great impulses
that brings to the position of his glorious deeds
To you, by you I shall be fair when I press onward about his good eulogy
you speak through me because I proclaim his virtues.
Give me by your love words of truth that I say his story
of that disciple you loved because of his virtues
Give me our Lord this desire every day to perceive about him
I may discourse about love of the person, prudently
By you let it be spoken that without you it is waste
you are the word that gives meaning to all words.
Empty is he who moves his word with out you.
You are the truth of all words, by you it is spoken.
By you any one shines in love and full of marvel.
Then it is moved to your virtues by your hymns.
You are our lord the great mouth of all creation
and by you is to speak in various ways on account of you. .
All of the Just are forming to you while silent
and your great speech (exalted the creation that they are spoken)

The way the invocation is made teaches the steps to be followed in the process of prayer. It starts with submitting one to the love of our Lord which is the strength behind every endeavour. He asks, basing on the worthiness of John the Evangelist, for the marvellous words and great impulses that are needed. He expresses his commitment and total dependence. He implores that it is meaningless and total waste if one moves without the Lord moving in him. The invocation part itself is a teaching to the people how to approach our Lord for help and assistance as He is the Lord of everything and the Source of every power.

The lines 19 to 40 are total praises of our Lord, the Lord of all.

Behold heaven narrating your glories unceasing

and that your deeds are moved abundantly (not ceasing).

The sun proclaiming your gospel at the ends of the world and in the regions that you are the light, that give light to all lighted.

Like the mighty (strong) running on the way to narrate about you in all of the earth and outside of it how much luminous you are.

Rising in the earth and the image depicting (to your great rising) and because of you

the height and depth are lightened that you are the light.

Your gypsum depicts the moon in its course and in its government that my lord you have with you the magnitude and the feebleness also.

The great sea narrates your greatness (magnitude), that not about the bottom and not about the end (limit), Son of the Lord of all.

The exalted is in need that how much you are exalted in all exalted.

He fashioned the depth, it also is confirmed for us.

The height and depth sing your genealogies while being silent and narrate you that you are exalted and you are humble.

By you the height is high and because of you the depth is deep that to upward or downward you are that enclose the places.

In the homilies Jacob ensures that the praises from the creation, the dependence of the creation on the Creator, and that the creation

is created for narrating the glory of the Creator. In one of the homilies of Jacob of Serugh by name "The love of the Just towards God and the Love of God towards the Just", he points out that "if the entire creations together shout praises at the same time in one voice, it is not sufficient to praise the glory of God". The Sun, the moon, the sea, every creation one way or other proclaims the glory of God and their existence is depended on God and they depend on God for their very existence. The height is high and the depth is deep, all because of God. To upward or downward, it is the wish of God. The beauty of expressing the total dependence is to be taken to the heart as they thrill the heart.

In the lines 47 and 48, 49 and 50, 55 and 56 Jacob of Serugh points some of the reasons why Jesus loved John more.

His name and his title relate virtue of his perfection.

That because of his virtues Jesus loved him more than his friends.

Because he was clear, and his self pure and full of virtue,
unsullied and wholesome and noble, and perfect Jesus loved him.

Oh that anything holding on to, not found in him.

Better than his brothers, is it not than all of them, He loved him.

In the lines 65 to 72 Jacob of Serugh describes the Apostles as chosen by our Lord and they leaving everything for our Lord and following Him. They were like lighted torches set light to by our Lord and He sent them to light the people of the earth.

The twelve followed him and he chose all of them and he loved them
he gave to all of them thrones and noble judgment.

They left their family and went after him because of his love.

And to all of them he gave Spirit, power and visitation.

Like lighted torches the twelve he set light to
and he sent them to set light to the people of the earth.

In lines 90 to 111 Jacob of Serugh compares the whole apostleship to a body and the apostles as members of the body. He states that Jesus is the head of the body. He fits John the evangelist as the heart of the body. Heart is an important organ of the body. Many a things

are known only in the heart. It is the heart that reveals and it is revealed only when the heart reveals.

Apostles like members in a body and Jesus is head
John was then like heart to his companions.

In the heart is laid wisdom and secrets of all body
and in John the profundity of apostleship.

He like the heart (that raising from him) all reckonings
he revealed the secrets that were not declared to his companions.
From him Simon peter learned at supper
that he shall know the secret that who will bring to an end the
son of god.

Simon as if to say from the mouth of Apostleship
and that not jealous for John positioned at heart.

He revealed the heart and brought out the secrets of all body
that also John was being examined on secrets.

That our Lord is the word, he blessed us luminously
and that he is related with his father forever.

Secret that is concealed from the members of the body is placed
in the heart

and knowledge of all his body also shall be placed in it.

The word that mystery accomplished in heart and not to be
heard until that proceeded forth from it to the open and taught it all.

The heart of apostleship was on John

and from him the mysteries were proceeded forth to the open
and let them be blessed.

He has attained a high degree about exploring the depths of
Divinity

and he revealed to the world about the secrets that were hidden.

Jacob of Serugh says that the gospel of the Son was remaining
internally of the house of God. From John it came out from within
him as a thought.

Like a thought from within the heart it proceeded forth from him the gospel of the Son that was internal of the house of God.

Jacob of Serugh states that John the evangelist the Son of thunder was blessed with Spiritual opulence. The influence and guidance of the Holy Book are evident in every verse of the homily. He says that it was because John was exalted from limit of all limits because of his virtues that he was able to bring out the fact that the Son was with God, the father, in the beginning. In the first verse of his Gospel John reveals that in the beginning there was Christ with God.

Oh that he is exalted thenceforth from limit of all limits and there he taught that the Son had been with his parent.

Oh that he was venturing and he entered and stood in the unknown place

and brought forth with him the hidden secrets and gave to the creation.

Oh that he placed his presence not that he speaks about the creation but that he may do the marvelous sermon about the creator.

Jacob of Serugh wonders at the position John enjoyed with our Lord. He says while the angels treaded in his vicinity John entered and was placed in the bosom. Jesus loved John more than others. John was the competent and capable of all of them. He put on Christ and through him was castrated to the Father. At the supper he was nearer to our Lord more than others. He was placed upon the chest, all because of his virtue and there he learned the Mystery. He approached the unapproachable. He entered where all the angels were dreading to enter.

At the supper he was imposed upon the chest and learned His mystery.

That he was nearer to him more than his brothers because of his virtue

The Rank (of angels) shaking, the Choir (of angels) constraining, the gathering quivering, the Vigilant fearful, the Cherub

shuddering, the Seraphim hiding their face
Gabriel withdrew and Michael added astonishment
and celibate youth (virgin child) proceeds the bosom of flame.
Fire continued in existence confined in him in the place of his father
and the disciple that he loved, he took him his bosom.
With tongs the Seraphines shaking approached this great
sacrament
and this youth to be placed upon his bosom and to love him.

Jacob of Serugh tells us that it is possible for us also and this truth is taught to us through John. If everybody is clean like John, pleasing like John we will be loved by the Son in the way John was loved. The Son is willing to embrace us even from the lapses and faults provided we are pleasing to him as we may. It is to make us wise that our Lord was willing to bear His creation in His bosom. John was made a teacher to all that they know how much especially he was loved. Through him our Lord was reproving Adam that had he not violated the command, had he not approached the tree of death, had he kept the law constituted by the Father, Adam would have been upheld, Adam would have been able to approach the tree of life and clasp the fruit of life like John.

By the Child that pleased and carried he reproved Adam
that if he did not violate the command and he was upholding him.
That Adam approached that tree filled with death
because of this he did not approach the tree of life like John.
If he kept the law Father constituted on him
he was clasping for him fruit of life like John.

Jacob of Serugh exposes the special love Jesus had towards John. John attached himself to our Lord like an infant to his wet nurse. At the death of the foster mother our Lord carried John in his bosom and John was able to feed on the Mystery with Him. In order to know things Simon Peter used John.

He entered in love and stuck to the Son from his childhood
and he threw himself like an infant about his wet nurse.

Also the anointed at the death of the foster mother
carried him in his bosom and gave him that he may feed on the
mystery with him.

He gave the child milk that fosters and that immortal
and he plucked fruit from the tree of life for him and it pleased

Jacob of Serugh explains the merits John achieved the greatest
being becoming Son to the Virgin Mother. At the crucifixion John
stood like a child to his dying mother not leaving her. Lines 200 to
214 describe the greatest event.

At his crucifixion the disciples escaped and he did not change
that like being a child of his dying mother and not leaving her.

Jesus also like that gave mother to the youth

That he shall not be bereaved when he left him.

Thus far his love that he gave him his mother as mother
and the Virgin John shall be, in place of him (on behalf of him).

On the spot he ordained him that he may fulfill to the Blessed
that she is not bereaved when the people hung him on a tree for atonement.

To one is virgin mother, mother of the only begotten
and when they were hanging him on a tree he introduced John
that he shall become her son.

Woman here your son and also to the youth he said here your mother,
Our Lord spoke to his disciple at the moment of his death.

By the covenant of the Son the heir proclaimed John
and the virgin mother because of love allowed him that she may
become his mother.

From Golgotha Mary took a son that she did not give birth
that the one she gave birth took the creation that it may be
absolved (set free) because of him.

Jacob of Serugh ends his homily on John the Evangelist first by
introducing and informing how far John has ascended and that it is
possible for us also. John ascended to a position whereby he became
a son to the Virgin and her a mother to him.

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.**Prayer Songs on Paradise, 3**

(Continued from page 160)

16. God did not permit

Adam to enter

that innermost Tabernacle:

this was withheld,

so that he might first prove pleasing

in his service of that outer Tabernacle.

Like a priest

with fragrant incense,

Adam's keeping of the commandment

was to be his censer;

then he might enter before the Hidden One

into that hidden Tabernacle.

(Continued in page 224)

Robin beth Shmuel

THE WESTERN MISSIONARIES AND THE REVIVAL OF THE NEO- ARAMAIC DIALECTS

In this paper, I will deal with the arrival of western missionaries to the regions of the Aramaic-speaking Christians. Then I will review the most important steps, which were led by them and contributed to revive one of the Neo-Aramaic dialects that was spoken in Urmia, North West Iran. This dialect popularly called Sureth or Suret, and scientifically known as North Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialect (NENA). In the first half of the 19th century, the western missionaries reduced the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Urmia to writing. The project took place by means of four fundamental factors: translating religious books from Classical Syriac, education, journalism and new literature. I will not pay attention to the effects of missionary work in dividing Aramaic-speaking Churches, as well the negative relations that were to happen between the Christians and their historical neighbors Muslims.

The missionaries' arrival

The history of western missionaries' arrival to regions where Assyrians were living (Ottoman Empire and Persia) goes back to the times of the Crusaders and of the Mongols. But the great wave

of western missionaries that arrived to the Aramaic-speaking people, especially in the Urmia region and its plain was in the first half of the 19th century. Therefore, this study will concentrate on the works of the western missions who worked among the Assyrians during that time which were:

1. The American Protestant mission (1834-1918).
2. The Roman Catholic mission (1839-1918).
3. The Anglican mission (1886-1915).
4. The Russian mission (1851-1914).

The declared aims of the missionaries were to educate the Assyrians and enable them to read the Bible in Syriac and Sureth so as to renew their spiritual life. To reach these aims practically, they were in need to find a language able to be understood by the public as large, for the majority of Assyrians did not understand the Classical Syriac in that time.

As I mentioned earlier, the aim to revive the spoken language, Sureth, among the Assyrians was to use it as a writing tool, using it in schools and education, in the journalism that was just born, and to create a new literary renaissance. These factors led together to one result: the rise of the Sureth as new writing language. Later on played an important role in the development of Assyrian nationalism, and led them to start a national awakening movement.

The linguistic situation among Assyrians

The national language of the Assyrians is divided into two branches; the first one is called Classical Syriac, it is literary, clerical, and classical language, popularly called 'the old language'. This language never become vernacular among the public, but was limited to the church, and was taught in few churches and monasteries. The second one is called modern, spoken or vernacular language, known popularly as Sureth or 'the new language'. It was handled and understood by all eastern Assyrians, although in the forms of several different dialects. By reducing the new language to writing, just like the Classical language, the western missionaries contributed to create

the concept of holy language outside the Church walls. But truly the first attempts to use the vernacular dialect, was done in the early of the 17th century when Dorekyatha began to appear.¹ Dorekyatha is literature genre in the poetic forms, which was written in Sureth for religious purpose in most cases, and it belongs to spoken language heritage more than belonging to the classical Syriac heritage. The tradition considered the Classical language as the holy one as it was spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ, but considered the spoken language (Sureth), which just vernacular and popular, a not holy language!

Thus, the eastern Assyrian communities had two languages, Classical Syriac that has a large literary heritage, largely not understood by most of the people, and dialectal Neo-Aramaic, understood by the majority of people but had no written heritage, because it was not yet written. The Assyrian people in their connection with their God used a language not used daily in life, nor was it a mother tongue or a folk means of expression. Thus Assyrians needed a linguistic revolution to pick them up from the linguistic situation as the gap between the two languages became too large.

Subjecting the spoken language to writing

The attempt of subjecting the spoken language to writing was led by Western missionaries or at least its first spark was lighted by them. Worth adding that this was done with the help of the Assyrians, who were not even aware of this linguistic transition. It seems that when the Assyrian accepted this linguistic, historic, transition they acquired the strong national sense, strengthened and promoted by the important Assyrian discoveries by such archeologists as Bota, Layard and Rassam at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. After Layard made a link between the ancient Assyrians and the modern Assyrians who worked with him in his excavations, the nationalism among the latter reached its peak.²

1 The first attempts to write in *Sureth* were done in the beginning of the 17th century by Israel of Alqosh and Yousif Jamaldin of Telkepe.

2 Heleen Murre-van der Berg, "Chaldeans and Assyrians: the Church of the East in Ottoman period", published in: *The Christian Heritage of Iraq*, collected papers from the Christianity of Iraq I-V seminar days, edited by: Erica C.D. Hunter. Gorgias press: USA, 2009.

The first step in exploiting the spoken language in writing consisted of translating the religious books, the most important media to spread the language in written forms among any community. The translation of the New Testament into Sureth was finished in 1846, the Old Testament in 1852; the Gospel and other religious books were translated and have been printed too.

Education

After the settlement of the missionaries in Urmia and its surrounding villages, they started to establish schools to educate the children of Assyrians. The students studied in classrooms Syriac in both branches, Classical and Sureth as well English and Persian, in addition to other subjects. The level of teaching in these schools reached the level of education in other civilized states. The schools were organized according to western divisions; there were primary, secondary and high schools for boys and other ones for girls. There were private schools for teaching clergies and pastors to serve the several dioceses of the Church. Two colleges were built in Urmia, one of them was for medical studies named "College of Medicine in Urmia (1881-1918)", the number of physicians who graduated from this college was 34, 28 of them were Assyrians, 5 were Muslims, and one was American. The Neo-Aramaic (Sureth) Bible was a main part of the education, its availability with other liturgical books facilitated the teaching process in the Assyrian schools and the community.

The missionaries employed local Assyrian teachers to help them in the teaching purpose; most of them were priests and deacons who knew Classical Syriac in reading and writing. In fact, the education system could not have functioned if the local Assyrian did not participate in it too, and if they did not agree with the teaching's goals of the missionaries.³ In Hakkari, the Anglicans opened schools

3 The famous teachers were: Mar Yokhanan, Qasha Auraham Morhach, Qasha Yokhana d'Kosi, Qasha Dinkha, Qasha Oshana d' Calej, Decan Yousif, Deacon Eshoo, Deacon Yonan d'Adad, Yuosep d' Degala, and others. See Robin Bet Shmuel, *Bokhra d'Atwiatha*, (The Firstborn Prints), (Baghdad, 1999), 106,107.

for education in Qudshanis firstly; the second school was in the village of Ashitha, and the third in Bebede (Beth Baide).⁴

It is worth to mention, that the Assyrians continued the teaching of the mother language by imitating the missionaries, for they opened private schools especially in Iraq in the early formation of the new Iraq State in 1921.⁵

Journalism

The 3rd step to revive the spoken language was Journalism. Journalistic activities were born in the early second half of the 19th century, when the newspaper *Zahrire D'bahra* 'Rays of Light' emerged in 1849 for the first time in the new history of Assyrians.⁶

Through the pioneering Assyrian journalism, the spoken language became prominent and it spread out, the modern Assyrian thoughts and culture reaching many towns and villages and families across the North and beyond. The press deepened the awareness of the readers of their native mother language, and reinforced their sense of revival of Sureth and thus contributed to the growth of social and religious status of the Assyrian people. Thus, journalism was the foundation stone in the Assyrian cultural development, it became the first pillar in the edifice of the spoken language.

4 *Bebede* is the writer's native village; its school was built by supervision of Dr. Wigram. The project started in 1909 and finished in 1911, it was a very big building with 16-18 rooms in two floors with all the axillaries. It was a Patriarchate see from 1921-1924. After the Patriarchate moved to Mosul, the building became occupied by the Assyrian refugees until 1954 when my father returned it to school again in order to teach the children of the village. The building had been completely destroyed during the Kurdish revolution in September 1961.

5 Five private Assyrian schools were established in Iraq, for more details see Robin Shamuel. *The Private Assyrian Schools in Iraq in the 20th Century*. unpublished thesis for MA, Leiden University 2008.

6 The Assyrian journalism has a priority in appearance in accordance to some neighbors. For example, it was prior to *Al-Zawraa* by twenty years (published in Baghdad in 1869 by Medhat Pasha in the Turkish and Arabic languages), and prior to Kurdistan newspaper by forty nine years (issued in Cairo by Medhat Badrakhan in 1898 in the Arabic and Kurdish).

The important missionary magazines, which appeared in Urmia and played a good role to revive the spoken language, were:⁷

1. Zahrre D'bahra (Rays of light, 1849-1918), published by American Mission (Protestant) In spoken language.
2. Qala D'shrara (Voice of the truth, 1897-1915), published by French Lazarist mission (Catholic) in spoken and Classical Syriac language.
3. Urni Orthodekseta (Orthodox Urmi, 1904-1915), published by Russian Orthodox Mission (Orthodox) in spoken language.

The total amount of newspapers and magazines printed in Sureth at Urmia was 21.⁸ Through these many publications, journalism became the Assyrian's window to the world. It brought them closer to the new cultures and modern literatures, as they were able to read samples of international literature, especially the English and American poetry.

Literature

A new national literature had appeared as a result of reviving the spoken language directly. This Assyrian literary renaissance is not the product of the missionaries, but the indirect result of their religious and cultural activities. The missionaries did not write any important work in literature field either in old or modern language

Under the guidance of missionaries, and after the installation of several printing presses, Assyrian writers started to publish and translate several books in several purposes in Sureth. Assyrian literature omitted religious topics, especially after the Assyrians were exposed to national and international cultures through the revived language. Assyrians were able to read for the first time free poetry and prose works that had existed in the West. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Assyrians poets intended to break the classical poetry bonds, which depended on meter and rhyme, their

7 Yoab Benjamin, *Yoab Benjamin's studies in language and literature*, (USA, 2002), p. 57.

8 Yoab Benjamin, *Yoab Benjamin's studies in language and literature*, (USA, 2002), 75.

goal was to adopt new forms of free poetry. The period from the late 19th century until the end of the First World War, witnessed the rise of a large number of writers, poets, intellectuals and nationalists who wrote in Sureth, they espoused the new spirit of western culture and literature, to the limit they tried to write new poems according to western style.

Conclusion

A widely used dialect among the Neo-Aramaic dialects (NENA) popularly called (Sureth) was subjected to writing since the middle of the 19th century. This linguistic transition was led and supported by western missionaries who arrived in the Urmia regions, in North West Iran. Four fundamental steps taken up by missionaries: translating, educating, journalism and new literature, played a crucial role to revive one of the Sureth's dialects, spoken in Urmia and its plain, in such a way that it become a common language for Assyrian community of a good standard.

The use of Urmia dialect in writing was the first step in transferring the concept of a holy language, Classical Syriac (according to our tradition) to outside the Church walls. It is worth mentioning, that the early attempts to transfer the concept of holy language outside the Church were done by some clergies (Israel of al-Qush, Hurmis Alkoshaya, Yosif Jamaldin of Telkef) who wrote religious poems called Dorekyatha. These poems (Dorekyatha) written in Sureth, were accepted by the spiritual leadership of the Church because they were authored by priests and were born in the atmosphere of the Christian faith as their themes were quoted from the Bible's stories.

Robin beth Shmuel
Oriental Cultural Center - Duhok - North of Iraq
P.O. Box 76
robinshamuel@yahoo.com

Bibliography:

- Benjamin Yoab. Yoab Benjamin's studies in language and literature, USA, 2002.
- Beth Shmuel, Robin. Bokhra d'Atwiatha, (The Firstborn Prints), Baghdad, 1999.
- Ganima, Harth Yousif. Alprotestant wal-Engiliuon fi'liraq("The Protestants and Evangelicals in the Iraq"), Baghdad, 1998.
- Murre-van der Berg, H.L. From a Spoken to a Written Language: The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century. Leiden: De Goeje Fund, 1999.
- Murre-van der Berg, H.L. "Chaldeans and Assyrians: the Church of the East in Ottoman period", published in: The Christian Heritage of Iraq, collected papers from the Christianity of Iraq I-V seminar days, edited by: Erica C.D. Hunter. Gorgias press: USA, 2009.
- Sarmas, Pera. Tasheita D'seprayota Atorayta ("The history of Assyrian literature"), Vol. 3, Tehran, 1970.

Emmanuel Thelly

THE PRAYERS OF THE FEAST OF DENHA (BAPTISM) OF THE EAST SYRIAN BREVIARY (SIXTH JANUARY)

Marmisa: "Praise is fitting to you .." (see p.261*)

Ak ethra: of the Nativity. (p.320)

Slosa: O holy one who sanctified all seas and rivers and marshes and sources and fountains of water by your baptism, we pray, sanctify us by your holiness on this feast of your holy denha and make our mouths the fountains of your holiness and our tongues perfect vessels of your glorious Trinity always, lord of all ...

Onisa daqdam: "Let my heart produce good words. It became the beginning (corner-stone) of the building. : For the fountain of life is with you. (*Surtha*) That which is the pledge of our inheritance." O our lord, your baptism is for us a spring of good things and perfection of faith of life which was served in the river Jordan by the ambassador John. It has paved the way for all the baptized to the kingdom of heaven with perfect faith in the glorious persons of the adorable Trinity. (Repeat and *Sambah* with it.)

D'marya gresak: O God your throne is forever.* The scepter of your kingdom is a simple scepter.* You loved justice and hated iniquity.* Therefore God your God anointed you with the oil of joy more than your companions.

Marva gresak: with the *qanona* of the feast of the Nativity – instead of ‘your birth’ say ‘your Denha’. (See p. 321)

Slosa: You O great sun of justice, who have appeared in the end of ages, by the river Jordan and sanctified by the descent of the Holy Spirit by which he testified for the confirmation of the glory of your greatness and lordship for the fulfillment of your divine Economy towards us which happened for the renovation and redemption of our kyana we confess and adore and praise always, lord of all..

Onisa d’vasar: “Sing to the Lord a new canticle: O the nation, let us praise the Lord.(Surtha) Therefore everyone who is in Christ, is a new creation.” The new creation shall sing praise to the Son Christ who by his revelation renewed it and had pity on it and multiplied his compassion to our fall and preserved it by his denha, from the blood of sacrifices of dumb animals and saved from the error of idols and gave it true knowledge – perfect teaching – about the glorious Trinity. Every one who is in Christ sings out thanks for the divine Economy which was perfected for us. (Repeat and *Sambah* with it)

Suyake: “The Lord ruled and put on splendour..” (See p. 289*)

Suraya: “Bring to the Lord ramblings.”(See p. 234)

Slosa: To your inscrutable hiddenness (mysterious nature) and incomprehensible lordship and unspeakable Essence and your infinite Trinity and your immutable wisdom, we offer songs of praise and unceasing glorification and faith and thanksgiving always, Lord of all.

D’vasaliqe: “Come, let us kneeling adore him: We are your people and the sheep of your flock.(Surtha) To him praise and power forever.” O my lord, we adore your holy denha which gladdened us. For, by it you enlightened wonderfully all gentiles who were sitting in darkness and shadows of death. O lover of mankind, praise to you. (Repeat and *Sambah* with it)

“Come let us praise the Lord. For, his benevolence has grown strong over us.(Surtha) For, by them the denha from above will visit us.” Come, let us praise Christ who by his revelation freed us from

error and reconciled us with his Father by the offering of his body and pacified us with the heavenly who were enraged because of our iniquity. Glory (be) to him with the One who sent him.

“We will praise you forever: About your benevolence and your justice.(Surtha) We ought to praise God always.” O our creator, we praise you for you have mercy on the whole creation. You put up with the good and the bad in your compassion. And you give helps to men profusely. O very merciful one, praise to you.

“The Lord will give power to his people.” O our redeemer, the power of your benevolence will strengthen the assembly of your adorers to praise (you) with songs of praise the commemoration of the mystery of your baptism by which the race of Adam received the gift of the Holy Spirit and inherited the promised eternal life.

“That which is before the ages.” O Being, eternal Lord, holding heaven and earth, fix the tent of your benevolence in the temple set apart for your honour and by which your Godhead will be praised and your lordship will be adored by all forever; for, your beckoning created everything.

“We are your people and the sheep of your fold.” We adore the glorious denha of Christ our king by which death and Satan ceased and sin was put out and promised true life and good hope to all creatures. He is glorious and exalted with his Father and his Spirit.

“All you servants of God.” All you gentiles kneel and adore Jesus our redeemer who gladdened and cheered angels and men equally by his baptism and saved and freed the entire world by his denha. He is adored with his Father and his Holy Spirit.

Daslosa: “Let my prayer enter before you.” O our Saviour, receive our prayer and in your mercy answer our supplications. May your cross be a fort to our assembly from the devil and his armies. May we be good servants to you and offer praise to your lordship O you who are worthy of praise from all mouths.

“O my lord king, I will exalt you.” O king Christ, since I have taken shelter in your cross, do not forsake me in the hands of the tyrant devils who always stand against (me). But confirm my thoughts

to withstand before sufferings and make me worthy to receive the crown of victory.

Sambah: with the first.

The deacon says: Praise the living God.

D'vem: O gentiles, exult before our Saviour who gladdened all by his denha.

Bathe: Ambassador John went out with preaching before the king, crying out like the word of John, Come O sinners, and receive gratis the forgiveness of sins. People had gathered together and were expecting according to the word of John. And our lord came like every one, and was baptized by John.

Thesbohtha: "The mysteries which we received..". If it is a Sunday "Our lord Jesus.." (See p. 347*) and the deacon announces: Let all therefore And the priest prays: "Glory O my lord, ..." and they recite Our Father .. and Sambah with it. And they give *slamma* in the *hykla* and pray as usual and the priest says the *huthama* at the altar ; our lord Jesus Christ ... etc.

For *lelya* they recite from: God stood up .. four *hulale* with their *Geeyoras*.

Mavthwa: "Remember your church which you have already acquired.: You destroyed the gentiles and planted it.: O our Saviour, to your church which has adhered to you perfectly by love and faith from baptism, from before, you revealed about the qnome of your glorious Godhead and through her was revealed to the spiritual assemblies, perfect teaching of the mystery of the Trinity. O my lord, by your benevolence the faith from you will be kept spotlessly which was entrusted to her in your gospel. (Repeat)

"The universe and all its inhabitants." Entirely the whole creation rejoices and cheers up with glory at the glorious denha of Christ. For, it destroyed sacrifices of the worship of the idols. And a light appeared to those who were dwelling in darkness. And by the hand of John he was baptized and he sanctified the fountains by his baptism.

“Come let us praise the Lord.” Let us praise our God who in the end of ages, sent his son and he came into the world and made himself a servant and became under the law, to buy us from slavery and gave for us redemption – his justification – and he paid our debts and delivered to us the symbol (type) of his resurrection which is his own New Testament, by the baptism by John.

“He who is from before the ages”. The mystery which was hidden from ages and generations, by the will of the creator, the heavenly and the earthly learned and men and angels began to recount the holiness of his honour – one Godhead in three ways –

“I will exalt you O my lord.” The heavenly king in his mercy, humiliated himself to visit the mortals. He sent the messenger of peace to announce about his coming. John had been preaching to the multitudes by the river Jordan: Behold the living lamb of God.

“Just and upright”: John served the glorious and honourable denha, by the side of Jordan the head of the fountains, with great fear and frightful emotion. The Father from heaven testified about his Son and the Holy Spirit showed by his hovering that this is the glorious child in whom the heaven and earth rejoiced – the beloved Son of the Father in whom he was pleased. O my lord, exalted and glorious are the wondrous deeds of your Divine Economy. Praise to you.

“O the angels of the Lord, bless the Lord.” The assemblies of angels praise you without intermission, with joy by their hallowings, for you gladdened them by your denha and cheered them by your baptism. The earthly also offer praise to you, for in your love you were pleased and exalted our humble state. O our lord, by your birth you pacified us. And by your baptism you renewed us who were fallen. O Jesus our Saviour, glory to you for, by your denha you freed us by the first fruit you received from our race. Praise to you.

“All you servants of God”. All you who have received baptism, have put on the same spirit by the water of the Spirit so that you might reign with him in the habitation of heaven.

“The little ones with the great.” By the one spirit you were baptized, you have put on the same spirit, the same Lord you have

known, in whose name you will be called and you shall enjoy with him in the habitation full of bliss.

“Come children and hear.” You, who have risen up from the water, have risen up from the dead. You have put on Christ, you have put on the Holy spirit, by whose light you shall put on lasting life.

“To those who are upright in their heart.” Behold heaven is opened, behold the mysteries are exposed; remission is prepared, the Holy Spirit hovers and gives to our souls eternal life.

“Sing to the Lord a new canticle.” All the assemblies who were by the Jordan were standing with great wonder at that hour in which the high-priest had been baptized and he ascended from the water purifying impurity and vivifying all. And it depicted and showed us by his baptism the proto type of death and resurrection.

“And you saved your people by your arm.” O Our Lord, you have freed us by your denha from the slavery of sin. And the universe was enlightened to praise you for the redemption you have accomplished by it. Let us all together cry out with an exalted song of praise : Blessed is Christ who by his baptism, redeemed our race from error.

“His ministers who do his will.” The ranks of fire and of the spirit sang praise on your holy denha. And by your holy baptism you washed away the stain of the race of the earthly Adam and the glorious mysteries were revealed to your church.

“More beautiful in his appearance than men.” The beautiful and desirable sun appeared in the world and drove out darkness. And he gladdened and cheered the face of the universe which was clouded and invited it to enjoy the good things which he prepared by his love so that they may enjoy with him.

“Come, let us praise the Lord”: Let us praise and adore the good king who in his love came to the race of men and redeemed and saved our mortal community which had been enslaved to the tyrant devil and by his denha gladdened all by the glorious voices by the Jordan and opened for us the new way to the kingdom without

end by his benevolence and strengthened our race to praise you about your gift.

“I showed and said they are quite innumerable.” Glorious are the mysteries which were served in you river Jordan. And glorious is the power of the one who accomplished them. The people and the covenant and Elijah and Eliseus the prophet of the spirit passed through you. Leprosy of Naaman the Aramite was purified in you. The people of Israel were baptized in you and they received the remission of their sins. Christ our vivifier was baptized in you. And the Father testified from heaven: This is my beloved Son. And the Spirit by its hovering showed that he is the Son of God.

“A light dawned in the darkness for the upright.” The glorious denha gladdens all for, by his revelation the worlds were enlightened and he turned the gentiles from error and from the power of darkness and invited them, by his benevolence, to the banquet of never failing life. * And they became heirs with the angels in that everlasting kingdom and daily they offer praise to Christ the lord of the ages and cry out to him: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord who dwells in light.* And he by his benevolence gladdened the mortals and behold they daily adore with the heavenly assemblies and offer praise to the creator who exalted them by his benevolence.

“His lightnings enlightened the universe.” The light of the revelation of his mysterious nature, the glorious splendour from the Father who shone wonderfully on the Jordan – Jesus the seed of Abraham, the son of the sterile woman saw and cried out with fear confessing* This is the lamb of God who pardons the sins of all the gentiles and baptizes with fire and the Spirit and justifies all by his baptism and gives true life and adoption of sonship of his lordship and cleanses the bodies and souls from the spots of sin.* With the assemblies which celebrated his baptism and let us say together : O Christ the true light, praise to your denha which cheers all.

“We will praise you forever.” O the race of mortals, may your peace increase, for you the lord of glory has risen for our redemption. And he renewed us by his baptism and washed away our impurity by his baptism and clothed us by his mercy with a garment from heaven.

“Holy and awful is his name.” Christ was baptized in the river Jordan by John, for the redemption of sinners. The Father from heaven testified about his denha and the Holy Spirit made known the mystery in three persons (*qnome*).

“Let the whole earth fear before him.” When our lord Christ approached to be baptized, John had been standing with fear and trembling. And he cried out saying before the whole assemblies: Behold the living lamb of God, adore him.

“They neither knew nor understood.” The first Adam transgressed the commandment and delivered all his children to sin. But by Christ Jesus they were redeemed from error and they inherited the kingdom and eternal life.

“O Lord, show me your ways.” Our Lord Jesus opened the way which leads to heaven and with hewed stones the Spirit built new steps. Wonderful is the building of the exalted architect. And blessed is anyone who placed his feet in them and has entered into their walk to heaven above and inherited new eternal life.

“Come and hear, and I shall narrate to you.” While our redeemer was in the womb of the virgin, his messenger had danced in the womb of the sterile woman. And when the time of the end approached, he came to be baptized in the river Jordan. The servant announced about his master and before the assemblies he cried out: This is the living lamb of God.

“I will exalt you O my lord king.” Christ the true light, who gladdened his church by his baptism, clothed her with the garment of imperishable glory. And he was justified by the Holy Spirit and he gave his body for her and blotted out the deed of her sins by his blood. And with the angels she sings praise: O eternal Being, holy, holy, holy you are who sent his Son and by his revelation confirmed our race and by his suffering and death saved us and by his glorious resurrection raised our race from death. O Christ, who gladdened his church by his baptism (your church by your baptism) have pity on your church and protect her children and have mercy on her.

“The little ones with the great.” Come beloved ones, let us together offer threefold praise to the one who has eternally essentials

and specialties (properties) masterly qualities (majesty). * Essentials, eternity and creatorship are his with immortality, for the Being who was cause of everything. * Properties are his truly which are paternity and sonship and proceeding. * Masterly qualities are indivisibility immortality, without place (not bound to any place) and infiniteness (being without limit). * Three qnome but not traced to persons, (indivisibility), not bound to depth nor height, (inscrutable) above the search of bodied persons. * Adoration is owed to them by all created beings with body and without body, everything which he brought into being. * One essence, one God, Lord the God who created eight *kyane*, on Sunday the first day. * By his benevolence he was pleased to reveal about his greatness and to reveal the qnome of his Being to the spirituals created by his wisdom. * All on a sudden he made the spirituals hear a voice which is inaudible and by it he informed them about his qnome. And they knew their creator. * Come let us make man in our resemblance and image. And he formed Adam from the dust and made him dwell in the paradise of sweetness (pleasure). * He produced sleep on Adam formed from the dust and took one of his loose ribs. He formed it and gave it as his wife. And he set up a law for Adam in the paradise: From every tree eat (into the stomach) but towards one you are hindered. * And he warned him: keep the law and do not transgress (it) at all. And he informed him that if he will fail and transgress, he will truly be a portion (lot) for death. * He trampled the law and soon ate in haste from the tree which is the fig tree. * When it seemed good to Adam, he had despised the command and he cast him out from the garden of Eden to the earth from which he was born. * Miserable Adam was delivered to death as to a pasture for five thousand and a half years until the creator had pity on him. * The Being chose from the children of tired Adam a virgin just and pure and made her an abode to his Word. * The Word of the Father assumed a body from Mary and he had been formed like an infant and he had hidden his glory in her. * That one who was before the creatures, came as a child and fulfilled the words of prophecy and he was born in Bethlehem (*Apharsa*). * He sent out an angel to the shepherds to adore him and they met (him) in a cave and offered praise and thanks. * He sent a star to Persia and called the Magi and by its light he was leading them until they entered the cave and

(then) it stood still.* The Magi, three sons of chosen kings - honourable men and leaders, came and they brought holy offerings.* Gold and myrrh and incense as to the honour of the king who was wonderfully born from a virgin who did not know man.* They opened their treasures and presented him their offerings, as they were commanded by their leader Zandurst who had prophesied to them.* They bent their heads and adored the manger of their lord and returned to go to their land with thanksgiving in their lips.* When they completed eight days, the child was circumcised according to the law of the Jews and was named Jesus the Lord.* And he grew in stature and wisdom and benevolence before God and men and fulfilled the three laws.* One, first is the natural law and the second Scriptural and the third spiritual.* That natural law from Adam until the chosen Moses, the first prophet who rose up among the Israelite nation.* The Scriptural, the Lord had given on mount Sinai on stone tablets, the harsh law, whose glory Moses saw in the bush.* That third, in Christ the light, who came, which was given to humanity from the womb of baptism. All laws were perfected for thirty years and he revealed about the three qnome by the three ten which were repeated.* And he sent the prophet in the person of the son of Zachary to preach to the Jewish people: Behold the conclusion has come.* For, John dwelt in the desert by the river Jordan and he was baptizing with wonder the proud Jewish people. A multitude of Pharisees and Scribes, the ranks, had come together to John the son of the sterile woman, to be baptized by the high-priest.* He cried out before all the assemblies in murmur saying: Behold the axe is placed at the root of the tree (devoid ?) of fruits.* For behold the expectation has reached and has come. And he who is before me and everything is posterior to him, stands among you.* He is the pontiff and he will baptize you with the spirit and fire and he will gather the wheat into his barns. For his kingdom will not at all perish.* But the chaff and cockles which are the children of the vipers who killed every prophet and priest, he will cast into the furnace.* Then our lord came to receive baptism from the son of the sterile woman in the river Jordan with two fountains.* Crying out thus he brought us near the ——— mystery of Jews and gentiles in which our Saviour was pleased to renew our whole kyana.* Speaking John was teaching and suddenly our lord was revealed and he said

to John.* Come John and baptize me in the water of the Jordan. For thus it is fitting for us so that justice may be fulfilled in us.* He was naming baptism of the spirit and the treasure of sonship which he was about to give to all, in the end.* The servant began to persuade the son of the creator: I need to be baptized by you; how will I give you baptism?.* How naturally perishable clay can dare to be the baptizer to the incomprehensible sea? * Our lord answered by a sentence the son of sterility: You are the servant and the son of the handmaid; approach and fulfill this request. I will perfect one virtue in the sign of humility, though I am the lord of the world. I will ask of you my servant the washing.* If I will not wash in this river there will not be a sanctifier to the children of Adam made of dust.* The son of the sterile approached and placed his hand on the high-priest and gave him baptism. The ranks and assemblies with the choirs of angels wondered.* In the place of the entry to Jordan that son of Non (Barnon) Hosea and Elijah and Elizeus, our Saviour also was dipped.* The son of God was dipped three times in water according to the mystery he delivered in the end, in the name of the Trinity.* All on a sudden, a light shone on the river Jordan. Armies of fire appeared in the air praising the Son.* The river Jordan stood silent from flowing steadily and the scent of perfumes blew wonderfully.* The heaven was opened, for the notification from there rose up. That one who gladdened all by his baptism, was about to fly from there.* the lord ascended, said Jeremiah the prophet, like a lion from water and the living spirit descended on him.* The Spirit descended like the body of a gentle dove. The resplendent word of the Father was heard crying out with his glorious voice.* This is my beloved in whom I am more pleased than in all nations; they shall praise him with all tongues and every knee and neck shall bend to him.* Wonder caught John when he heard the voice of the Father which was bearing witness and he saw the Spirit which brooded on him.* The Spirit descended on the head of our redeemer and dwelt (on him) and the Father by his voice cried out: My Son, in you redemption has taken place for all.* In water they shall receive purification of the vessels of stains. And our lord is the remission of all sins. He promised to those who will become his members.* Jesus the Lord was baptized in the water and he begot from the soft womb children chosen for his kingdom.*

During the time of Noah ten generations perished completely in water. Our lord established sonship (adoption). The prophet son of Bosee also saw pure fish in water who are born as in procreation from the womb of pure water.* The mystery of nations who are sanctified in baptism and are born as new children and they became heirs in the kingdom.* By the well Eleazar espoused Rebecca to Isaac and Jacob espoused Rachel by the well and Moses espoused Sephora.* Our Saviour also espoused for himself the church from Jordan by the mediation of John and annulled the deed of the sins of our race.* Our lord prepared a chamber for his spiritual church and made to her a promise : I will offer you and your children to him.* And now the church confesses in the three qnome, one kyana without discord (division). And the church celebrates the divine Economy.* And without stop she offers praise and thanks to the only begotten Son the Word who freed her from the yoke of slavery.* O our lord, by the prayer of your church and virgin Mary your mother, pardon the son of your handmaid and make him worthy to receive you in your kingdom.* O Christ, by the mercy of your Father and your Spirit pardon our debts and blot out our sins and have mercy on us.

Daslosa: O Christ the lover of the repentant...(p.32* 2nd *suhlapa*, *qala* 2; 1st 2 stanzas and of Mary and the saints and of the dead.)

Sambah: We adore the living God who created the earth and heaven. He created all *kyane* in silence and light by open voice.* He adorned the world with all beauties and he made it like a beautiful city. And he placed in it the father of all generations and like a king over the whole creation.* When Satan saw it thus that every authority is given to him, he was jealous of him and began to fight with this one.* And he deceived Adam and the woman through desirable shameful food. Both of them were thrown out of the garden and inherited the earth which was full of curses.* When the creator saw thus, that his establishment was constrained to destruction, he sent his son in the end of time and through him achieved redemption for our race.* He was born from a pure virgin without seed and without intercourse and he was growing in stature and wisdom and was made famous by the power of the benevolence.* When he completed

three ten years and fulfilled the commanded things of the law of Moses and the fathers and then he approached for baptism.* In the year 330 and 4 years after the kingdom of the Greek king Alexander, John came from that — desert to the river Jordan and was baptizing in water.* And he was preaching in the Jewish desert saying to the deviated people.: Repent, the kingdom of heaven is at hand and the heavenly king has reached and come.* The Scribes and priests gathered together and were wondering at his words and with fear they were inclining (their ear) and hearing (him) like a prophet and were honouring him.* When they all were hastily coming to him, as if he were the king Christ. Thinking and expecting him and they were asking of him remission of sins and offences, being baptized by the baptism by him.* Then he answered and said to the Scribes and chief- priests : Wicked children and snakes, sons of vipers, be shaken and terrified; for, behold the lord of the seasons has come to judge the murmuring gentiles.* He will take vengeance in anger and heat against the people full of evil and are of empty hope and away from good things.* Behold, he is holding the axe of justice placed, to cut down trees and shrubs which have no fruits of benevolence.* Behold I baptize in water though I have not acquired any other thing. Behold one stronger than me, valiant, belligerent and powerful comes after me. His is judgment authority and he is the one who will be examining in the end.* Do not think that I am greater than him. I am not worthy to serve him. Nor am I fit to untie the strap of his shoes. For, this one is the lord and this is God.* He will baptize with dense fire and purify iniquity and sin and will sanctify all with holiness. For his is the kingdom and he is the first-born of God.* This one will truly purify his threshing floor and will gather the chosen wheat into his barns. And the chaff which is rejected he will burn in his burning coal and all his chosen ones he will gather around him.* When he had spoken these, suddenly our lord stood up revealing himself and was asking from him baptism.* John stood with fear and trembling crying out aloud with fright and answered in reply to our lord with trembling.* You are the glorious and strong king and I am the cursed and poor servant. You are great unfathomable sea and also an anchor which surrounds the whole territory of this world. I am a creation of clay.* I am a small destitute lamp and always I need oil and light.

But you are the true light.* How can a straw approach a harsh fire? Or how will brushwood approach a furnace? Will it not burn it? Will it not consume it in an hour? How will I baptize the lord of all creatures? This is hard and difficult to hearing.* All the angels fear you. They do not dare to look at you. How will I baptize you? I am too weak to touch (approach) your body.* Our lord rebuking said: Fulfill this deed; come and baptize me without dispute or controversy. For, now I want this. I do not dare to touch you, I don't dare, for the angels of heaven surround you. Behold I fear, if I am not worthy to untie the lace of your shoes, how will I touch your exalted head? By my baptism, behold servants are freed. By my washing behold deeds are torn away. Behold emancipation deeds are confirmed entrusted. But if I will not baptize, I allow them to be deprived. O my lord, I hear and obey you. For behold your love is for baptism. It urged you. Be baptized by me; for, I will be sanctified by you.* The high-priest descended into the water and he was given baptism and he sanctified all fountains with holiness and he set up the way for all gentiles unto repentance. And every one who is baptized and believes in him, will become a heir with him in the kingdom.* When he ascended from the water, the doors of heaven were opened and the Spirit descended on him in fullness and the Father announced with a living voice : This my only begotten Son.* And the Trinity was revealed. And the Father by his good will and the Son by his baptism and the Holy Spirit truly descended.* When satan saw (this), he wept and called his servants and said to them: This one is truly God. And he will free all peoples by his baptism. We therefore truly believe in the Son Christ and adore him and we hallow his divinity and humanity. We confess he is God and man.* O Christ who saved the whole race of mortals by your baptism, give us seasons of joys all days and remove from us the punishments so that we ay praise you always and have mercy on us.

Qanona: "Sing to the Lord a new canticle. The whole earth, praise the Lord." (See p. 289*) O great sun of justice, glory to you; for by your denha worlds and creatures were enlightened.* O our Saviour, at your baptism, the spirituals descended and the fiery flew and sang praise with John in the Jordan.* The voice of the Father sounded from heaven and bore witness in the river Jordan : This is

my beloved Son in whom I am pleased; confess him.* O our Saviour, have pity and establish your church and protect her children by the prayer of all your saints.

Thesbohtha: "Heaven and earth are not sufficient.." see p. 43.

Karozusa: Eternal Being .. see p. 345*

Madrasa: *Unaya*: On the day of the baptism of the king of kings heaven and earth sang praise and he is worthy of being honoured by all, who gladdened all by his denha.

Bathe: I shall narrate about the greatness and the revelation of baptism; for the lord mingled with his servants, God with man. Today the lord of all came to our humanity to sanctify it. New life has shone today by which the dead conquered death,* The richness of heaven descended to the earth and spread its (his) treasures. "He is holy, he is holy", they sang praise to the Father who vivified us through his Son. The spirit sang (praise) to him through the prophets and recounted it through the apostles, so that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled, that day was announcing to the day.* The exalted whose splendour is excellent, the sky (heaven) narrates by the clouds like a child and the Scriptures are open before him. His hidden splendour exulted and descended. Mary exulted and received him. The Spirit exulted and brooded on him.

Another: *Unaya*: Blessed is the one who deigned to be baptized in the river Jordan and opened heaven to the mortals by his baptism.

Bathe: The image of the house of Adam which was called a hidden image rusted through iniquity and became ugly by enticement and judgment turned it to scatter its desecration into the threshold of dust. The hater laughed at and despised it. The reasonable and the silent became gloomy by its corruption because the tent of their love was lost (destroyed.)* The good one saw that his image was hated by iniquity and melted it down in the furnace of water and polished its ugliness and covered its softness by the gold of the Holy Spirit. And the heavenly wondered at its form.* And those who were sorry at its desecration were gladdened by its renovation and looked at its dignity of the love of their need.* The beckoning joined them together

to rejoice at the renovation; for the image of the man of dust and they will form a crown of glory to the hidden one by their voice. For he renewed the image of man in his love and revealed to his creation the love of his will that he willed that his hidden image should not perish.

Slosa: O great king of glory, magnificent and mighty, praiseworthy, valiant and belligerent, powerful and merciful eternal Being, we confess adore and praise you always, lord of all ...

"Then Moses and the children of Israel sang this praise to the Lord, saying." I will praise you gloriously. See p. 332* They repeat this with every pair of propositions.

Add: "Sing to the Lord a new canticle.: The Being which is from eternity: His praise (is) from the boundaries of the earth." See p.333*

Slosa: O my lord, sow in our heart the seed of your doctrine. Make the drops of your benevolence descend on us so that we may be brought up according to your will and yield fruits pleasing to your lordship, all the days of our lives; lord of all ...

"O heaven listen, and I shall speak: Let the earth hear the speech of my mouth." The angels sang praise at the baptism of the son of the king Christ (See p. 334*)

Slosa: O just zealous one, by your zeal you destroy the wicked and in your anger you will put an end to the impious and keep the covenant and benevolence for those who fear your holy name, we pray O my lord, turn and have pity and mercy on us as you are accustomed always ...

Qanona: "I also will excite them by a people who are not mine and enrage them by a foolish people." Blessed is the one who revealed himself in our humanity and humiliated himself for our redemption and was baptized in the Jordan by his servant John.

"For, fire will burn in my anger and consume unto the lower S'eol." Blessed is the living one, son of the living one, who has dawned for us from heaven and by his baptism in water, gave us adoption (of the sons).

"It shall devour the earth and its produce: And it will consume the foundations of the mountains." Blessed is the one who sanctified us by his baptism and washed us by his bath and exalted us by his humility and made us worthy of his glory.

"I will gather evil things against them. And my arrows shall consume them." Blessed is the eternal Being who sent us his hidden Son. And he descended and was baptized in water and gave us adoption of sons.

"They shall be exhausted by famine and they shall be delivered to bad spirits and I will deliver them to the bird of prey." Blessed is the one who made us worthy of the feast of his baptism by his benevolence and by his love promised to make us inherit his kingdom.

"I will incite against them wild beasts with the venom of serpents which crawl in the dust." Blessed is the treasure of helps from which men grew rich and (he) prepared for them lodging and lasting enjoyments.

"From outside the sword will destroy and from the inner chamber fear. The youth and virgins as well." Blessed is the heavenly king who pitied our earthly race and by his purifying baptism gave us redemption.

"Youth and virgins as well and boys with old men." Blessed is the one who renewed our form and purified us from our impurity and by his baptism in the Jordan saved us from our enemy.

"I said: where are they? I would have destroyed their memory from men, had not the anger of the adversary grown strong." Blessed is the first born of all creatures who came for the redemption of all nations and was baptized in the Jordan by his servant John.

"Lest their oppressors should exalt themselves and say that our hand is exalted." John like thunder revealed the denha of the exalted one and the Father was saying aloud: This is the redeemer of the world.

"It is not the Lord who did these. For, the people are of depraved conscience." Blessed is the one who appeared in the Jordan. The Spirit descended and remained on him and showed by its brooding to all and the Father was pleased in him.

“There is no sense in them. Would that they understood it well! “O my lord, receive our supplication ; may our prayers be pleasing to you. Answer us our petitions and do not turn your face away from us.

“By their end they observed. One was chasing a thousand.” Blessed is the one who was baptized so that he may redeem us and purify the stain of our debts and pardon the sins of us all and that the devil may flee from us.

“And two were making myriads flee. But their mighty one delivered them.” Blessed is the hostage from our race for he revealed his glory which was in our humanity and was baptized for sanctifying us, by his best man John.

“And the Lord besieged them. Since their power was not like our power.” It is fitting that he should resound with glory to Christ the giver of light; for, by his glorious denha he paved the way for us to heaven.

“Our adversaries were our judges. Because their vine was from the vine of Sodom”. Blessed is the one who remitted our debts by his baptism in the Jordan and he gave in writing the (the deed of) our enfranchisement and redeemed us from our slavery.

“And from the plant of Amorah. Their grapes were bitter grapes.” Blessed is the Father who was pleased in us and sent his Son for our redemption and by his baptism freed us from the devil our adversary.

“They multiplied for them bitter herbs. Their fury is the fury of the dragon.” Blessed is the lord who humbled himself and showed his live for us and dawned and revealed himself in our body and made expiation for all by his baptism.

“The head of the wicked adder. Behold it is hidden with me and sealed in the barns.” Blessed is Christ the lord of all, who by his baptism illumined all. Praise to him from every mouth about his benevolence towards all.

“Vengeance is mine to reward them, at the time when their leg will totter.” The angels flocked with their ranks and sang praise with their voice (songs) at the baptism of the son of their lord who had come for their (our) redemption.

“For, the day of their ruin is near. And he will hasten what is about to happen to them.” O Christ our Saviour, by your coming to us you cleansed the filth of our kyana by your baptism in the Jordan.

“For, the Lord will judge his people. And he will be consoled by his servants.” Blessed is Christ who came and freed us from error and the devil and death and affliction and promised us a kingdom.

“Because he saw that the hand had grown strong and that there is no one who will help and support.” Come let us confess and praise, extol and celebrate the child who has risen from Mary and gladdened all by his baptism.

“And he (should) say: Where are their gods the strong ones in whom they were confiding?” Let our assembly rejoice today on the day of the denha of our redeemer who by his baptism, pardoned and sanctified us and saved us from the hand of our haters.

“And were consuming the fat of their sacrifices and drinking the wine of their libation.” Blessed is the one who was baptized, though he needed it not, by John who needed (it) and enriched our race which thirsted for it and needed it.

“Let them stand up now and help them and be for them defenders.” Adorable is the master who was subject to his servant and deigned to be baptized and by this, prepared and commanded us to be baptized as he was baptized.

“See that I am and there is no god other than me.” See therefore that I am; see that I am the Lord and there is no god beside me.

“I kill and I vivify; I strike and I heal.” O our creator, open your door and receive our supplication. May our prayers be pleasing to you; and answer us our petitions.

“There is no one who escapes from my hands. For, I have raised my hand over the heaven.” Blessed is the one who depicted the mystery of his death and his resurrection by his baptism. And the Father bore witness about his filiations and the Spirit about his Being.

“I said: I will live for ever. I will sharpen the sharpness of my sword like lightning.” O my lord, mingle our glorifications with the glorifications of the angels and our praises and songs with their songs.

“My hand will hold judgment and give back punishment to my haters” O my lord, let your will acquiesce in the service of your adorers and may our prayers be accepted before the throne of your greatness.

“And I will hand over my adversaries. I will intoxicate my arrows with blood.” Shed your benevolence on us; yes my lord, hear our prayer. Pardon the one who has sinned and acted impiously, seventy times seven each.

“My sword will consume flesh, from the blood of the killed and captivated.” Every blessing is from heaven and all gifts are from the earth and all benevolence is from the Lord on our assembly.

“From the head of the crown of the adversary.” O gentiles, henceforth sing praise and thanks through sacrifice, on this glorious feast of the baptism of Christ.

“Therefore the blood of his servants will be avenged. And he will give punishment to his haters.” Come, let us together praise and adore lovingly that one who is eternal and his denha in time.

“He will avenge his haters and will have pity on his land (earth) and his people.” Blessed is the heavenly king who made redemption for his people and by his expiating baptism became the vivifier for all people.

Sambah: Let us sing praise to the Lord and thanksgiving to the living Son and eulogy to the eternal Spirit. Halleluyya.

Aalam: Let us sing a beautiful praise with the angels of heaven on this magnificent feast of the baptism of the living Son. * Come O baptized in Christ; let us adore Christ. For, through the denha of Christ we have seen the light of Christ. * Shed your benevolences on the assembly which celebrated your feast and honoured the day of your denha, and make it enjoy in your kingdom. (And they come back to: “I also with a foolish people..” *Halleluyya, halleluyya halleluyya*.)

Qala d'sahra: First: *Amba lemb..* = Let my heart produce ..(The whole in its tune) See p. 248*

Second: *Marya amlek* ..= The Lord reigned ..See p. 287*

Third: Praise the Lord for he is good.. See p. 321*

Add: He will be like a tree planted by a stream of water.* Which yields its fruits in time and its leaves do not fall.* The fish of the sea which pass in the paths of the seas.* O Lord, our lord, how praiseworthy is your name in all the land.* (etc. etc. = Sentences from the psalm where the word "water" appears. Here I have spared them.)

Sambah: *Aalam*. End with "Confess the Lord for he is good."

D'lelya: "I will exalt you O my lord king: The king who is greater than all gods.(*Surtha*) He loved us and gave himself for us by the washing of his rebirth." King Christ freed the world and saved it from error. And he destroyed the power of Satan who had condemned our race by his jealousy. But he (Christ) became the glorious head and accomplisher of our faith by his baptism so that we may be baptized like him, with faith in the three qnome of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one kyana and one power which is unlimited. He is from eternity and is adored by all creatures. (Repeat and *Sambah* with it)

Slosa: O my lord, shed on us your benevolences and multiply towards us your helps and strengthen us, as you are accustomed that we may please you and we may be led according to your commandments and reconcile your Godhead all the days of our life ...

"The benevolence of the Lord is from eternity and he revealed his justice before the gentiles.(*Surtha*) For the benevolence of God vivifying all was revealed, to all men." Benevolence of God vivifying all men, instructing and teaching, was revealed to us so that we may give up all abominations and empty lusts of the world and to live with modesty and justice in this transitory world. (Repeat and *Sambah* with it)

Slosa: O my lord, be pleased with the prayer of your servants and enjoy the services of your adorers and remit the debts of your glorifiers and remove the heat of your anger from your domestics, O good one who art careful of our lives always, lord of all ..

“O Lord, you were pleased with your earth. You were truly pleased.

(*Surtha*) By the power and by the Holy Spirit.” O Lord you were pleased to celebrate the benevolence which reconciled your love before and from all creatures which you created, you chose ministers of your holy mysteries, for your honour; from the assemblies of angels, Gabriel and from men a holy virgin and from heaven above, a star of light and from the fountains of water, river Jordan by which the sins of the whole world which came to you, were expiated. Redeemer of all, praise to you. (Repeat)

Sambah: O Lord of fountains and seas and rivers, the Samaritan woman was asking you for water. By water you caught her and made her enter and brought her into your fold. And she started singing your praise: Praise to you O our lord, Praise to you Son of God. Blessed is the one who turns back the deviated.

Aalam: On the day of your baptism from John the messenger, in heaven the Father sounded and in the air the angels sang praise and on the earth men in the blessed river Jordan. Praise to you O our lord, praise to you Son of God. Blessed is the one who sanctified us by his baptism.

Nemar: O Christ, do not turn (Your face away) from us. Do not go away from your adorers, O my lord, since we have taken shelter in you. Lead us in the way of life so that we all may sing to you praise O Lord God. (They enter the sanctuary and pray *Lamdabranusak mar* = Your divine Economy O my lord .. See p. 12)

Qanona: “Praise the Lord from heaven.” See p. 329* The Father from heaven said aloud: This is my beloved Son and the Spirit descended. John was shaken and the assemblies wondered and those above sang praise with those below: Glorious is your denha O Our Lord.

“Praise the Lord from the earth.” By the Jordan the deed of debts of the race of the house of Adam was torn away. And the angels, who saw that we were freed, sang praise to the one who lowered himself by his love and assumed our kyana.

“Praise the Lord in his sanctuary.” See p. 330*. O our Saviour, the fountains of water were sanctified by your baptism. And it became a spiritual womb for the race of men. For, from it they are born and enrolled as the heavenly first-born.

“All you gentiles praise the Lord.” See p. 308*. O Son Christ, the feast of whose baptism is celebrated today, receive from us the watchful vigil and prayers of your glorifiers and answer our petitions from your treasure.* Today wonder and astonishment are served at the denha of Christ. The spiritual announcer was crying out to the assemblies saying: This is the Lamb of God; let us kneel and adore him.* O our helper, we place our confidence in you always and behold we ask from your treasure compassion and mercy and pardon of sins. Shed your gifts through our hands and have pity on us who are sinners.

H'paktha: An angel will turn the cloud to sea easily and will carry water but will not perish in the depths of the sea.* *Geehon* and *Peeson* and *Deklas* and *Pras* with all rivers shall call river Jordan blessed.

Thesbohtha: Thanks to the good one ... See p. 27.

Karozusa: Let us stand devoutly ..

O Christ who by your holy denha kindled your light in our souls and gave us perfect redemption and full emancipation from slavery of our haters and our adversaries...

O Christ who by your holy denha were baptized in the Jordan, although his purity did not need baptism, but to give us inheritance and adoption as sons by your baptism...

O Christ who by your holy denha purified us from our impurity and washed away our filth and whitened our blemishes and made us children of your lordship...

O Christ the lord of glory, who humiliated your greatness and was baptized by your servant and sanctified by your baptism your creation and opened the door of repentance to those who are baptized like you...

O Christ who expiated for us by your baptism and sanctified us by your washing and purified us by your purity and made us worthy to celebrate the feast of your denha and paved for us the way of humility...

O Christ who by your expiating baptism sanctified the oceans and rivers and fountains and ponds and sources and canals and springs and streams and all elements other than the element of water...

O Christ who revealed your mystery (hiddenness) by your holy baptism, receive our vigil and prayers by the multitude of your compassion ...

For the health of our holy fathers ...

O merciful God .. You who are praised in heaven by the heavenly ranks and adored on the earth by the mortal race, adorers of your Trinity ...

O My Lord, save your people and remit the debts of your fold by your pure washing and make the believers of your name worthy to rejoice in your joy and be praised in your inheritance in your heavenly kingdom and have mercy on us.

Slosa: You O king, son of the king, light from light (Repeat) to the essence of whose kingdom there is no change or transformation to his power, great sun of justice who was revealed from the heaven, of flesh and has fixed the feast of the revelation of his day in the womb of the minds above the kyana in all heavenly and earthly orders, blessed light whose rays are hidden in the carnal kyana whose splendour has shone in the body of our humanity from within the heavenly cohort which by the vehemence of darkness of foolishness, has dawned in the night without moon, like a sun from the east bank of the Jordan and chased by your denha from the domain of creation, cognizable darkness of tyrannical authority, we sing praise with the fiery troops of the angels and incorporeal armies of Archangels, the whole orders of the fiery manifold essences and symbolizing churches and orders in zones which are above the order which was ordained because of produce which is today around the river Jordan for the washing of your most holy baptism in water by the son of Zachary,

John and for the revelation of the qnome of the royal Trinity, with slender voices and grateful sounds they praised hallowing. And we also celebrate the feast and have honoured the chosen holy feast of your denha. We pray and request and beseech you, be satisfied with our vigil and pleased with our service, condescend to our supplication and help us who are weak, forgive our transgressions, remit our lawlessness, cure us who are sick, multiply our joys, and make our provisions abound. Make your tranquil peace dwell among us. May your lasting peace hold domain in our days. Let the anchor of your hope reign in our citadels. Establish and protect your faithful catholic church. Strengthen and help her shepherds. Exalt and adorn her priests. Make her deacons modest and protect (them). Support and lead her old men; make her youth mature and valiant; make her children wise and shining. Enrich her women with modesty. Take away the shame of sin from all classes of her children. O my lord, may our service be ... see p. 29.

Its pair: You O great light of the luminous and glorious splendour of rays, O eternal and hidden Being, whose essence is from wonderful light, all pure *kyane* and rationals are illumined and shine with the lightning from that eternal fountain of yours, like Gihon they are shed and indivisibly they instruct and enlighten. That one has shaken this light to enlighten this world which is below and in this place of darkness. We sanctify and hallow with pure spirits with sincere and holy hearts cognoscible altars offering elegant thanks to your hidden essence in your state limiting everything. For you are the light of the worlds invisible and visible which the river of fire which flows from before the meeting place of thy awful throne and fiery legions fly around the tent of your glory and by thy awful sanctifications, fearful and glorious and your just and upright administrations and your divine and incomprehensible judgments. O the depth of the wisdom and incomprehensible intelligence of God! All speculative minds wonder and are astonished about your knowledge and are deified and purified by you. And with fear they raise their voices like trumpets and cry aloud: O exalted God, you are awful from your sanctuary and blessed is adorable honour from your place. For who said before you that you are just? You purified my heart from sins. O my lord, we are

ashes and clay. There is no one who is justified before you. For, you are a burning fire and furnace inflaming the worlds. For you sit on the Cherubim and from all angelic *kyane* and the nine orders shaking the boundaries of heaven and borders of the earth. O my lord, with them we your servants also with shame ask and from the abundant depth of thy great sea and unbreakable fountains of your compassion: Make us worthy so that by sweet customs and pure manners which shine in the vehement light from you to see the splendid light of your truth while raising ourselves over the eclipsing darkness which is born from the little lamps like the renewing eagles, to be able to fly and be raised to that ether of life approaching the zones above and between the awful sanctuary and the church of the first-born and to the holy city where the air of life and light blows, that one which has nothing from the shock from the blows of apostasy. O our lord and our God, there with the orders of the six-winged and many eyed, of prompt emotions and luminous intellects, we will praise you unceasingly, sanctify you without stop, hallow you always, the creator of light by your benevolence. .. etc.

Qanona d'sapra: Sambah: "In the beginning God was pleased and created us. And by his love he descended and saved us by the body he assumed from us. His pity was moved about our death. The wicked tyrant our hater the devil, our adversary by his jealousy, had desired to destroy us. Since we sinned, he exalted himself against us and became mighty against our humanity. By his washing in the Jordan by the hand of John his servant, he (Jesus) destroyed his (devil's) power over us and by his baptism he purified and sanctified us. And he turned us to him from error and hiring he gave us all good things. And by his resurrection he rose up and raised us and ascended to heaven above and made us dwell (there). Praise to him from the mouth of all of us; exaltation to him always. For the creatures adore and hallow him and sing praise to him. For, he enlightens and illumines us with all lights, by the light from his light. And by his light all creatures became lighted and he enlightened the four quarters. O giver of light, we offer praise to you.

Qanona of Yasev b'sethare: When created (=kad thakne..) See p. 30.

D'sapra: "All the earth, praise the Lord. : Serve the Lord with joy." The true light dawned for us from heaven, the only begotten, the lord of the world. (Repeat)

"Enter before him with praise." Blessed is Christ who sanctified us by his baptism and gave the symbol of eternal life.

"Know that he is the Lord our God." O Christ who was baptized and rose up and enlightened all, make your peace dwell in your people whom you have chosen for you.

"It is he who created us and it was not we." O heir of the Father and lord of everything that came into being, gladden your church by your holy denha.

"We are his people and the sheep of his flock." Blessed is Christ who by his baptism, the propitiatory womb, sanctified our redemption by the mystery of his glory.

"Enter before him with faith and his courtyards with praise." Our lord said: O John, allow that I may be baptized and that I may fulfill all that are written.

"Praise him and bless his name." O children of the Holy Spirit, praise without intermission the bridegroom who will place crowns on your heads.

"For the Lord is good and his benevolence is forever." O our lord, let your light chase away from your church the wolves, the children of error and darkness of the disputants.

"And your faith is before generations." O our redeemer, your denha has cheered up the creatures and good things and eternal life reigned.

Sambah: with the first.

Aalam: O the baptized, sing praise and dance and rejoice in the bridegroom so that you may enjoy in the Jerusalem above.

(They continue): In the dawn of the morning..

D'varek: O redeemer of all, you purified the filth of our kyana by your baptism and you pardoned and sanctified us by your washing and you named us heirs in heaven.

Sambah: By the baptism of Jesus the Lord, the doors of heaven were opened and the Father by his voice revealed and bore witness that he is the only begotten Son.

Barek: Blessed is the one by whose baptism heaven opened and fire and the Spirit mingled with water and revealed his power to the assemblies who were by the Jordan that by his baptism they will receive emancipation.* The denha from heaven which the gentiles and Jews waited for – the redeemer son of the exalted, was baptized and he rose up and enlightened the world.

Dalvaktha: (a small hymn) On this day of the joyous feast of the baptism of the king Christ, the Father said in a gentle voice: this is my famous beloved Son. And the Holy Spirit with splendour and pomp descended on his glorious head. And behold the church and her children celebrate his feast with songs of praise and prays to him, with love and affection, as much as she is able, to save her from the disturber, the shameless devil and to protect her for a prolonged time, until his glorious revelation.

Marmisa d'rase: "Sing to the Lord a new canticle.." See p. 289*.

Addition: "I will exalt you O my lord king: Your throne O God, is forever.(Surtha) Thousand of thousands and myriad of myriads surround him." O Lord, the Cherubim surround your awful throne. And with fear, they hide their faces with their wings, being unable to cast their eyes (on you) and to see the fire of your Godhead. You are so glorious but you dwell among men, not to burn them, but to enlighten. O my lord, great is your mercy and your benevolence which you have shown to our race. Praise to you.

Sambah: O our Saviour, your servants expect life and lasting bliss and take refuge with faith and seek shelter in the wings of the cross. In your compassion protect your adorers and fulfill to them your promises which you promised to your friends, in your gospel. Any one who believes in me will inherit the kingdom and eternal life. O my lord, make us worthy to sing in the chamber of your kingdom with your saints. Praise to you.

Suraya: "Therefore God your God anointed you . * with the oil of joy, more than your companions. * Let us honour the baptism of Christ.

Zumara: Let my heart produce good words. * I will tell my deeds to the king. * My tongue is the reed of a skilful Scribe. * Therefore God your God anointed you . * the oil of joy more than your companions. * Myrrh and cassia and stacte.

D'rase: "Sing to the Lord a new canticle. Universe and all its inhabitants.(Surtha) So that creation also shall be freed from the slavery of destruction." The creation was renewed by its lord and it recognized its redeemer who was baptized and the faith in the Trinity, he revealed to it in the Jordan. The Father announcing: This is my beloved Son in whom I am pleased. And the Spirit came and remained on him making his glory known before the world. (Repeat)

They offer the third liturgy and say instead of *D'heelath* ..= you are awful..) Messenger .. *Halleluyya, halleluyya*.

Bathe: A star dawned from Jacob and a leader rose up from Israel. *Halleluyya, halleluyya*. Thousand of thousands stand before him and myriad of myriads sing holy to his honour. *Halleluyya, halleluyya*.

Addition: There was a voice from heaven saying: This is my beloved Son in whom I am pleased.: Let us all remain with him and serve his lordship with all our heart saying: You are holy, you are holy, you are holy, O lover of mankind. *Halleluyya*.

Deacon says: Praise the living God.

D'vem: Come, let us all praise together and adore the redeemer of the race of men and of the whole world from the devil. For, by his benevolence he gave us the heavenly gift of his body and his blood for the remission of sins. Let us all remain with him..

Bathe: The rod will come from the trunk of Isai (Jesse) and from his root a shoot will sprout. Let us all remain with him .

D'pagrak vadmak: Bathe: We were sanctified by the water and the Spirit; we received life by your body and your blood. The

good one who created us from the dust, renewed our image by water and the Spirit. You created us again with water and the Spirit. Glorious is your renovation; splendid is your coming.

The prayer on the whole is Scriptural. In some places apocryphal influence is to be suspected, as in the long *Suvha* of the *Lelya Slosa D'sapra* and its companion seem to be of later addition. The addition of the vesicles containing the term 'water' from the psalms in the *Qala d'sahra* seems to be impertinent.

Fr. Emmanuel Thelly,
Little Flower Monastery,
Poonjar South P.O.,
Via Palai, **India**
E-mail: emmanuelthelly@gmail.com

Martin Tamcke

WHO IS BISHOP GABRIEL?

Essay on the East Syrian opponent of Mar Thoma V

The interaction between the Lutherans and the Syrian St. Thomas Christian began immediately after their arrival in Tranquebar. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg's efforts had already been pioneering, yet it was his successors that took decisive steps in establishing a direct written contact, entering into correspondence with Mar Thomas V and competing thereby with the efforts undertaken by the German Professor Karl Schaaf.¹ At the beginning, the Lutherans

1 Karl Schaaf was born in Duisburg, Germany. He resided in Leiden for fifty years. Only in 1720, nine years before his death, was he appointed extraordinary professor at the University of Leiden. In Germann's day (1877) his picture was still hanging in the Senate Room of the Leiden University. Schaaf's works were transferred to Amsterdam by Johann Heinrich Schaaf's brother and became public property. Johann Heinrich Schaaf moved from Leiden to Amsterdam because he could not obtain a chair at the Leiden University. In the days of Wilhelm Germann, the historian of the earliest Indian Lutherans, Schaaf's works were preserved in the city library of Amsterdam; cf. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen*, Gütersloh 1877, p. 540. Mar Thomas referred to himself as Mar Thomas V, Germann, p. 547. For the controversies see Martin Tamcke, *A letter of Mar Thoma's from 1728 as source for the history of the Syrian St. Thomas Christians*, in: *The Harp XXII* (2007), p. 201-214; Martin Tamcke, *Lutheran Contacts with the Syrian Orthodox Church of the St. Thomas Christians and with the Syrian Apostolic Church of the East in India (Nestorians)*, in: Andreas Gross / Y. Vincent Kumaradoss / Heike Liebau (ed.), *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. II: *Christian Mission in the Indian Context*, Halle 2006, p. 831-878; Martin Tamcke, *Die frühen lutherischen Missionare in Indien in ihrem Kontakt zur syrischen Thomaschristenheit*, in: Tuomas Martikainen (ed.), *Ego sum qui sum*, Festschrift till Jouko Martikainen, Abo 2006, p. 115-156.

thought that they were in partnership with the only decisive Church leader of the independent St. Thomas Christians, but in time, after their contacts progressed and knowledge grew deeper, they realized that Mar Thoma was only leading one group of believers. And gradually they got to learn more about Mar Gabriel, his East Syrian opponent. Unlike Mar Thoma, Mar Gabriel did not regard himself as belonging to the Patriarchate of Antioch, but to the Church of the East.

This hierarch from the region of Urmia in Iran had been ordained as metropolitan of Mar-Shalita in Azerbaijan by the patriarch of the Apostolic Church of the East, Simon XIII Denha.² While returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he met in Diyarbakir with people interested in a union with Rome around the patriarch Joseph II, who was in union with Rome and with whom a part of the Church of the East had aligned itself.³ Gabriel also delivered a profession of faith that was sent to Rome and was meant to establish him as a true believer in the sense of the union.⁴ This act of the young bishop was hardly spectacular, since the patriarch who had ordained him had only just terminated the union with Rome and the young bishop had therefore originally grown up in a situation This act of the young bishop determined by the union.⁵ Rome now encouraged the young hierarch to support the unification of the East Syrian Christians with the part of the Church that was now united with Rome.

Although the Near East had been envisaged as the place for Gabriel to effect this unification, he arrived in Kollam via Madras in

2 Edouard R. Hambye, *History of India*. Vol. III: *Eighteenth Century*, Bangalore 1997, p. 46. Simon XIII Denha (1662-1700) was initially a representative of the East Syrian Christians united with Rome (so-called "Chaldaic patriarch" in the line of succession of Johannes Sullaga). In 1672 he broke off the union with Rome. In the monastery Kotchannes west of the Urmia lake in the Hakkari mountains of south-east Turkey he re-established the patriarchate of the Apostolic Church of the East as an independent patriarchate. Cf. Wilhelm Baum / Dietmar W. Winkler, *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens. Geschichte der sogenannten Nestorianer*, Klagenuft 2000, p. 108.

3 Cf. Albert Lampart, *Ein Märtyrer der Union mit Rom: Joseph I. (1681-1696), Patriarch der Chaldäer*, Einsiedeln 1966.

4 Hambye, p. 46, note 3.

5 Baum / Winkler, p. 108.

December 1705 and cited the task given to him by the Pope.⁶ The metropolitan who continued to follow the East Syrian liturgy, who used the Julian calendar and leavened bread encountered rejection from the Carmelites.⁷ His doctrinal association with the Chaldeans was still doubtful. He had with him two letters from the independent patriarch, Elias XI Maraugin (1700-1722).⁸ These letters from the Superior of the Church living near Mosul raise doubts about the loyalty of the metropolitan with regard to his association with the group united with Rome in the region of what is today South East Turkey. It is noteworthy that Gabriel did not sail from Iran directly to Kerala, but he firstly approached the central region of the Syrian Thomas Christians in India from Tamil Nadu. He sailed on an English ship from Madras to Quilon, Malabar, after having made a pilgrimage to the Apostle Thomas's tomb.⁹

Nevertheless, Gabriel's work met with great success. Within a very short time (1708-1710) he was able to restore almost forty churches and was accepted by these communities as their bishop. Almost all these communities had earlier come under the Carmelites. Their vicar apostolic made Gabriel issue a renewed profession of faith with which the doubts regarding his affiliation to the East Syrians united with Rome were meant

6 Hambye, p. 46-47 (according to catholic sources 1708 instead of 1705, discussed in Germann, p. 534). His stay in Madras is unclear. Germann refers to Gabriel's own noting that he had landed in India in 1705 already, Germann, p. 534, note 1. The note is in Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land, *Anecdota Syriaca I*, Lugduni Batavorum 1862, p. 127 ("Anno 1705 venit dominus Gabriel metropolitan Syrus Orientis Catholici jussu").

7 Hambye, p. 47.

8 In fact, a predecessor of the patriarch, Elias IX (1660-1700), had had contact with Rome since 1668 with the aim of setting up a union. The negotiations for a union were not concluded. Elias X Maraugin (1700-1722) and his successor Elias XI Denha (1722-1778) were the last patriarchs who resided in the monastery of Rabban Hormizid before the monastery was destroyed by the troops of the Iranian ruler Nadir Shah in 1743. From then on the patriarchs resided in Alqosch. This place then became the centre of this line of patriarchs in the Apostolic Church of the East; cf. Baum / Winkler, p.108.

9 Cf. Germann, p. 534; for the events during the journey see *ibid.*, p. 549.

to be dispelled.¹⁰ However, Gabriel's influence – even over some communities of St. Thomas Christians independent of Rome – was not affected by this. He simply ignored a summons to Rome in 1714.¹¹ In negotiations with the Dutch commander in Cochin, Jacob de Jong, he tried in 1719 to get permission for married priests to be admitted to the Church. He had no success; the Dutch refused on the assumption that Gabriel was a Catholic. Till his death in 1731 Gabriel associated with a substantial section of Syrian St. Thomas Christians and maintained his position between the group united with Rome and the independent group. The attempt to appoint his successor from the Near East failed in 1784.¹²

The differences between Gabriel and Mar Thoma clearly characterized the contradictory dogmatic position. In a letter sent in 1709 to the Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Thoma describes his opponent.¹³ This man, he says, calls himself Metropolitan of Nineveh and says he was sent to India by Catholicos Elias. For Mar Thoma, at least, the metropolitan belonged therefore to the Church of the dogmatic opponent and not to Rome. Mar Thoma accused him of professing two natures and two persons in Christ. There can be no doubt that the person being described here is a 'Nestorian', professing a Christology of dyophysites. In addition, Mar Thoma states, he spoke in no uncertain terms against the view that Mary is the mother of God. This too would place Gabriel clearly in the dogmatic tradition of the Apostolic Church of the East. Therefore, the reason which made Mar Thoma reject Mar Gabriel was the fact that the latter disagreed with Virgin Mary's status as Mother of God.¹⁴ However, the dogmatic difference did not prevent some leading community

10 Joseph Simon Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* III/2 (De scriptoribus Syris Nestorianis), Rome 1728 (Reprint: Hildesheim 1975), p. 448.

11 Hambye, p. 48 (there also the following).

12 Hambye, p. 48, note 9.

13 Germann gives a complete German translation of Thomas Yeates' letter, p. 535-536, note 3; he also gives a complete German translation from the Latin version of Assemani who had also added the Syriac text from the Propaganda Fide, p. 545-546.

14 Germann, p. 536 note 3.

members from parting with Mar Thoma and joining Mar Gabriel. On the contrary! Mar Thoma himself reports about this situation in a letter addressed to Schaaf: "But a certain excommunicated elder, named Matthew, went over to him and believed him, whereupon arose much confusion among us."¹⁵ Under such distress, Mar Thoma turned to the commander – Mar Thoma mentions the "Viceroy" – of the Dutch fortifications in Cochin and asked for help.¹⁶ The Dutch advised him to appeal to his spiritual fathers in Syria and assured him that Mar Thoma's letter would reach the Patriarch of Antioch indeed.¹⁷

But Mar Gabriel took action as well. Since Mar Thoma had not complied with the request of the professor from Leiden who asked for a Syriac New Testament, Gabriel took advantage of his opponent's omission.¹⁸ On 15th March 1720 he already granted Schaaf's requests for a Syriac New Testament as an enclosure to a well-formulated letter.¹⁹ He had written this letter in the house of the Commander in Cochin.²⁰ The letter was accomplished by a certain Matthew. It is not clear whether the writer of the letter is the same Matthew who accomplished the letter of Mar Thoma, his opponent. It is interesting that Gabriel acts as if Professor Schaaf's letter sent in 1713 to Mar Thoma had been actually addressed to him, to Gabriel. The commander of the Dutch fortifications must have passed Schaaf's letter on to the available Syrian bishop, that is to Gabriel, especially because Mar Thoma was not acknowledged in Cochin.²¹ With this he also sent a 'Nestorian' profession of faith.²²

15 Germann, p. 536 note 3.

16 Germann, p. 536.

17 Germann, p. 536.

18 Germann, p. 542.

19 It might be the manuscript 1212 of the Oriental manuscripts existent at the university library in Leiden. It is accompanied by the manuscript 1215 (with the liturgical orders of the Malabars to which the Portuguese had given a Roman character) and the short history edited and provided with a Latin translation by Land which, according to Canter Visscher's statement, was written by Gabriel. Germann also used it a lot, cf. p. 542.

20 Germann, p. 542.

21 German already suspects this, cf. p. 542.

22 Germann simply describes it as a "Nestorian confession of faith", p. 542.

In his letter Gabriel asked for liberation from the Portuguese and requested that his letters be sent to the Patriarch of the Church of the East, Mar Elias.²³ Besides he also asked for a New Testament and the Books of the Prophets.²⁴ He described his ecclesiastical position as an intermediate one between the independent St. Thomas Christians and those united with Rome, particularly in order to win over the latter to his side. Employing the usual style of the official correspondence elaborated by the Church dignitaries, he describes himself as the "weak, small, miserable metropolitan of the orthodox Syrians".²⁵ His seal also presents him as "the weak one".²⁶ Schaaf did not enter into further correspondence with Mar Gabriel, since he was offended both by his understanding of liturgy as well as by his Nestorian profession of faith.²⁷

The main purpose of the enclosed historical summary was to emphasize Gabriel's status as an intermediate between the independent Syrians around Mar Thoma and the Syrians united with Rome. He was compelled to assume this position. Only 42 communities united with Rome had joined him.²⁸ He describes these

23 Germann, p. 542.

24 Germann, p. 542.

25 Germann, p. 542.

26 Germann, p. 542. Schaaf calls Gabriel a "Nestorian" clearly and without reservation. "He depends on the seat of the Patriarch of Nineveh and he also sent me a long letter and asked me to write to his leader, Patriarch Elias of Nineveh" („Er dependirt von dem Stuhl des Patriarchen von Ninive und hat auch an mich einen sehr großen Brief geschrieben und von mir begehret, dass ich an sein Oberhaupt, den Patriarchen Elias von Ninive schreiben soll"), Karl Schaaf's letter addressed to La Coze dated 25th July 1725, completely reproduced by Germann, p. 538-539, quotation: p. 538.

27 Germann, p. 542-543. Schaaf was a Lutheran and both as a Lutheran and as a German he must have had a lot of enemies in the Netherlands. Consequently, not even one unblemished outline of his life was released after his death. That is why his son did not manage either to take over his chair or at least to hold lectures at the university, although his wide knowledge of Oriental languages was explicitly certified (see Samuel Crell addressing La Croze from Amsterdam on 19th September 1730, *Thes. Ep. Lacr. I*, p. 107), Germann, p. 539.

28 Germann, p. 543. Germann had already suspected that Gabriel must have wrongly classified the affiliation of the communities with respect

communities as protected on the one hand by the Franciscans – but reference is made to the Jesuits –, and on the other hand by the Carmelites. Thereby, using Schaaf, Gabriel tried to make the Dutch colonial power intervene in his favour. Mar Thomas's letters, in the meantime, strongly urged Schaaf to become politically active with the Company on his behalf and to tell them about the persecution by the 'Franks' (20th January 1715).²⁹ Interestingly, Mar Thoma tells the Syrian-Orthodox patriarch that Metropolitan Gabriel had been sent by Patriarch Mar Elias.³⁰ Herewith Mar Thoma gives witness of his opponent's outstanding erudition. They – the clerics of the independent St. Thomas Christians – did not "have the wisdom" to "answer" the learned East Syrian.³¹ Although at the beginning he claims that nobody from his community joined Gabriel because of his dyophysite Christology, he names then – besides the united Syrians – people of his own group who became members of Mar Gabriel's community: a certain elder Matthew, whose surname was Beticutel, had a privileged position among them.³² Then Mar Thomas shortly indicates that Mar Gabriel was celebrating the liturgy after the Roman rite, and during the fasting time he used to admit the Syrian Orthodox practice.

to the Catholic missionary orders. Germann quotes in a note the entire text of the Latin translation existent in Land's Anecdota (p. 127).

29 Germann, p. 541-542. A second letter dated 10th October 1717 with the same contents was attached. It contained a short poem in the appendix. On 30th September 1720, Mar Thomas complained that he was still awaiting a reply and he enclosed a letter with the request to the Patriarch of Antioch to send learned priests, cf. Germann, p. 545. Johann Heinrich Schaaf, the son of Karl Schaaf, replied to this letter on 12th December 1720 saying that five letters had already been sent. The letters had evidently been intercepted by Catholic agents. The Patriarch of Antioch, however, had already been condemned before Mar Thomas had written the letters and had died in exile before even one of the letters could be handed over to him; cf. Germann, p. 550.

30 Germann, p. 546.

31 Germann, p. 546-547. In addition, he requests that the Patriarch write a letter to the Dutch commander in Cochin for the protection of the independent St. Thomas Christians. Johann Heinrich Schaaf continued the correspondence with Mar Thoma till October 1735; cf. Germann, p. 540.

32 Germann, p. 546.

The orders of the Syrians united with Rome reacted strongly against him as well. As the bishop of the Carmelites almost achieved his purpose of banishing the annoying opponent out of the country, Gabriel officially turned to Rome in 1712 in order to protect himself.³³ "I, Metropolitan Gabriel, have voluntarily agreed with the Holy Roman Church and with the Holy and Blessed Father for many years, and when I came to the country of Malabar to make the disobedient obey, I heard that the Lord Bishop Angelus of Metellopolis had been appointed as vicar apostolic by the Holy Father. Therefore I accept and promise to willingly obey and to act in those countries according to the mandate and the instructions of the vicar apostolic and of the Carmelite monks, his partners, and to behave as a bishop away from his diocese. I further promise not to intend anything regarding the leadership and the ruling without their permission, to celebrate Mass with unleavened bread, according to the rite of the countries subjected to the Roman Church, and to observe the fasting times, the holidays and other religious customs as they used to be observed by the old Catholics. That is what I agree to and what I believe."³⁴ Yet this promise made out of necessity on 5th October 1712 in Changanaschery by the one who was threatened to be crushed between fronts was no longer valid for him when the Rajah of Cochin and his Carmelite allies were forced to accept their military defeat.³⁵ He acted as "open and unambiguous Nestorian" ever since, as Germann records.³⁶

The reaction from Rome came without delay. On 31st January 1722, in a letter sent to Verapoli, Cardinal Joseph Sacripantes demanded that Gabriel be publicly declared as "Nestorian perjurer".³⁷ Gabriel had his reasons to act this way. He records in his history how things went for a former bishop of the Church of the East who was sent to India: "At the beginning of the year 1700, bishop Mar

33 For the substantial literature on the monks' controversy with Gabriel see Germann, p. 543.

34 Assemanni III, 2, p. 299-300, German translation at Germann, p. 544.

35 Due to Samorin's victory, cf. Germann, p. 544.

36 Germann, p. 544.

37 Germann, p. 544.

Simeon was sent to India by the Catholic Patriarch of the East, who appointed him for Malabar. This man gave news to the Syrian Christians about his intended arrival, but his letter fell into the hands of the Carmelites and Jesuits, who posted guards everywhere, caught the bishop and took him as a prisoner to Pondicherry, where they put him in irons.³⁸

The Dutch colonial power was standing in between the two hierarchs. The Dutch preacher in Cochin, Jacobus Canter Visscher, illustrated their conflict and expressed his obvious sympathy for Mar Gabriel: "Mar Gabriel, a white man sent here from Baghdad, advanced in years and looking venerable [een eerwaarde Gryzaart], is dressed almost like the old Jewish priests, wearing a cap formed like a turban and a long white beard. He is polite and God-fearing, and despises the exterior splendour. He wears a golden crucifix around his neck. He lives in extraordinary moderation, abstaining from every kind of animal food. His dwelling, which in comparison with the customs of the Malabar people might be considered spacious, lies on a hill in the Tekkenkur kingdom. He professes the Nestorian teaching about the union of the two natures in the person of our Saviour. Mar Thoma, the other bishop, is a native Malabar. He is a black man, with a heavy and slow appearance [laatdunkend en van weinig verstand]. He lives in the big city, and when he came in town to visit the commander he was accompanied by many soldiers wearing swords and shields, like the Malabar princes do. On his head he wears a silk habit with embroidered crosses, similar to those of the Carmelites. He is a foolish braggart [een wildspreker zonder wysheit] and he boasted that his faith is that of an Eutychian, accusing his opponent of heresy."³⁹

To their astonishment, the encounter between the Dutch preacher and Gabriel was fruitful. Canter Visscher visited the Metropolitan at his residence in Tekkenkur, where a church was simultaneously used by the Syrians united with Rome and by the independent Syrians around him. Gabriel expressed his abhorrence towards the images

38 Germann, p. 531 (quoted according to the Letters on Malabar by Canter Visscher, p. 108).

39 Letter sent by Jacobus Canter Visscher from Malabar before 1723, according to the German translation, cf. Germann, p. 550-551.

posted by the Catholics in the church.⁴⁰ But the Dutch was all the more so surprised by Gabriel's reaction towards the main teachings of the Reformed Church: Gabriel was so interested in the matter that he wanted to entrust two young men to the Dutch, who were supposed to be educated in accordance with those doctrines. This reaction towards his dogmatic explanations encouraged the Reformed theologian to make suggestions about how the St. Thomas Christians could be won over to the Reformed faith. The Dutch East India Company could also have taken advantage of it, since the Syrian St. Thomas Christians had "exceptional soldierly features" and besides, they were among the best pepper tradesmen who ensured the company's supplies.

Indeed, the Dutch had to interfere several times in the inner-Syrian disputes. On 17th of July 1715, the Lutheran missionary Gründler asked one correspondent in Cochin about it and the answer he obtained was the report accomplished by the treasurer in Negapatnam, who had worked in Cochin two years before. The two bishops – Mar Thoma and Mar Gabriel – did not get along with one another, so Dutch delegates from Cochin were sent to them. They solved the dispute in such a manner that "the one got to administer a piece of land southwards and the other one a piece of land northwards".⁴¹ The Dutch intervention prevented the disintegration of the St. Thomas Christians in two camps. The Dutch were sympathizing with the St. Thomas Christians because they were "hard-working people" and provided the Dutch with "first-hand pepper".⁴² Of course, the report accomplished by Mar Thoma VI, the nephew and successor of Mar Thoma V, gives a completely different view. In his letter dated 8th June 1729 and written on palm leaves, he told the governor Jakob de Jong: "My forefather could not agree with him [Mar Gabriel] about the faith issues, so the two commanders at that time came into town and submitted their documents to him."⁴³ The commander had tried to deal thereby with their disagreement, to incorporate Mar Gabriel's group into Mar

40 Germann, p. 552. Ibidem et seq.

41 Germann, p. 552 (quotes Gründler's letter dated 17th July 1715).

42 Germann, p. 552.

43 Germann, p. 557.

Thoma's community, to guarantee Mar Gabriel maintenance payments and to grant him a church. When the two bishops shared a chamber in the church of Candanattu, Mar Gabriel is said to have tried to kill Mar Thoma at midnight. But the German Lutheran Missionaries dismissed these accusations of Mar Thoma VI as unfounded.⁴⁴ Further, he characterized Mar Gabriel's confessional intermediate position without reference to Nestorianism. In order to make him appear in a bad light before the Dutch, Mar Thoma mentioned the letter which Gabriel had sent to the bishop of Verapoli and where he had claimed to be a Catholic.⁴⁵ His residence is located as being "in the south".⁴⁶ But he exclusively described Mar Gabriel's liturgical practice as a mixture of Catholic and Syrian-Antiochian heritage. Fasting times and baptism were accomplished according to the Syrian-Antiochian rite, whereas the Mass and the Eucharist followed the Roman Catholic rite.

The comment upon Mar Gabriel's attitude towards the liturgy contradicts the other information according to which he had been faithful to the East Syrian tradition. On behalf of the Dutch East India Company, the Dutch preacher Valerius Nicolai turned to both parties, blamed them both for heresy – he called the people around Mar Thoma "Eutychianists", and those around Mar Gabriel "Nestorians" –, and invited them both to accept his mediation "so that they should gather in the true, orthodox doctrine".⁴⁷ Apparently Mar Gabriel answered several times with arguments voicing the Roman influence. Mar Thoma answered on 11th February 1730 that he cannot admit the Dutch mediation before receiving adequate instructions from his Patriarch of Antioch.

Before his death, Mar Gabriel sought the contact with Mar Thoma, but the latter hesitated too long and Mar Gabriel eventually died, before he could rightfully consecrate his adversary.

On 8th December 1733 a priest belonging to Mar Gabriel's community turned up among the Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar

44 Germann, p. 557, note 3.

45 Germann, p. 558.

46 Germann had already considered this indication as noteworthy, p. 558.

47 Germann, p. 558. *Ibidem* et seq.

and militated for the cause of his group.⁴⁸ It was during his pilgrimage to the St. Thomas mount. He was going for the second time on pilgrimage although his enterprise provoked the Roman Catholics' indignation. This priest, who was a Syriac teacher, was consecrated by Mar Gabriel. He considered that the main controversial subject between the two parties was the use of leavened or unleavened bread for the Eucharist. The priest could provide a treatise of Mar Gabriel's, in which the latter proved that the leavened bread had been introduced by the West Syrian bishop Johannan of Jerusalem together with bishop Gregory and with another two recently dead holy men. However, according to 1 Corinthians 5:8 it was something unusual. Illustrating the practice of the group around Mar Thoma as a West Syrian innovation on the background of the older East Syrian tradition in India, Mar Gabriel emphasised once more the belonging of the Indian St. Thomas Christendom to the Apostolic Church of the East.

Moreover, the priest could provide the missionaries with explanations regarding the instruction of the clergy men in his church. The priests were supposed to learn Syriac using a grammar book and under the guidance of the Syriac specialist. Still, the Syriac knowledge was subject to decline. What was read out in Syriac in the church was then explained to the people in Malayalam. Already at that time, the youth among the St. Thomas Christians were learning the Creed, "Our Father", the most significant prayers and parts of the catechism in Malayalam. But the reason of the visit was not to inform the missionaries about these necessary points. The priest had a request. He asked them to support the Syrian Christians who, after the death of Mar Gabriel, should receive a new Syrian bishop in India. It was not by chance that a couple of months before the priest's journey in the year 1733 the rival Catholic bishops had gathered against the arrival of a Syrian Metropolitan from Babylon, who was certainly a "Nestorian".⁴⁹ The European observers feared an increased discord among the St. Thomas Christians if such a bishop had

48 Germann, p. 559-561. Ibidem et seq.

49 Germann, p. 562, note 1.

arrived in India. He would have further nourished the Syrian St. Thomas Christians' sympathy for the East Syrian Christendom, because of their heritage.

Prof. Martin Tamcke

Univ. of Göttingen,

Platz der Göttinger Sieben 2,

37073 Göttingen

Germany.

E-mail: martin.tamcke@theologie.uni-goettingen.de

mtamcke@gwdg.de

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 3

(Continued from page 172)

17. The symbol of Paradise

 was depicted by Moses
who made the two sanctuaries,
 the sanctuary and the Holy of Holies;
into the outer one,

 entrance was permitted,
but into the inner,

 only once a year. Lev. 16:34; Heb. 9:7

So too with Paradise,

 God closed off the inner part,
but He opened up the outer,
 wherein Adam might graze.

Translated by : Dr. Sebastian P. Brock

Jürgen Tubach

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIANS IN EASTERN ARABIA: NOMADS AND THE SEDENTARY PEOPLES

When the last Arsacide ruler Artabanos V. (parth. Artabān, middle Persian: Ardawān, 213-224) was beaten by Artahšer i Papakan (> Ardašīr, Greek: Artaxexes) in the last days of April 224 at Hormizdagan, nothing could prevent Sasan's grandson from becoming the great king of the whole empire. Artabanos not only lost the battle, but his life as well. Former vassal kings found no place in the new concept of domination, with the central authority not wanting to tolerate semi-independent kings. The former rulers of the most important regions who bore the title king were superseded by close relatives of the Šahanšah, the king of kings. About 230 Ardašīr came into possession of the coastal regions of Eastern Arabia, probably including Māzūn (or Mazūn), the present-day Oman. These territories, especially the island of Tylos (= Dilmun), now Baḥrain, belonged to the Arsacide vassal king of Mesene (Mayšān), who resided in Spasinou Charax, not far away from Basra. The Arabian districts were separated from Mesene. From now on they

were administered by the province Persis, the homeland of the Sasanian dynasty.

The later administration of the East Syrian Church did not make a change and followed this model of the Sasanian state. The centre of the hyparchy of Persis was in the provincial capital Rēw Ardašīr (arab. Rīšahr), a seaport town on the peninsula of Bušehr, which played an important role in the trade with India and was the see of the metropolitan bishop. Persis received the status of a hyparchy, as ecclesiastical provinces were called in the second half of the 5th century. The Sasanian governor of Persis controlled the following districts on the opposite mainland: the already mentioned Island of Tylos, the oasis al-Hasa (arab. al-Ḥasā), the peninsula of Katar (arab. Qaṭar) and Mazūn (= Oman). Basically the whole coastal region from the mouth of the Šatt al-‘Arab till Oman belonged to the province of Persis. In the year 572 the former kingdom of the Himyarites was added. Wahriz, a Daylamite spāhpat (= general), put an end to the reign of Abreha's sons Yaksūm and Masrūq. South Arabia was turned into a Persian satrapy.

The "land of the people of Katar" (syr. Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē) designates the whole coastal region as far as Oman. When the Arabian part of Persis became a metropolitan see, the designation Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē included the land of Oman. Very often another terminus is used instead of Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē. This is "the isles", because nearly all Episcopal sees were situated on islands near the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf.

It is not known at which time Christianity in its orthodox or heterodox appearance came to Eastern Arabia. At the end of the 2nd century an Elchasaite community

existed in Rēw Ardašīr. For this reason we can assume that Elchasaites lived in the sea-ports on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. The Elchasaites founded by Elchasai were a Jewish-Christian group with strong Gnostic features. The original homeland of the Elchasaites was the region east of the river Jordan. The "Old Church of the East" representing the later orthodox form of Christianity possessed parish communities in Eastern Arabia at the latest in the 4th century. At the synod of 410 held by the Great Metropolitan Isaak (ʿIshāq, 410-415) in Seleukeia-Ktesiphon – it was the first synod after the great persecution – a certain Elia, bishop from Mašmāhīg, took part, while Baṭṭai who claimed the title of a bishop of Mašmāhīg lost his post. Together with some other persons, he was excommunicated for having usurped the episcopate. Baṭṭai had ordained a man called Daniel who had had such a great success as a propagandist of an unnamed heretical teaching that the synod decided that he must leave Eastern Arabia. A bishop of Mašmāhīg called Abraham took part in the regional synod held in the church of Dīrīn (Dayrīn, Dērīn, Dārai, today: Darin, Dareen, Deerah, Dayra) on the island of Tarut (arab. Tārūt, opposite of the oasis of al-Qatīf). This synod took place in May 676, when Catholicos George (Gīwargis, 661-680/81) inspected the newly established metropolitan diocese of East Arabia.

Abraham is mentioned in a letter of Catholicos ʾĪšōʿyahb. He was rebuked because he had supported the separation of the hyparchy Persis and declared himself to be in favour of the autocephaly, the independence from the see of the Catholicos in Seleucia-Ktesiphon. Mašmāhīg is identical with the locality Samāhīg on the island of Mūḥarraḡ. Today the island is connected with Manama, the capital of Bahrayn, by an artificial embankment. Mašmāhīg must be derived from the Persian Masmāhīk "big fish", a suitable name for an

island, where most of the people earned their livelihood from fishing. The change of the sibilant is due to a peculiarity of the Arabic language.

The name of the present-day village ad-Dayr on the island Muḥarraḡ is a reminder of the Christian past. Ad-Dayr means "monastery" and is an Aramaic loanword in Arabic. The metropolitan bishop at the time of the synod of 676 was a certain Thomas. The local bishop of Dīrīn on the island Tarut was called ʾĪšōʾyahb (syr. "Jesus has given" [a happy birth]). The other bishops attending the synod of 676 were Sargis (< Sergios) of Tilwān (Dilmun = Bahrayn), Pussai of Hagar (= arab, syr. Hġar), Šahin of Ḥaṭṭa and Stephen (syr. ʿEštepanōs), the bishop of the Māzūnāyē (or Mzūnāyē), the people of Oman.

At the synod of 576 held by Catholicos Ezekiel (syr. Ḥazqiyēl < hebr. Yehāzqēl [< Yāḥzaqʾēl]) in Ktesiphon the bishops Sargis of Mašmāhīg and Isaac of Hġar (= arab. Hagar, hasait. probably Hagar) and Pīṭ Ardašīr did not come in person, but rather sent representatives. The priest Simon acted on behalf of Sargis, and the deacon Sargis on behalf of Isaac. Probably a certain Samuel was the bishop of the people of Mazun (Oman).

The above mentioned seaport Ḥaṭṭa was called al-Ḥaṭṭ in Arabic according to the region with the same name. The Greeks used the Arabic name (without article) and added the ending -ene (-ηνη) which is typical for smaller administrative units in the Seleucid empire. Ḥaṭṭa is identical

with the oasis al-Qatīf. The first Sasanian king changed the old name into Pīṭ Ardašīr (syr.,).

Hġar, as Hagar or Hagar was pronounced in Syriac, was the old centre of the oasis al-Ḥasā (in classical Arabic: al-Aḥsāʾ). The name of the town is a loanword from South Arabic and simply means "city" (hagar, old Ethiopic: hagar "city, town"). It has nothing to do with the classical Arabian word ḡagar^{un} "stone". The city Hagar or Hagar is either identical with Hufūf /Hufhuf or with a locality in its vicinity.

Bishops of Mazūn who attend the synods of the East Syrian Church are mentioned several times in the synodical acts. A certain John (syr. Yōḥannān) belonged to the subscribers of the famous synod of Markabṭa dṭayyāyē (ephippium Araborum) which took place in 423/24 and was presided by the Great Metropolitan (Catholicos) Dādīšōʿ ("gift" or "creature of Jesus", 421-456). The synod of Mār Āḡās I. (540-552) was attended by David. This bishop is further mentioned in the context of an inspection journey of Mār Āḡās.

The island Tarut (arab. Tārūt) must have had several monasteries. The name of the seaport Dīrīn (Dayrīn, Dērīn, syr. Dārai, arab. Darayn), sometimes used *pars pro toto* for the whole island, is derived from the syriac word dayr (status constructus: dēr) "monastery".

The synod of 410 was attended by Paul who was ordained bishop of the islands of Ardi (or Ardai, Greek:

Arados = arab. Muḥarraḡ) and Toduru. The latter name may survive in the later Arabic Tarut. In Febr. 486 Catholicos Aqaq (< greek: Akakios, 485-496) held a synod in Seleukeia-Ktesiphon. One of the participants was Yazdgard, the bishop of Darai (=Dīrīn). Nearly 100 years later another bishop of Darai is mentioned. Jacob could not take part in the synod held by ʾĪšōʾyahb̄ I. (582-595) in 585. Wanting to obtain information on several questions, he sent a letter to the Catholicos. ʾĪšōʾyahb̄'s answers were added to the acts of the synod. Jacob is called "shepherd of the island of Darai in the vicinity of Tilwān (=Bahrayn)".

In general the sources give no information about the ethnic origin of the hierarchy. But it is possible to draw some conclusions from the personal names mentioned in Syriac sources. Many Persians and Aramaeans from Babylonia lived in the seaport towns of the Arabian Gulf coast. Arabian tribes or clans mainly lived in the hinterland of the coastal regions. Arabian names are not represented in the onomasticon of the bishops. They bear either biblical, Persian or Aramaic names with a Christian connotation. If someone became a Christian and was baptised, he could change his name, but this was not necessary. If a monk or priest was ordained bishop he may have taken a biblical or typical Christian name. In the Iranian highland we find several bishops and laymen with Zoroastrian names. Nobody took offence at such names as Hormizd (< Ahura Mazda), Mihrhormizd, Mihrbuzid, Adorhormizd, Yazdpana, Mihrnarse. A clergyman of Arabian origin could keep his name, if he wanted. In Babylonia and the adjoining Ḥuzistān (Elam), but even in Persis itself, we can find persons within the clergy with Arabian names. Members of the Elchasaite community in the 2nd or beginning 3rd century were of

Arabian origin (e.g. Aianos < Ḥayyān). This does not necessarily mean that such a person spoke one of the Arabic dialects, but is rather an indication of Arabian antecedents or the use of traditional naming in the form of patronymy. The grandson bears the same name as the grandfather. Several bishops of Persis bearing the name Ma'nā belong to this kind of migrants. The theophoric element of the name – Ma'an is an Arabian god – is combined with the Aramaic hypocoristicon –ā.

The bishop 'Īšō'yahb bears a Christian Aramaic name (= "Jesus has given"). Pussai and Šahin – the latter should be vocalized Šahen – have typical Persian names, but different hypocoristic endings. Pus means "son" and is supplied with the Aramaic hypocoristicon –ay ("little son"). The theophoric element is missing. Šahen is a Persian hypocoristicon containing šah "king". The name means "little king". Pussai's family must have been living in an Aramaic speaking environment.

The name of the excommunicated bishop Baṭṭai is a shortened form of a name beginning with Baṭ. It could be the Syriac loan word baṭṭa taken over from the Persian and meaning "duck". The bishop would have been called "duckling". Although animal names are very popular in the Semitic world, there is another possibility to etymologize the name. Baṭṭai and his disciple David were excommunicated because of their heretical teachings which are not specified. It may be that both had a tendency to Gnostic ideas. According to the appendix of Theodor bar Konai's Bible commentary a certain Baṭṭai belonged to one of the

hemerobaptistic groups of Babylonia, to some extent the precursors of the later Mandeans. These groups are strongly influenced by Gnosticism mixed with Jewish and Christian conceptions. Baṭṭai's name would be a hypocoristicon of the Jewish personal name Baṭṭi^aḥ "the reliable, trustworthy one". The shortening Baṭṭai (B'ty) is attested as well.

The language of the liturgy in the dioceses of the Gulf coast was Syriac. If Aramaic, or better said, an Aramaic dialect was not the mother tongue of the clerics especially the Bishops, they would have learned the church language in one of the theological schools of the East Syrian church. The homeland of several East Syrian authors was Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē, the region of the Arabian Gulf coast. The famous mystic Isaac (syr. Iṣḥaq, 7.Jh.) of Ninive was born in a village of the Gulf coast. At least four authors bore the name Gabriel. One of these persons was a relative of Isaac and had the nickname Aryā "lion".

Īṣō'dnaḥ mentions a founder of monasteries in his *Liber castitatis* (book of chastity). This man is Rabban Bar Sāhdē (= Martyrios) from the seaport town Dayrin "on an island in the sea of Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē" (= the island of Tarut)". Originally he was a merchant who went on voyages to India. When the sailing ship was suddenly attacked by pirates he swore that he would become a monk should he survive. The whole crew was killed. The only man who did not lose his life was Bar Sāhdē. He founded a monastery near Hira, the capital of the Lakhmids.

In the first half of the 7th century a monk from Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē translated the juridical book of Simon of Rēw Ardašīr from Middle Persian into Syriac. The monk probably was a Persian by birth or had learned Middle Persian. The metropolitan bishop Ma'nā of Rēw Ardašīr translated hymns for ecclesiastical use from Syriac into Middle Persian and sent his work to the Christians in Bēṭ Qaṭrāyē. This translation project supposes that most or many of the Christians could understand Persian. Nu'mān III. (580-602), the last king of the Lakhmids, vassals of the Sasanian great king, had an interpreter for Persian who was born on the island Tarut in the town Dirin. His name was Ma'nā. He was either of Persian or Arabian origin. In any case he could speak both languages very well.

Sometimes laymen are mentioned in the sources of the 7th century. From a clerical point of view they play an inglorious role. They change their religion and became Muslims. Al-Mundir ibn Sāwā, the Sasanian governor of East Arabia, and the Persian marzban Sēbuht ("saved by the Trinity) gave up their Christian religion and joined Islam in 629. Most of the Christians in Oman did the same. They became Muslims. The East Syrian Catholicos Yahballaha III. made complaints about their conversion, because they preferred to become Muslims instead of paying higher taxes.

Arabs are sometimes mentioned as members of the East Syrian church, but no clergyman or monk bears an Arabian name. While this does not preclude the possibility that educated laymen and theologians were of Arabian origin and changed their names after baptism or bore typically

Christian names from beginning, the conclusion is inevitable that most of the church members in the seaport towns were either Persians or Arameans . No bishop resided in the hinterland (except Hagar), although the city of Thaj (= Tag) had at least two churches. Beyond the coastal regions the beduins were the majority. If the Christian faith was not so deeply rooted among the Arabs it can easily explain why most of the local people changed their religion at the coming of Islam. The probable fact that the Christian faith was not so deeply rooted among the Arabs would explain why most of the local people changed their religion upon the arrival of Islam.

Jürgen Tubach

Inst. Für Orientalistik Seminar Christlicher Orient/Byzanz

Mühlweg 15, D-06114 Halle

Germany.

E-mail: jt@onlinehome.de

Philip Vysanethu

MUSIC, THE LANGUAGE OF HEART IN THE SYRO-MALANKARA LITURGY AND ITS RELATION TO RAGAS IN THE INDIAN MUSIC

1. Introduction

Music and poetry are inseparable parts of Syro-Malankara Liturgy. If one compares liturgy with a bird, music and poetry are its two wings. Music is an inseparable part of the Malankara liturgy, which leads the worshipper to a mystical experience. When one studies the basic nature of the music in the Malankara liturgy one can observe that it is based on the fundamental principle of Indian Music.

Music is the language of heart and this concept is revealed in the *Ragas* of Indian music. *Raga* is the soul of Indian music. *Ragas* are aesthetic facts and they derive their individuality through *svaras* (notes) of defined pitch entering into their formation. They are originated in delicate *srutis* and subtle *gamaka*. 'Raga' means literally: that which creates passion or *rasa*. It is called a melody-mould or melody-type because in the mould of a *raga* unlimited numbers of music pieces can be composed. *Ragas* are aesthetical

facts having a distinct individuality. Analyzing the music in the Syro-Malankara liturgy one can learn that its nature is similar to the *Ragas* in Indian Music.

In this paper I would like to expose that the music is the language of heart in the Syro-Malankara liturgy and its relation to the *Ragas* which are the life of Indian Music.

2. Music, a language of heart

“Music has power. It can calm us, stir us, and lift our spirits. It can express both our joys and our sorrows. Common to virtually all cultures—past and present—music is a language of both the mind and the heart. Yes, music truly is a gift from God.—Genesis 4:21”.¹ Music is the self-expression of one’s heart. Therefore, music as communication is also a *heart to heart - dialogue*. A dialogue between *head to head* is often boring and it can result in the wrong understanding of notions. Instead, a *heart to heart* communication takes one to a level of enthusiasm and understanding. In the words of Prof. Philipp Harnoncourt, a liturgist and musician of Austria:

“As the communication through music is done neither by the *faculty of reason* nor by the *will*. It does not come under the reasoning or the will or it cannot be limited as if in a dialogue that may sometimes be ended up in non-enthusiasm. Therefore music is one of the best means of ‘influencing / manipulating’ the human beings.”²

The heart is the seat of emotions. Human beings are emotional beings. Emotion is the flowing out of one’s heart. Since music is a communication of the heart it is the expression of one’s heart and it arouses the same mood in others. This can be explained in the words of Foley: “Thus music can excite because it conveys an ‘exciting’ message, or music can soothe because the message is correspondingly ‘soothing’.”³

1 http://www.watchtower.org/e/20000601/article_01.htm

2 Philipp Harnoncourt; *Musica Sacra*; Zeitschrift des allgemeinen Cäcilien-Verbandes für die Länder deutscher Sprache, 110. Jahrgang Sonderheft. P. 13. (personal translation).

3 Edward Foley; *Music in Rituals*; The pastoral press, 225 Sheridan St. NW. Washington DC, 20011. P. 8.

2.1 Music, a medium to speak to God

Music has both empirical and transcendental dimensions. "Music is the language of sense which comes from the human being. Music is the language of heaven, namely the cosmos, which is found out and imitated by human beings."⁴

The first element refers to any music system and the second aspect is to be taken as transcendental. This transcendental nature is revealed in its inexhaustible character. Paul Ricoeur who is a Philosopher, states:

Symbols in general, therefore, and music in particular, are thus understood to be powerful because they have a double intentionality. They seem to mean one thing, but this leads to a second meaning, and when that second meaning appears to be fixed, it leads to a third meaning, and on and on, spiralling into the inexhaustible.⁵

To speak to God, human being needs a medium which is transcendental. That which is not exhaustible is transcendental. In a Raga countless music pieces can be composed. This shows that the music is inexhaustible.

2.2 Music is a medium to communicate to human beings.

Normally human beings communicate with one another through language or symbols. However without words also one can communicate to the other. For example a gentle touch of a friend in one's difficulties is a consolation from the friend. This action is a symbol of the solidarity of the friend to the concerned person. This is a symbol that explains a natural reality in the 'sense-level.' Michael Traber, the editor of a Christian communication quarterly, writes: "If communication is the perception of another person's sensibility, then music is the most direct means of communication we possess."⁶

4 Philipp Harnoncourt, *Musica Sacra*; Zeitschrift des allgemeinen Cäcilien-Verbandes für die Länder deutscher Sprache, 110. Jahrgang Sonderheft. P. 12. (personal translation).

5 Edward Foley, *Music in Ritual*; The pastoral press, 225 Sheridan St. NW. Washington DC, 20011. P. 15

6 Edward Foley, *Music in Ritual*; The pastoral press, 225 Sheridan St. NW. Washington DC, 20011. P. 7.

Carl Seashore, in his work on 'the psychology of music' speaks on musical message:

The musical message is that aesthetic experience - be it feeling, ideation, impulse craving, wish or inspiration - which the composer in the first instance and the interpreter at the next level desire to convey to the audience through the form given by the musical message. In the same manner, the message may be regarded as that experience or interpretation which the listener arrives at from hearing and rendition, from scanning the score, or from reminiscent memory in vivid and constructive imagination.⁷

"Music, through its patterns, rhythms, melodies, and tempo, not to mention its lyrics, is at once less capable of logical precision, and more capable of conveying emotional nuance, than spoken language. But like spoken language, all music communicates something."⁸

3. Indian music and *Ragas*

Music is an integral part of India's culture. India is a country of many religions, philosophies and cultures. According to Indian spirituality there are many *marga* (paths) to reach God. However, music is the easiest and the most pleasant *marga* to reach Him. In this respect the concept of God as *Nada Brahma* (Embodiment of musical sound) is very significant. This concept implies that human beings can come into union with God through Absolute Music i.e. through *Sangita marga* or *Nada marga* one can reach God. Music is emerged from *Nada* evolved through *svaras* and manifested in *ragas*. *Nada* is a musical sound. It is to be differentiated from other sounds. *Nada* is the sound that is pleasing to the ears. *Nada* gives rise to *svaras*. *Svara* is defined as the musical sound or *nada* that has a particular value of frequency. In the western music system it is called musical note. The basis of all systems of music is the seven notes or *svaras*. The origin of the *svaras* in the Indian music system is related with nature and cosmos. Just as there are the seven days

7 Edward Foley, *Music in Ritual*; The pastoral press, 225 Sheridan St. NW. Washington DC, 20011. P. 7

8 Steve Bonta, Morality of music (internet version). P.2

of the week, and seven colours of the rainbow, there are *sapta svaras* (seven notes). In the Indian music system these seven *svaras* are denoted by the syllables 'Sa', 'Ri', 'Ga', 'Ma', 'Pa', 'Da' and 'Ni'. (In the western music system these are called, 'Do', 'Re', 'Mi', 'Fa', 'Sol', 'La', 'Si' or C, D, E, F, G, A, B). Each *svara* stands for a name, namely, 'Sa' for *Shadjam*, 'Ri' for *Rishabham*, 'Ga' for *Gandharam*, 'Ma' for *Madhyamam*, 'Pa' for *Panchamam*, 'D(h)a' for *Dhivatam* and 'Ni' for *Nishadam*. The naming of *svaras* is found from B.C 1000 in Indian Music. It would be interesting to look into the origin of the naming of the *svaras* because it has a very deep relationship with nature and the cosmos. The sound produced by the peacock, especially when clouds gather in the sky, is taken as *Shadjam* (Sa). The lowing of the cow, when calling for her calf that is dragged away from her, is likened to *Rishabham* (Ri). The bleat of the goat in the midst of the flock is compared to *Gandharam* (Ga). The cry of the heron is taken for *Madhyamam* (Ma). The note sounded by the Indian nightingale in spring is taken for *Panchamam* (Pa). The neigh of the horse is likened to *Dhivatam* (Da). Finally the trumpeting of the elephant is compared to *Nishadam* (Ni).

Raga is the soul of the Indian music system. *Ragas* are aesthetic facts and they derive their individuality through *svaras* (notes) of defined pitch entering into their formation. '*Raga*' means literally: that which creates passion or *rasa*. It is called a melody- mould or melody-type because in the mould of a *raga* unlimited numbers of music pieces can be composed. *Ragas* are aesthetical facts having a distinct individuality and it is the nucleus of Indian music system. The idea of Absolute music originated from the concept of *ragas*. The fundamental principle of *raga* is based on modes. Notes of defined frequencies in its structure cultivate the individuality of a mode. There are 72 *Melakarta ragas* (Basic *Ragas*) and 483 *Janya ragas* (derived *Ragas*) that are in the first degree and multiplying 72 with 483 gives the possible number of *ragas* i.e. 34776. In each *raga* unlimited number of music pieces can be composed. *Ragas* are exposed through *kalpita sangita* and *manodharma sangita*. *Kalpita sangita* refers to all the music compositions (*kalpitam*=already determined). *Manodharma sangita* is the music

that is improvised (*manodharma*=according to the mind). There are morning *ragas*, midday *ragas* and evening *ragas*. For example, the *raga Bhupalam* and *Malayamarutam* are morning *ragas*; the *raga, Madhyamavati* is the midday *raga*; the *raga, Kalyani* is an evening *raga*. A *raga* is formed in such a way that it can touch the heart of the human being and to some extent it can even influence animals and plants. The morning *ragas* have a simple and delicate structure so that they do not strain the vocal cords that have rested during the sleep. At the same time these *ragas* contain a vital energy that enables one to spring up from bed and plunge into the daily routine. The midday is time of relaxation (interval) and naturally the midday *ragas* have the capacity of relaxation. The evening *ragas* are very majestic in their nature. Based on the quality and expression of *ragas* they can be arranged in the following manner:

From 4 A.M to sunrise: *Ragas: Bhupalam, Bauli, Malayamarutam, Valaji, Nadanamakriya, Mayamalavagaula.*

From sunrise to 8 A.M: *Bilahari, Kedaram, Jaganmohini, Gaulipantu, Suddha dhanyasi.*

From 8 A.M to 10 A.M: *Dhanyasi, Saveri, Asaveri, Suddha Saveri, Suddha bangala, Abhogi, Devagandhari, Arabhi, Devamanohari.*

From 10 A.M to 12: *Sriragam, Manirangu, Madhyamavati, Brindavana saranga, Darbar.*

From 4 P.M till sunset: *Purvakalyani, Mandari, Vasanta, Kalyani, Sarasvati.*

From sunset till 8 P.M: *Sankarabharana, Hamsadhvani, Bhairavi, Todi, Kharaharapriya, Shanmukhapriya, Simhendramadhyamam, Anandabhairavi, Kanada, Sama, Kedaragaula.*

Since *ragas* are based on *rasa* (emotion/feeling) they can evoke feelings in the human being. In the formation of *ragas*, all possible combinations of notes for creating emotional effects have been utilized. The idea of *Nava rasa* (nine feelings) is one of the fundamental concepts of Indian aesthetics. The nine *rasas* are

depicted very artistically in some of the ancient sculptures and paintings.

Nava Rasa:

1. <i>Sringara</i>	Love, Romance.
2. <i>Hasya</i>	Laughter.
3. <i>Karuna</i>	Pathos.
4. <i>Raudra</i>	Anger.
5. <i>Vira</i>	Enthusiasm.
6. <i>Bhayanaka</i>	Fear.
7. <i>Bibhatsa</i>	Disgust.
8. <i>Adbhuta</i>	Wonder, Surprise.
9. <i>Shanti</i>	Serenity.

3.1 The healing* power of Ragas

It is scientifically proved that music can regulate the psychosomatic function of human beings. Therefore it has been used to heal certain diseases. Prof. H.C. Joachim-Ernst Brendt[#] points out that Indian music is tranquillizing music. Today the potentiality of Indian music is being studied and there are nature-cure centers in India where music therapy is practiced.

There are particular *ragas* that are used against certain ailments including psychological disorders. *Raga, Nilambari* is used to cure sleeplessness. The afflicted person is required to listen to pieces in this *raga*, periodically and under specified conditions. There are many cradlesongs in this *raga*, which make the children fast asleep. *Raga, Shri* heard after a heavy lunch catalyses digestion. *Raga, Sama*

* The great musician and composer, Dakshinamurthy had a performance for the mentally sick people in the Mental Hospital, Perurkkada, Trivandrum, which indicates the healing power of Indian music. The news paper report in the internet version of The Malayalam Daily, *Deepika*, Friday 20th December 2002

Cf: Joachim-Ernst Berendt, *Nada Brahma die welt ist Klang*, Insel Verlag, Frankfurt am Mein, Germany. Chapter X

brings back mental peace and tranquility in agitated or tensed minds. *Ragas*, *Bhupalam* and *Malayamarutam* when sung in the morning, invite one to get up from slumber and make one able to do enthusiastically the daily activities. *Raga*, *Dvijavanti* gives relief to paralyzed people. *Raga Bilahari* has a potency to cheer up people who are very much depressed and gloomy. *Raga Sankarabharanam* has a soothing power. Listening to this *raga* is recommended for patients who are mentally upset. Those who are suffering from Hypertension/high blood pressure are recommended to hear the *raga Anandabhairavi*. Likewise, martial fervour can be instilled in persons by making them listen to *ragas* like *Bilahari* or *Kedaram*. Palpitation or irregularity in the rhythm of heartbeat can be cured through music. At first the music should be played in the same tempo and then the tempo has to be gradually decreased till it reaches the normal tempo. Normally the heart is bound to react sympathetically to the music. In all these cases, the patient should listen to the tone of *tamburu* (drone instrument) for a few minutes, attune himself/herself and then listen to the *raga alapana* or pieces in that *raga*. In some places in South India, there is a tradition that pregnant women who listen to the music played on the stringed instrument *Vina* are assured of a safe delivery. There are other interesting traditions based on experience and in most cases it is possible to give a scientific explanation to them. It is a very old practice to conclude concerts, *Bhajans* etc. with the *raga Madhyamavati*. When it is sung at the end of a concert, a state of aesthetic equilibrium and tranquility is maintained in people who had been subjected to emotional appeals of varied character in the concert or religious exposition.

4. Malankara liturgy and its musicality

Liturgy is the celebration of the love of God. In liturgy God and the worshipper enter into a heart to heart communication. Heart is the seat of love. Since music is a language of heart it is the best medium of worship or liturgy. The whole liturgy of Malankara is soaked in music. If one goes deep into the basic nature of the musicality of Malankara liturgy one can find that it is rooted in the basic principal

of Indian music. The *Satvam* (essence, *Wesen*) of oriental music is rooted in its melody- nature and the melody exists in the basic principle of *sruti* and *laya*. This fundamental principle of melody has given rise to *raga* with its use of *gamakas*, key phrases, delicate quartertones and one-third tones. Comparing this phenomenon with the Malankara musicality, one can find that the same principle is followed in the Malankara musicality.

The hymns that are used in the Malankara liturgy are either the original Syrian hymns or their translations. According to St. Ambrose poetry and music are like two wings of the Liturgy.⁹ Though a poem is mystical unless it is recited it has no 'life.' The beauty of a poem or hymn is more revealed in singing than in the mere narrating or reciting it.¹⁰ A hymn or poem may be very rich in its theology and in its literature, but it remains abstract until it is transmitted through the media of *Nada* (basic of musicality) that reaches the depth of one's heart.

4.1 *Sruti/laya* concept in the Liturgy

The *sruti* is the *adhara shadja* (the basic Note 'Sa' of the *raga* in which a music piece is being composed). The identity of all other notes is depending upon the *adhara shadja*. That is why in an Indian classical concert *sruti* is being played on the tamburu or other drone instrument. Comparing this phenomenon with the Malankara musicality, one can find that the same principle is followed in the Malankara musicality. In the Divine Liturgy or in other liturgical services or para-liturgical services the same *sruti* is kept intact all throughout the service... (Demonstration). In the liturgy the worshipper communicates with God and to the fellow beings. It is a communication of hearts. The nature of the first Christian worshipping community was that they had *one mind and one heart* (ref. Acts

9 Reference: Michael Breydy, *Kult, Dichtung und Musik*, Band II, Kobayath-Libanon. 1971. P. IV.

10 On the auspicious of honouring the famous music director and composer Devarajan, the famous poet O.N.V. Kurup has said that his poems became so famous because they have been brought to the public through the music of Devarajan. (Obliged to *Deepika* Malayalam Daily).

4:32). Music as the language of heart, in which *sruti* becomes the unifying agent. It unifies the hearts of the worshippers. In an Indian classical concert, from beginning till end the same *sruti* is kept all through. So too in the divine liturgical service, the whole unit of the service is saturated in the same *sruti*. The prayers, the readings, hymns and even liturgical announcements are to be done in the same *sruti*.

Laya is the time measurement in a music composition. Generally it is named as *tala*. Singing to correct *sruti* and *laya* gives an excellent training (discipline). It can harmonize the functioning of the body and mind. (This principle is applied in the modern aerobic exercises). In a music system there are slow-tempo singing and fast-tempo singing. The same composition can be sung in slow tempo or fast tempo, but the mood will be totally different. A *tala* unit (beat) that consists of two syllables, when reduced to one syllable can be called *chauka kala* (slow tempo). This fact is similar in Indian music and Syrian liturgical music. Example: the same tune is used for a hymn in the Easter (*Qyomto*)-morning and for a hymn in the burial service. The difference is that the tune, when it is used in the *Qyomto* (divine office) will be in fast-tempo and in the burial service it will be in slow-tempo. As the time measurement *tala* too becomes a unifying agent.

4.2 Comparison of *Raga* with Oktoechos

"Etymologically, Oktoechos suggests indirectly the idea of eight musical formulas of some sort."¹¹ Even though they are not fundamentally scalar principles, the Oktoechos can be compared to *raga* in a sense that they are also creating passion or *rasa*. However it cannot be taken as *raga* proper in the Indian music. Rather Oktoechos are eight tunes. They are a group of eight adaptable melody-types, which can be named in Syriac as *rish qole*. In the Indian music a hymn in a *raga* can be sung or played in another *raga*. The same principle is applied in the Oktoechos i.e. most of the liturgical hymns can be sung in all the eight tunes. The very important factor in the relationship of Indian music with Syro-Malankara hymnal

11 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, W.W. Norton & company, INC, 5th Avenue, NY, 1940. P. 71

music is seen in the Oktoechos of Syrian music, which are called *Quinto* in Syriac. The major part of Syrian liturgical music is brought under the eight colours. These eight colours are based on different moods - festival atmosphere, sorrowful mood etc. The *gamaka* factor in the *raga* system is another point for comparison. *Gamaka* is the collective term given to the various shakes, graces, ornaments and embellishments used in Indian music. Studying the hymns of Syrian/Malankara liturgy one can find that the notes are expressed in *gamakas*. The *gamaka* - nature is evident not only in singing the hymns but also in the recital of prayers and readings. An example of this can be shown in the singing of the *eqbo* of *S'himo*- Monday evening.

4.3 *Kalpita and Manodharma sangita*

All the music compositions belong to the *kalpita sangita*, when they are already determined and fixed in their structure. On the other hand *manodharma sangita* is the music that is created spontaneously. Many musicians, without any notation have exposed the same musical compositions. However, it is surprising to note that all these compositions exist without losing their identity. There are *kalpita sangita* and *manodharma sangita* in the Syro-Malankara liturgy. All the liturgical hymns can be taken as *kalpita sangita* because they are already composed and the tunes are fixed. The readings, *promion-sedro* and the reciting of prayers etc. are *manodharma sangita*. The recital of *promion-sedro* can be remotely compared to the *raga alapana* or *svara sanchara alapana* (recital of *svaras*) in Indian music. The spontaneity and the creativity of the performer are blended in the recital. This spontaneity and creativity is ultimately the expressions of one's heart.

4.4 God as *Nada Brahma*

In India music was taught by *gurukula sambradaya* (The system of teaching in which the students must live with the master for many years and learn from him). Guru is the manifestation of God as *Nada Brahma*. God as the embodiment of *nada* is a contribution of Indian Music System. The *Vedas*, the earliest hymnal music of humanity come under '*srutis*' that means *that which is*

heard, that which is heard by the sages through/in their *tapas* (deep meditation). These *srutis* are the manifestation of *Ishwar*, the Ultimate Reality. It was being 'heard' and it is heard through 'Shabda'* . The *shabda* is the external expression of *Ishwar*. *Ishwar* is the *Om* *kara*. It is a very meaningful and beautiful portrayal of the Ultimate reality. The sound 'oum' has no beginning and no end. *Shabda* is the *shakti* (power/energy) that creates and dissolves. The *Vedas* have their origin from 1300 B.C# and so the concept of 'logos' originated very early with the emergence of *Vedas* as 'Srutis'. That is why the chanting of *mantras* and the uttering of the words (*shabda*) became very important factors for the validity of a sacrifice. Music is the evolution from this *shabda* through *nada* and it is the manifestation of *Nada Brahma*. In this respect every musician becomes the manifestation of this *Brahma*. All knowledge flows from this *Nada Brahma* through the *Gurus*. The student must learn from the mouth of the *Guru*. Naturally the more the student is attached to the *guru* the more he will learn from the *guru*. Here a heart to heart communication between the *Guru* and the disciple deepens the intimacy. In the past when there were no seminaries, priest-students lived together with the *malpan* and learned from him. It was a sort of *gurukula sambradaya*. The 'ekkaras' tunes have been handed down to the younger generation through this *malpan* tradition.

The beauty in diversity and the unity in diversity is something unique to the Oriental culture. In the Syro-Malankara liturgy there is no written notation for any of the liturgical hymns and in the 'singing' of Holy Qurbano; yet there exists a notable similarity in the manner of chanting the prayers of H. Qurbano. The spontaneity and creativity is very important in the liturgical celebration because it removes the boredom of the routine activity. This spontaneity and creativity is found not only in praying and reading but also in the musicality. When one prays spontaneously, one's heart speaks and thus the music become the language of heart. When one speaks of spontaneity and creativity, it does not mean that there is no need of uniformity and

* sound, word etc.

<http://www.encyclopedia.msn.com>

structure. The uniformity and structure is important in the congregational worship.

4.5 *Avartana* (repetition) the expression heart

In our daily life repetition plays a vital role. The experience of love is in the repetition and it shows a loving intimacy between the two people who love one another. Repetition of words or even stanzas is a special character of Indian Music. Chanting of *mantras*, *Nama japa* (repeating the name of God) etc. come under *avartana* that helps one to fix his/her mind on the focal point, God. The repetition in Indian Music is not simply uttering what has already been said, but the repetition gives rise to new interpretation of a piece. When the musician repeats a line or a stanza, each time the expression and the 'tune' will be new. Therefore, *avartana* in Indian Music is not monotony, not at all dull and non-productive, but it is creative and refreshing. "Repetition is certainly part of our life. To some, it is dull, non productive; to others, repetition connotes peace, a framework for the inner person to awaken and to think in depth. From childhood on we learn good and evil from repetition. Physical and intellectual fitness also require repetition."¹² Repetition is a notable character of the Syro-Malankara liturgy. Many prayers of repetition are prayed or sung **three** times because 'three' is the symbol of fullness. The singing of '*trisagion*' (three times)- "*Holy are you O God; Holy are you the strong; Holy are you the deathless who is crucified for us, have mercy on us*"- is a very old tradition in the Oriental Churches especially in the Syro-Malankara Church. By singing the '*trisagion*' one acknowledges the sanctity of God and at the same time expresses one's desire to become holy. When one repeats something it becomes familiar to him/her. That is why it is called by-hearting. The musical forms are easier to be by-hearted than any other literary form.

5. Conclusion

The music elevates the hearts of the worshippers to God and thus in the Liturgy an interpersonal and hearty communication takes

12 Cf. Maureen Morgan, *Music of the Eastern Greek Churches*, Pastoral Music; National Association of Pastoral Musicians, Feb- March, 1988. P. 18

place. As the language of the heart music holds together the hearts of the worshippers in one accord. Among all arts music is the finest of the fine arts and it is both divine and human. This divine and human natures are revealed in the *Ragas* of Indian Music. A *Raga* in the Indian music is called the speechless speech of the heart. Studying the character of the Syro-Malankara liturgy one can find that its musicality is deeply rooted in the fundamental principles of Indian Music which is the oldest music system. The music in the Syro-Malankara liturgy is a speechless speech through which one can speak to God and to the fellow being and thus it becomes the language of heart.

THE ATTITUDE OF APHRAHAT TO THE POOR

In order to show the positive value of supporting the poor he quotes many a time Isaiah 28:12, "This is my rest, give rest to the tired". A person gives rest to God when he gives to the poor from the work of his hands. He presented the great heroes of the Old Testament such as Abraham, Lot, Moses, Job and David in order to exhort and encourage the people to help the poor. He also presents models from the New Testament such as the parables of the Last Judgement (Mt. 25:31-46), the Rich Fool (Lk. 12: 16-21), the Marriage Feast (Lk. 14:12-14), the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31), and the story of the rich man who asked Jesus what he should do to inherit eternal life (Lk. 14:18-25), in order to advise the people to help those who are in need.

Prayer through action

Giving rest to the weary, visiting the sick, making provision for the poor (Mt. 25: 35-36) are prayer through action. By these actions one does the will of God and gives rest to God (Isa. 28:12). Sometimes this prayer through action takes precedence over verbal prayer. He says:

Suppose an opportunity of giving rest to the will of God happens to you, you say, "the time for prayer is near, I will pray and then take care". While you are seeking to complete your prayer the opportunity for giving rest has slipped away from you ... and through your prayer you are guilty of sin. Rather, do the rest of God and it is prayer.

Only a person with a pure heart can decide whether prayer through action or prayer through words is proper for him at a particular time. Now let us examine the models presented by him in order to depict the positive value of helping those who are in need.

Models from the Old Testament

Abraham

It was the custom of Abraham that he would receive the guests every day at his house. When he saw the angels (Gen. 18:2) he held them to be poor strangers, he ran to meet them and bowed himself before them. A man of high rank bowed down and worshipped, made supplication and begged them to enter into his tent to rest. He instructed Sarah to knead with her own hands three seahs of meal (Gen. 18:6), with overflowing measure (Lk. 6:38). He received the reward and the promise because of the hospitality to the poor strangers, namely that "all the nations shall be blessed through his seed" (Gen. 18:18).

Moses

Aphrahat quotes Moses the great prophet who warned Israel concerning the poor and the needy, "When you have forgotten a sheaf, you shall not return to take it. But it shall be for the poor, for the proselytes, for the orphans and for the widows" (Deut. 24:19-22; Lev. 19:9; 23:22). He continues, "When you beat the olive trees, you shall not search for what remains. But it shall be for the proselytes and for the poor who are in your midst" (Deut. 24:20-21). He has said to them, "You shall neither collect the fruits of the vineyard, nor gather that which grows of itself in the seventh year, but it shall be for the poor" (Lev. 25:4-6).

Aphrahat comments on the wages of the hired servant mentioned in Deuteronomy 24:15.

For when the wage of the hired servant remains with you over night and on that night your soul is taken from you, then the poor is defrauded of his wages which are with you, for he had handed himself

over to you; or he may die and there will be no one to demand his wages from you, to whom you can give (them) there.

Job

Aphrahat presents Job as a model for almsgiving and for the support of the poor. When the friends of Job insulted him in his trial, saying, "Perhaps you have sent a widow empty or you have humiliated the orphan, or you have not given water to drink to the weary ... (Job. 22:6-10), Job said to them in reply, "I was eyes to the blind and feet to the lame". (Job. 29:15). "I have not lifted up my hand against the orphan, but I helped him when I saw him at the door" (Job. 31:19-21). "I have neither sent the widow away empty-handed, nor have I eaten my bread alone; but the orphan has eaten from it" (Job. 31:16-17). I also said "that I shall deliver the poor people" (Job. 29:1). According to Aphrahat:

Job was a man richer than (all) the people of the east (Job. 1:3), but when he was tested by means of his sons and possessions, he loved God as the one who had given (everything) to him, and he did not blaspheme God.

David

David was concerned of the poor. He had appointed overseers in whole Israel that they should feed and provide for the Poor (1 Chr. 27:25-31). When he sang and praised before his God, he called blessed those who feed the poor. For he said,

Blessed is he who considers the poor. The Lord will deliver him in the day of misfortune. The Lord will keep him and will give him rest, and will do him good on the earth; he will not deliver him to his enemies. In sickness he will support him in his sick bed (Ps. 41:1-3).

It is written, "Whoever gives to the poor, lends to God" (Prov. 28:27; 19:17). A person gives to God from what he has given to him (Prov. 3:9). So the rich gives to the poor, and when the poor receives, he thanks the Lord of both of them.

Models from the New Testament

Aphrahat presents against his usual custom, certain parables such as the Rich Fool (Lk. 12:16-21), the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31) and the Last Judgement (Mt. 25: 31-46) in detail to advise his audience to help those people who are in need. The other models are the Marriage Feast (Mk. 22:1-10; Lk. 14: 16-24) and the story of the rich man who asked Jesus what he should do to inherit the eternal life (Lk. 16:19-31).

The Last Judgement (Mt. 25:31-46)

The important point Aphrahat wanted to insist on through the Last Judgement is that the only criterion to obtain eternal life is to give rest to the needy because those who provide for the poor are serving God, and they are the friends of God. At the day of retribution those who served the Messiah in the poor will have eternal life. God will allow them to take rest in the eternal dwellings with the other righteous and others will be sent to fire and darkness.

He says to them, because you did not do (it) to these needy ones, nor have you done (it) to me. And the righteous who served the Messiah in the needy went to eternal life and the wicked went to fire and darkness because they did not provide for the Messiah in the poor.

The Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31)

Aphrahat reports this parable fully and gives allegorical interpretations for several important aspects of it to show his support to the poor. He states that the rich man who took delight in his goods and ended in Sheol was the type of that people who became rich through the goods which God has given to them and reviled God. The poor man who is lying at the door of the rich is our Saviour and the dogs which licked the wounds of the poor man are the Gentiles.

The dogs which were coming were the Gentiles who lick the wounds of our Saviour, namely His Body which they receive and place on their eyes.

Aphrahat portrays that 'the bosom of Abraham' is the kingdom of heaven while 'the great chasm' means that after death and the resurrection there is no chance for repentance for the wicked, nor can the righteous sin and go into Sheol, and no man can help the other. Going far beyond the Gospel account, he gives the hint that the luxurious living of the rich man and his five brothers ignoring the poor is sinful and they may have as reward the torment.

They carried him (the poor man) to the bosom of Abraham, this is the kingdom of heaven. ... He said there is a great chasm between us and you, and no one from you can come to us, nor from us to you, he demonstrated this, that after death and resurrection there is no repentance; neither do the wicked repent and enter into the kingdom, nor do the righteous sin again and go to torment. This is the great chasm. ...He (the rich man) said, "Let him (Lazarus) go to the house of my father and proclaim to them that they should not sin".

The Marriage Feast (Lk. 14:12-14).

In order to depict who are the people who make friends and eternal home with the mammon of wickedness (Lk. 16:9), the marriage feast is referred. Aphrahat starts the discussion with Luke 14:12-14 "When you give a dinner or supper ... call the poor, the ignorant, the blind, the lame and those who do not have anything ... then your repayment shall be at the resurrection with the righteous". When a person had given from what he has to the poor, he gives rest to the will of God and to his Messiah.

Sins are wiped out through Almsgiving

In order to demonstrate that the sins of the sinner are blotted out by means of alms giving, he quotes the prophets Daniel and Amos. "Redeem your sins by means of almsgiving, and your iniquities by means of mercy to the weak" (Dan. 4:27). The prophet Amos had said to Israel, "Because you have beaten on the head of the poor and have taken from him the choicest gifts; the house of hewn stone which you have built, you will not dwell in them ..." (Amos 5:11).

Spiritual Poverty

God is concerned also of the people who are spiritually poor. "The poor and the needy seek water and there is none. Their tongue is dried up with thirst. I, the Lord, will answer them, and I will not forsake them" (Isa. 41:17). The water is the teaching of the Holy Scriptures because their tongue had dried up from giving praise. As for his saying, "I will open rivers in the mountains and fountains in the midst of broad valleys" (Isa. 41:18): for the mountains and the broad valleys are men, exalted and humble, from whom rivers and fountains have proceeded. The cedars, acacia trees, myrtle and olive trees which are planted are (Isa. 41:19) the priests of the people and the holy covenant.

Poor in the Spirit

When our Lord said blessed are the poor in the spirit, he did not speak about all those who were poverty-stricken and lacking the possessions of this world. There are poor who possess nothing, but they are thieves, murders, deceivers and doers of hateful things who are outside the law. Blessedness is given to those who fear God and consider their possessions as nothing, but they make use of them for others. The rich Abraham made his spirit poor to his God. Isaac, Jacob and the sons of promise walked in his footsteps and pleased God although they were rich. When our Lord came into the house of Zacchaeus, the tax collector, he said "the half of my wealth I give to the poor (Lk. 19:8-9). He was poor in the spirit. About the rich man who came to Jesus and asked what he should do to inherit eternal life (Mt. 19:16-24; Mk. 10:17-25; Lk. 14:18-25), Jesus said, If you wish to be perfect, go and sell all that you have and give to the poor. When he heard this he was very sad and went to his house upset because he was very rich in wealth but not poor in the spirit.

Conclusion

Those who provide for the poor are serving God, they are the friends of God. At the day of retribution those who served the Messiah in the poor will have eternal life. Giving rest to the poor is

prayer. Sometimes this prayer through action takes precedence over verbal prayer. In order to make his points clear he presents models both from the Old Testament and from the New Testament. He is concerned not only of material poverty but also of spiritual poverty.

Abbreviations

C	Curetonian Manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels
D	Diatessaron
Dem.	Demonstration
P.	Peshitta
S	Sinaitic Manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels

Dr Kuriakose Valavanolickal
Kanakapalam P. O.
Erumely, Kottayam, Kerala.

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

1. I considered the Word of the Creator,
comparing it to the rock that marched
with the people of Israel in the wilderness; 1 Cor. 10:4
it was not from the stores of water
contained within it
that it poured out for them
glorious streams:
there was no water in the rock,
yet oceans sprang forth from it.
Just so did the Word
fashion created things out of nothing.

(Continued in page 270)

John Fenwick

NEGLECTED SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS

I give this paper with considerable hesitation. I am very much an amateur in the field of Syrian studies. I have never studied Syriac or Syrian history at even undergraduate level at any institution. What little Syriac I know has been largely self taught. I encountered the Syrian tradition by accident, when working for a PhD at King's College, London, on the Liturgy of St James. Among the Syrian churches my initial contacts were with the Mar Thoma congregation in London. Everything else has grown from that.

If you read Mar Thoma history (which is where I started) or indeed the story of the St Thomas Christian community more widely, you keep coming across references to the Thozhiyur Church, the Anjoor Church, or the Malabar Independent Syrian Church. In 1987 I was the guest speaker at the Mar Thoma Clergy Conference and took the opportunity to visit the newly consecrated Metropolitan, Joseph Mar Koorilose, at Thozhiyur. That was how I began to get to know this community which usually only merits a footnote or a few paragraphs in everybody else's histories. In 1992 I published a small monograph on the Church, which was soon out of print. Preparing a second edition, I began to research more widely. The result was that a booklet of 64 pages turned into a book of 634 pages – almost exactly ten times as long!¹ The reason for the expansion is quite

1 John Fenwick, *The Forgotten Bishops: The Malabar Independent Syrian Church and its place in the story of the St Thomas Christians of South India*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press, 2009.

simply that I found in various places large numbers of documents which nobody seemed to have made much use of before. I do not claim that they are *unknown* sources, but suggest that they are *neglected* sources. In this paper I simply want to say a few words about each, approximately in chronological order.

Dutch East India Company Archives

In 1792, by the Treaty of Srirangapatnam, Tippu Sultan ceded his Malabar territories to the British. The British Governor General made the decision to place Malabar under the direct rule of the British East India Company, who in due course established the headquarters of their Collectorate at Calicut. In October 1795 the Dutch garrison at Fort Cochin surrendered to Great Britain. In taking possession of Cochin, the British inherited the accumulated records of the Dutch East India Company. These were originally transferred north to the Headquarters of the British Malabar Collectorate in Calicut. In 1891 they were moved to Madras/Chennai (Malabar had been in the Madras Presidency) and are now housed at 28/29, Gandhi-Irwin Road, Egmore, Chennai - 600 008, Tamil Nadu.

At the time of their removal in 1891 the Dutch Records were described as '1,400 large volumes and packets of loose papers'. They are currently described on the Tamil Nadu State Archives website as consisting of about 1,800 volumes and bundles '(item nos. 1-1763; 64 meters)' and dating from the period 1643-1852².

The transfer of the records of the Dutch East India Company in Travancore and Cochin to Madras seems to have stimulated some interest in them. In 1897 the Madras Record Office published a general catalogue entitled *Press List of Ancient Dutch Records* (IOR/V/27/36/27). This had been prepared by A.J.M. Heylingers. At least, that is the form of his name in the British Library Catalogue and that I wrote down when I consulted the volume there. His surname appears, however, as Heyligers in some other sources.

The *Press List* was the only catalogue of any kind that I was able to locate when I prepared to visit the collection in 2005. There

2 www.tn.gov.in/citizen/archives.htm.

is now a database of contents online,³ though I have not been able to match it with material that I collected myself. It is also in Dutch, whereas Heylingers comments are in English. The *Press List* does not in fact list every document, but describes the general type of manuscript in each volume, with more detailed notes on some that Heylingers found particularly interesting. The bulk of the records seem to relate, as one would expect, to the trading concerns of the Dutch East India Company (cargoes, prices, fleet movements, etc). Fortunately for my own research, Heylingers seems to have been particularly interested in the Christian community in Travancore and Cochin and a disproportionately high number of documents relating to these are singled out by him for a brief description. For example:

DR 64: Letter of 22nd of June 1704 from Cochin to Batavia: 'The newly consecrated Archbishop of the Mountains, J. Rebeiro, ... tried to induce the St Thomas Christians and their Archdeacon to submit to his jurisdiction. The Company prevented this and wrote olas to the neighbouring Rulers to refuse all access to the Jesuits.

DR 111: Diary of the journey of the Dutch Commander, 1719: 'He was met by the Syrian Archbishop Mar Gabriel, who asked his intercession with the Rulers of the country to allow the Cathanars to marry. He alleged that the Roman priests and the Goanese were preventing them from doing so by giving money to the Native Rulers.

Heylingers lists several letters to and from Mar Gabriel, Mar Ivanios al Arquigianyi and Mar Basilios Shukr Allah. Here is first hand information concerning the impact of bishops from the Middle East, none of it, so far as I am aware, made use of before.

The authorities at Chennai would only let me look up items for which I had a precise reference from Heylingers, but while searching for the pages in question I saw other material relating to Christian affairs. Close examination of each volume is therefore going to be necessary. Some of the volumes are in a fragile state. Not all are paginated. My impression is that the potential value of the collection is immense and that it should be a priority to conserve it and digitally record its contents.

3 www.databases.tanap.net/vocrecords.

Church Missionary Society Archives

The Church Missionary Society is, indirectly, a fruit of the 18th century Evangelical Revival in England and elsewhere. It was founded in 1799 by a group of clergy of the Church of England, whose spirituality and concern for the salvation of souls was inspired by the Revival. In many places it pioneered what would now be called primary evangelism – taking the Gospel to indigenous peoples in places where there was no Christian presence. Many paid with their lives – both as a result of direct martyrdom, and, indirectly, from disease. A significant number of what are now Provinces of the Anglican Communion began as CMS mission fields.

In Kerala the situation was different. Initially CMS clergy came here in 1816, at the instigation of Colonel Munro the British Resident, to assist with the teaching at the Syrian College – now the Old Seminary.⁴ The intention was to reawaken and equip the ‘ancient Syrian Church’ to be the primary vehicle for the evangelization of India. In practice they were concerned only with the Puthenkuttukar, and had virtually no relations with those Syrians in communion with Rome.⁵ The story of the Mission of Help has been told many times, and it is hard to imagine that anything new can be said about it. But it can.

The bulk of the CMS archives for this period are now housed at the University of Birmingham (UK), with some at current CMS headquarters in Oxford. The Birmingham deposit in particular contains a substantial amount of letters and other material deriving from the CMS mission here in Kerala. There is an online catalogue which reveals the extent of the material.⁶ Significantly, much of it does not seem to have been available to P. Cheriyan when he was researching *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society*. Thus, there is material showing how the Seminary was actually organised, which, as far as I am aware, has not been researched before. There

4 See P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society*, Kottayam, CMS Press, 1935 and the sources quoted there. Also *Forgotten Bishops*, esp. Chapters 9 & 10.

5 For a discussion of the reasons see *Forgotten Bishops*, pp.389-396.

6 www.special-coll.bhm.ac.uk.

are, for example, lists of students (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 085/10), and reports on the various courses being taught there, together with some details on the day to day life, including the text of an ode in praise of Archdeacon Robinson written *in Latin* by one of the students at the College! (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 085/14A).

Beyond the primary material on the Seminary, there is a voluminous correspondence by the missionaries – to each other, to the Society representatives in Madras and England, and to the British Resident. Handling it, it is difficult to imagine how they found any time actually to do any evangelism! Some of this correspondence relates to the Seminary, but much concerns events in the wider Syrian community and beyond. A number of items have been published – in *The Missionary Register* principally, but much has not.

It is clear that some of the missionaries at least took a serious interest in the history and practices of the Puthenkuttukar. Thus, for example, there is Peet's detailed description of the layout of the Syrian Churches and of the conduct of the services (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 0185/99/1). Some of this was published, but there are some interesting differences between the manuscript and published versions. Fenn describes the ceremonies surrounding the death and burial of Mar Dionysios III Punnathra (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 /096/18).

The collection contains a significant number of letters by or about Metropolitan Mathews Mar Athanasios and is therefore a valuable source for those interested in the 'reform' in the Syrian community in the 19th century.⁷ Of particular interest for this conference is the fact that the missionaries also seem to have made copies of the letters in the Metropolitan's archives. Thus, there are 25 double sided folios of 'Copies of Syriac letters, etc' (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 0185/99 11). These include at least two from 'Mar Gregorios, Patriarch of Jerusalem' (one of the members of the 1751 delegation, and the consecrator of Mar Thoma VI as Mar Dionysios I) and nine from Mar Basilios Shukrallah, the leader of that delegation. (He, interestingly, writes as 'Basilios Catholica who is Maphryono' – an interesting juxtaposition of the titles Catholicos and Maphrian

7 See, for example, CMS/ACC 96 02/05.

which of course are loaded with such political significance here in Kerala.) There are also letters from Shem'un of Ninwe, Patriarch Ignatios Georgios, Ivanios Bishop of India, and Gabriel. One letter is in East Syriac with Malayalam Garshuni; two have East Syriac paragraphs inserted into West Syrian text. I suspect that about half a dozen of these may be quoted in other works, but it appears that the remainder constitutes entirely new material. And that is not all. The catalogue also lists 'Copies of Arabic letters in Syriac characters' (CMS/B/OMS/C I2 0185/99 10). These are in fact 33 double sided folios of Arabic garshuni. I am not able to read them, but, as far as I am aware, they are a totally unknown source. They could shed a great deal of light on relations between the Church in Kerala and the Syrian Patriarchate of Antioch.

India Office Records.

Various materials (correspondence, reports, etc) are held at the British Library, Euston Road, London. They are immense and of course cover the whole of British India, not just the area of the St Thomas Christians. There is an online catalogue.⁸

As they acquired new territories, the British tended to survey and describe them. Within the area of modern Kerala, this is particularly true of Malabar, which was under the direct rule of the British East India Company.⁹ They counted things – they counted the number of coconut trees, for example. There are pages and pages of description of the country – much of it with an eye to its commercial potential. But here and there occur references to the Christian population.¹⁰ Gradually, as the British administrative

8 www.bl.uk.

9 For example, *Report of a Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay Appointed to inspect into the State and Condition of the Province of Malabar in the years 1792 and 1793, with the Regulations thereupon established for the Administration of that Province*, Bombay, Courier Press, reprint Madras, Gazette Press, 1862 (IOR/T5236), and Edward Seton, *Lieutenant Edward Seton's Observations on the Ceded Countries on the Malabar Coast*, n.d. but pre-1795 (IOR/H/456b, pp.451-623).

10 See, for example, IOR/F/4/176/3192.

machinery became established, there begins to appear material relating to appeals by Christians to the British in the face of alleged persecution or criminal activity by their neighbours.

Where soldiers and traders blazed a trail, Churchmen followed. The India Office archives also contain manuscript copies of the letters of the Revd Dr Claudius Buchanan, whose *Christian Researches in Asia*, published in 1811, was of course so seminal. The India Office copies are not the originals, but appear to be copied from them.¹¹ They contain quite a lot of material that does not appear in *Christian Researches*, nor in Pearson's book on Buchanan.¹² The truth is that the letters contain some not very flattering details which are omitted from the printed versions. If you want to discover what the great Dr Buchanan really got up, you have to read the MSS.

Also in the British Library is corpus of material that gives considerable insight into the state of Christianity in Travancore and Cochin in 1813. These are the answers to what I have called 'Munro's 17 Questions'. As part of a fact-finding exercise on the state of Christianity in Travancore and Cochin, British Resident John Munro¹³, on behalf of the Madras Government, put a number of questions to representatives of the various communities. Seventeen questions were put to Mar Thoma VIII. The Metropolitan's replies to them, dated 30 April 1813 survive. The existence of these replies has long been known and they are quoted in several histories.¹⁴ What seems hitherto to have escaped attention, is the fact that the same questions were also put to the Bishop of Verapoly (Bishop Raymond a S. Joseph), the Ecclesiastical Governor of Cranganore (Fr Domingo da Conceicao), the Ecclesiastical Governor of Cochin

11 IOR/MAA Eur D.122.

12 Hugh N. Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, DD, Late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal*, London, R.B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1834.

13 There does not seem to be a biography of Munro in existence. The BL collection contains his notebooks from his initial voyage to India, recording the weather and his attempts to learn Sanskrit (IOR/Mss Eur/F/151/181).

14 E.g. Philip, *Indian Church*, pp.172-174.

(Fr Manuel de S. Joaquin Neves)¹⁵ and to the Protestant Missionaries in Travancore under W.T. Ringeltaube.¹⁶ The Questions were also put to Ramban Pulikottil Joseph (later Mar Dionysios II), whose answers also survive.¹⁷ For my own researches I concentrated on the replies of Mar Thoma VIII and Joseph Pulikottil, but anyone wanting to know about the states of the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin and the Vicariate Apostolic at his period, needs to read the MS originals.

Not all documents were taken to Britain in 1947. I spent a lot of time trying to track down early maps of British Malabar, as the Thozhiyur compound lies on the boundary with Cochin and I wanted to see what the property looked like at the end of the 18th century. According to the catalogue (interpreted by the keeper of the map collection) such maps do exist, but they seem to have been left in India. Exactly where, is not clear. The same is no doubt true of numerous other documents.

Mar Thoma Seminary Archives, Kottayam.

The Seminary has a separate archive building which contains various photographs, manuscripts and printed books in bookcases and display cases. Most of the items seem to have been donated by families in whose keeping they had been. There is a rudimentary catalogue. The collection is less extensive than might be expected and is suffering considerably from the effects of deterioration.

One of the most remarkable documents is a small book, written in Malayalam, dated between 1811 and 1816.¹⁸ It measures approximately 22cm x 14cm x 2cm and appears to be copies of

15 The Ecclesiastical Governors were priests who exercised the authority of bishops, with the exception of those acts which required an officiant in episcopal Orders. Candidates for ordination were sent to the Bishop of Verapoly.

16 The Questions and the Answers given to them are contained in IOR/F/4/616/15311.

17 IOR/F/4/616/15311, pp.51-58.

18 MTS/A76. The material is paper. The ink has spread through making legibility difficult. The accompanying card states that it was given to the Seminary archives by C.T. Philip of Kailas, Kottayam.

letters sent from and to Mar Thoma VIII. Clearly, someone has read it, because a few brief comments in English have been written on it (some of them in red ball point pen, I'm afraid). The comments include: 'Munro to Metran', 'Palikars to Metran', 'Ramban to Metran', 'Philoxenos'. The documents would therefore seem to cover a highly significant period when the long reign of the Pakalomattoms was coming to an end, and local agitation was preparing the way for the founding of what we now know as the Old Seminary. It could be that the influence of Thozhiyur on events is also recorded. The document is suffering badly from insect damage, which is now beginning to affect the text. It is desperately in need of digitisation, conservation and translation.

William Hodge Mill

The Revd William Hodge Mill (1792-1853) was Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, founded by Bishop Middleton. His papers are deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. I discovered them by accident when following up a fairly obscure footnote in Susan Bayley's *Saints, Goddesses and Kings*, published in 1989.¹⁹ They constitute an most amazing collection, and, as far as I can tell, only Susan Bayley and I have looked them in the last 100 years.

There is, for example, Mill's *Journal of a Tour in India in the Years 1821-1822*.²⁰ This is a small notebook, written in Mill's tiny hand (anyone consulting the Mill papers should take a magnifying glass). Only several weeks of it relate to his time in Kerala; the rest (which I have not read – nor, presumably, has Susan Bayley) relates to his journey down from the North. It could well turn out to be a significant travelogue deserving publication in its own right. Mill seems to have been a much more probing, and much more critical (in the academic sense) observer than Claudius Buchanan. He carefully analysed the material that he assembled. To order it, he began a chronological tabulation of events which he called *India*

19 Susan Bayley, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

20 MS Mill 204.

Christiana.²¹ This was intended to begin in 1476, though the entries only start in 1701. Getting the facts in the right order to put on his table obviously required him to assess them in great detail (there is nothing more annoying than making an entry in ink, then discovering you have put it in the wrong place). Marvelously, the Notes that he made, and the reasoning behind some of the decisions he made, are also preserved. It is therefore possible to follow his train of thought at places.²²

Among the Mill papers there is a box of material relating to the ill-fated visit of Mar Athanasios Abdul Messih in 1825.²³ This extends to 173 folios! I give a preliminary exploration in my book, but there is much more detail to be unearthed.

Of particular interest to students of the Syrian 'Reformation' are comments on and by Palakunnathu Abraham Malpan, the principal inspirer of that movement.²⁴ The collection also contains a list of the Syrian Churches with a sketch map.²⁵

Also among the Mill papers are two versions of an English translation of 'Short and compendious notices of the origin and progression of the Christian Community of the Apostle Thomas at Malabar in the East Indies which was assisted by the Bare-footed Carmelite Fathers. Translated from the Italian of Luigio Maria, Bishop of Verapoli'.²⁶ Luigio Maria is listed by Tisserant as 'Aloysius Mary of Jesus OCD' His surname was Pianezzi.²⁷ According to the document, he came to India as a priest in 1779 and in 1784 was

21 MS Mill 193.

22 See MS Mill 192 ff.113-130 entitled 'Queries, Doubts and Hints on the obscure passages of this History of the Ancient Syrian Churches of Southern India' and MS Mill 195.

23 MS Mill 191.

24 See, for example, folios in Mill 192.

25 MS Mill 192, ff80-87.

26 The second account, a 'fair copy' of the first (which seems to have been the translator's working copy) is found in MS Mill 192, ff.173-201. References are to this version.

27 Eugene Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India: A History of the Syro-Malabar Church from the Earliest times to the present day*, (ET E.R.Hambye) London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1957, pp.97, 188.

nominated by Rome to succeed Giovanni Maria who died before reaching Malabar.²⁸ His consecration as Bishop of Ursula *in partibus infidelium* took place in Pondicherry on 18th September 1785. On returning incognito to Cochin, he presented his credentials to the Dutch, and enjoyed a formal public welcome at Mattanchery in May 1787. He was Vicar Apostolic until his death on 2nd April 1802. The work is an account of the Pazhayakuttukar with a 'Brief Appendix of schismatical bishops, arrived from Turkey, by the deputation, true or false, of the Patriarch of Babylon or of any schismatical Prelate of the Syro-Chaldean Ritual, whether Nestorian or Jacobite'.²⁹ Presumably the Italian original exists among the Carmelite archives, though I have not been able to find it. It is a work that I have never seen cited anywhere.

Lambeth Palace Archives, London.

Much of the material relating to contact between the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Archbishops of Canterbury has been used by William Taylor in his research for *Antioch and Canterbury*.³⁰ There are, however, further documents which Taylor did not use. Some of these are letters from English bishops in India, reporting to the Archbishop on the Syrian Church. There is also a significant corpus from the 1870s, relating to the crisis in the Puthenkuttukar precipitated by the visit of Patriarch Peter III (IV) to Kerala. There are, for example, letters with signatures in Malayalam from priests and laity begging the Archbishop to support Metropolitan Mathews Mar Athanasios. There is a letter from Thomas Mar Athanasios to the same effect. I make brief reference to this in my book, but there is much more to be explored.

28 See also James Abraham Puliumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict in the Suriani Church of India (1800-1838)*, Vadavathoor, Kottayam, Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India, 1993, pp.57-59. Some of the dates differ slightly.

29 MS Mill 192, ff.199-201.

30 William H. Taylor, *Antioch and Canterbury: The Syrian Orthodox Church and the Church of England 1874-1928*, Piscataway, NJ, Gorgias Press, 2005

As I said at the beginning, I am not an expert in this field. I am acutely conscious that I have merely, as it were, opened a door and glimpsed the treasures that lie beyond. From my own amateur investigations, I think three significant conclusions may be drawn.

1. Until recently it seemed that the telling of the history of the St Thomas Christians had degenerated into an uncritical recycling of previous works. It was rather depressing how often a few basic sources (some of them secondary sources) were quoted again and again, sometimes without acknowledgement. This tended to give the impression that the sources were all worked out, that there were no more new primary sources to be found, and therefore the best that could be done was to restate what had been said before, perhaps with a rather different polemical interpretation put on it. What is becoming clear, however, is that the sources are *not* worked out. On the contrary, there is a vast amount of material waiting to be made available for scholars. Some, such as the Dutch archives, by their sheer bulk, would almost certainly support several theses on the Syrian Christians alone.

2. My second conclusion relates to the discovery of the *compartmentalising* of research on a confessional basis. By that I mean the way in which, for example, Syro-Malabar scholars have worked on the Vatican's archives, but never on those in England. Orthodox historians have used sources here and, to a limited degree, in West Asia, but not those in Rome. Mar Thoma scholars do not seem to be doing much history at all at the moment, but when they have done, they have been aware of CMS material, but have not used that in the Middle East. With the various projects now underway to preserve and digitally record the sources, a mechanism needs to be found whereby they can be consulted across confessional boundaries.

3. Closely related to that is a sensitive issue. Much history writing (until recently) has been partisan. Perhaps that is easy for me to say as a non-Malayalee. Certainly, when working on the history of the Malabar Independent Syrian Church it was liberating to be able to go where the facts took me. I was not constrained by having to try and prove that a particular section of the Syrian community is the

true heir to St Thomas – because the Thozhiyur Church has never claimed that. It seems to me that up till now, many, if not most Indian historians have been trying to prove the legitimacy of their own tradition as opposed to the others. That is understandable, because a great deal is at stake – the rights of Rome, Babylon, and Antioch, issues of independence and identity, and a considerable amount of property here in Kerala. My impression (probably very naively) is that the facts do not actually fit *anyone's* communal self-understanding in every way that they might wish. Certainly, every tradition, including the British, contains things that do it no credit. Let me then, conclude with a plea, that, as new sources come to light, they are explored in a spirit that seeks to do no further damage to this ancient and wonderful community, and in ways that might even contribute to its healing.

Right Revd Dr John Fenwick

Bishop of the Northern Diocese of the Free Church of England

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

(Continued from page 256)

2. In his book Moses
described the creation of the natural world,
so that both Nature and Scripture
might bear witness to their Creator: cp Jn 8:17
Nature, through man's use of it,
Scripture, through his reading of it.
These are the two witnesses
which reach everywhere;
they are to be found at all times,
present at every hour,
confuting the unbeliever
who defames the Creator.

(Continued in page 290)

Thomas A. Carlson

NATURE OF THE CHURCH (OF THE EAST) IN ISHAQ SHBADNAYA'S "POEM ON THE DIVINE ECONOMY"

Abstract

Ishaq Shbadnaya's "Poem on the Divine Economy from in the Beginning until Eternity" is a poetic summary of the doctrine of the Church of the East in the fifteenth century, coupled with a patristic commentary on the issues explored in the poetry. After sketching a general framework for concepts of communities, this paper briefly presents Shbadnaya's work and discusses the dominant features of Shbadnaya's reflections on the nature of the Church. His concept of the Church is explored in light of theology, sacraments, liturgy, history, orthodox doctrine, hierarchy, and geography. The paper indicates where Shbadnaya's thought reflects the East Syrian theological tradition and where it represents points of contact with other Christian traditions, and finally explores the degree to which the ecclesiology of this work is "sectarian," excluding other Christian groups from the Church.

This paper will present the thinking of one particular author, a fifteenth-century priest named Ishaq Shbadnaya, about the nature of the Church, as contained in his theological masterpiece, *Ḥamā al-ḥayy*, the

“Poem on the Divine Economy from in the Beginning until Eternity.” Since he was a priest in the Church of the East, he reflects the East Syrian theological tradition, but I will argue that his thinking on the nature of the Church is not particularly sectarian, meaning that he does not imply or assert that the Church of Christ is coterminous with the Church of the East, to the exclusion of all other denominations. But before I introduce this author, his context, and the work as a whole, a few words are necessary about ecclesiology in general to provide a framework for discussing the implications of Shbadnaya’s thought, both in its surprising features but even more in its commonalities with the ecclesiological thought of other branches of Christianity.

The Church as a Conceptual Community

Every community exists conceptually as well as sociologically. There are the members of this community, the living people to whom the name of the community refers, but there is also the concept they have of who they are as a community. This is true of churches as well as nationalities, ethnicities, professional societies, and indeed any other social grouping for which a name exists, because the use of the community’s name conjures up an idea of what is signified by that name. We can ask the questions, all slightly but significantly different: “Who are Christians?” “What are Christians?” “What does it mean to be a Christian?” “What distinguishes Christians from others?” We might equally ask, “What is the Church?” “Who belongs to the Church?” “How does someone belong to the Church?” Our answers to these questions reveal our concept of the Church as a community of Christians.

Of course, the answers to these questions have been contested. Different Christians have given different answers, sometimes very different answers. Certain historical controversies, such as the Messalian controversy, were fought explicitly over the nature of the Church. More frequently, debates over other issues have escalated into the refusal of each side to recognize the other as Christians, so that the concept of the true Church has changed to exclude the present theological opponents. Debates over the concept of the

community can be reproduced in the history of any sociological group, and are not unique to ecclesiastical history, but in this paper I have focused on the history of Christianity.

On the other hand, although the concepts of a single community vary, they are not idiosyncratic. Every community, and the Church is no exception, has regulated the self-understanding of its members through a variety of means. There is the reflexive social regulation of all linguistic structures, as speakers use the community name in different ways. The Church also uses self-conscious regulatory mechanisms such as excommunication and anathema to exclude people with radically unacceptable views of the nature of the Church. More subtly but still powerfully, the liturgy shapes the self-concept of the ecclesiastical community in terms of theology, history, hierarchy, and ritual. In this context, *lex orandi lex credendi* is a formulation of the power of liturgy to steer doctrinal orthodoxy, while the collective rituals also shape the historical concepts of the participants by the presentation of the history of redemption and their commemoration of past saints. The liturgy also reiterates an institutional affiliation of the community through the commemoration of present patriarchs and bishops, and the *qurbana* delineates the membership of this community in terms of sacramental participation. These examples indicate that, while concepts of a community vary within its membership, these concepts are held within the social and ritual relations of the members of that community and are not idiosyncratically determined by autonomous individuals.

Why do I belabor these perhaps obvious reflections on the nature of social allegiance in general, and ecclesiology in particular? Ecclesiology is important, not just as a sub-discipline of systematic theology, but also as a necessary component of ecumenical understanding and historical reasoning. Some ecumenical dialogues have neglected ecclesiology to focus on the weightier matters of Christology. This is understandable, since our concept of Christianity depends upon our knowledge of Christ, and it is more important to reflect upon the Incarnation than to understand our social constitution. Ecclesiology may also be neglected because the traditional teachings of the ancient eastern Churches on the nature of the Church are

also more uniform than the Christological dogmas in those traditions, while the distinctive components tend to lie in relative emphasis of common metaphors and in the unique historical experience of each Church.¹ One can see why ecclesiology might be neglected, yet these concepts are crucially important to ecumenical understanding. Ideas about the fundamental nature of the Church of Christ are intimately and intricately involved in the question, "What cannot be compromised?" Even shared elements of ecclesiology can be a barrier to ecumenical relations, as I will partly indicate later in this paper.

A clear understanding of how the Church of the East conceptualized itself is also critical for correct historical reasoning. Many Western ecclesiastical histories present the Church of the East as self-consciously sectarian, deliberately breaking away from the "mainstream" Church. But this misrepresents the meaning of their actions and the reasons behind them, precisely because it misunderstands their community concept. The Church of the East has always insisted on its apostolic origin and fidelity to Christ. Some people historically and today would dispute those points, but that concept of their own Church governs the ecclesiastical life and policies of this community. To understand the theology and thought of Christian authors from this Church requires taking this self-concept for granted.

This method of clarifying an author's conceptual framework explains my lack of interest in the question whether this author is "Nestorian," and my lack of use of that term. Many theological studies have explored whether one or another author's Christology should be considered Nestorian. Nevertheless, Ishaq Shbadnaya, like Narsai or Babai before him, did not consider himself Nestorian. Shbadnaya never uses the term, although he seems aware of the accusation of Nestorianism.² But when our author speaks of the

1 For example, almost all of the descriptions of the Church used by Ishaq Shbadnaya can be found in Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Rev. ed. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004).

2 Cambr. Add. 1998, f. 103a includes a gloss defining the Greek word *hairetikoi* ("heretics") which excludes Nestorius by name. Hereafter

Church, he means the Church of Christ succeeding to the apostles, and it is in this context that we must understand his thought.

Ishaq Shbadnaya and His Work

Very little is known about the priest Ishaq Shbadnaya. In addition to his "Poem on the Divine Economy," he is known for three liturgical poems composed in the year 1440.³ In this period, the Church of the East was rebuilding and consolidating after a period of prolonged unrest and violence following the breakdown of the Mongol Ilkhanate in the 1330s. The nearly continual wars of two rival Turkmen confederations, the Qaraqyunlu and the Aqqyunlu, continued to disrupt this region through the early fifteenth century,⁴ but in this period the Church of the East seems to have increased its scribal activity⁵ and Ishaq Shbadnaya and his contemporary Isho'yahb bar Mqaddam were able to produce a modicum of new Syriac literature.

In this context, the "Poem on the Divine Economy from in the Beginning until Eternity" is a synthetic summary of the theology of the Church of the East. It is a long poem, usually just over one hundred folios in manuscript, and divided into thirty *sedre* or sections. Following the example of 'Abdisho' of Nisibis in that author's

this manuscript is cited as A. Since A is the oldest extant manuscript of this work, I have cited it throughout the paper except when it has lost a folio, in which case I cite a complete, later manuscript. A critical edition of this text based on all extant manuscripts is in preparation.

- 3 Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1922), 330.
- 4 The only recent history of these Turkmen confederations in English is John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, Rev. ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1999).
- 5 David Wilmshurst's list of dated East Syrian manuscripts and inscriptions includes 33 entries for the fifteenth century, as opposed to only 14 from the fourteenth century. The fact that both numbers are lower than the 40 entries from the thirteenth century suggests this disparity is not just a reflection of higher survival rates for more recent periods: David Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318-1913*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 582; *Subsidia* 104 (Louvain: Peeters, 2000).

Paradise of Eden,⁶ Shbadnaya added glosses to explain the difficult words in the text. Even more interesting, he also added a prose commentary of quotations from earlier Christian authors, both Greek and Syriac, to justify or augment his presentation of certain topics in the poetry. Sometimes Shbadnaya presents quotations in order to disagree with them, or he presents a divergence of opinion between earlier authors and adjudicates the issue, but typically he quotes these earlier authors as authorities who support his understanding. In a turbulent time when books were being looted or destroyed faster than copies were made, Shbadnaya's masterpiece is apparently intended to provide a one-volume digest of the East Syrian theological tradition.

Of course, this text is not primarily about the nature of the Church, but rather about God's *mdabbranutha*, as the title indicates. This Syriac theological term can mean "providence," "government" or "leadership," "economy" or "dispensation" in the theological sense, or even the Incarnation of Christ.⁷ In this context it approximates the German *heilsgeschichte*, although the poem begins with a long presentation of the Trinity and several sections of detailed discussion concerning the days of Creation. Thus we might define the topic of the work as God's arrangement of the world and of redemption. Separate *sedre* discuss various aspects of Christ's incarnation and earthly ministry, the sacraments, the refutation of heresies, Pentecost, and eschatology. Although no section is devoted to explicit teaching on ecclesiology, Shbadnaya's doctrine of God's plan of redemption presumes a redeemed community, the Church of Christ. This community is implicit throughout the work, and becomes explicit at certain points, for example in the final section entitled, "Prayer and intercession for the holy Church of Christ." Shbadnaya conceived of the Church in light of his understanding of God's economy, as expressed in this poem, and for that reason the implications of his

6 Giuseppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. III, part 1 (Romae: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1725), 327; William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: A. and C. Black, 1894), 287-88.

7 J. Payne Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 252.

theology for the nature of the Church are not haphazard or accidental. By systematizing these implications, we can arrive at a clearer picture of Shbadnaya's concept of the nature of the Church.

The Nature of the Church

There are many ways to define the Church. The Nicene Creed describes the Church as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic, and Ishaq Shbadnaya uses each of these adjectives in his poem or commentary.⁸ But Christianity can also be characterized in other ways. The concept of the Church exists in relationship to theology proper, our understanding of God. The Church is also constituted by the sacraments and gathered for the celebration of liturgy. History can provide a defining narrative of the foundation of the Church and its continuation through time. The Church also safeguards and reveals doctrine, and a concept of orthodoxy has functioned as a boundary marker for all ecclesiastical traditions. One can understand the Church in terms of its institutional structure and clerical hierarchy, namely the patriarchs, bishops, priests, and deacons, and the laypeople served by them. Sometimes even geographical distinctions have been used to differentiate the true Church from heretics, at least conceptually. We will examine this author's concept of the Church in all of these areas, but our first clues to Shbadnaya's ecclesiology are terminological.

Ishaq Shbadnaya uses non-sectarian words to refer to the Church. I have already mentioned that the term "Nestorian" is entirely lacking from Shbadnaya's vocabulary. Surprisingly, the term "Christian" is also almost entirely absent, occurring only in a quotation from the earlier author Thomas of Edessa.⁹ Once Shbadnaya refers to the Church as "our spiritual mother,"¹⁰ and in another instance he refers to his community as "my kin,"¹¹ drawing on a family metaphor

8 "One": Mingana Syr. Ms. 57, ff. 35b-36a (quoting Mar Aba). Hereafter this manuscript is cited as G. "Holy": A, ff. 82a (quoting Shem'on Shaqlawaya), 208a (quoting John of Zo'bi). "Catholic": A, ff. 196a, 196b marginal gloss. "Apostolic": A, ff. 84b, 112a, 180b, 196a.

9 A, f. 85a.

10 A, f. 111b.

11 A, f. 149b.

for the Church. Slightly more common is the appellation "believers," which occurs three times in the positive and three times as the negative "unbelievers."¹² Variations on this appellation occur as "those who believe in him," "sons of my faith," etc.¹³ But the dominant terminology is, simply enough, "the Church" (ܫܒܕܢܝܐ) and its variations such as "the Church of Christ," "the holy Church," "his churches," and "the sons of the Church."¹⁴ This terminology is significant for its lack of sectarian identification, so that even the phrase "the Church of the East" does not occur in this text. The words Shbadnaya uses to refer to the Church could be appropriated by Christians of any epoch and any affiliation.

Ishaq Shbandnaya's concept of the nature of the Church does not neglect the theological dimension more narrowly understood, that is, the Church in relation to God. Shbadnaya uses many traditional metaphors to characterize this relationship. He quotes Theodore of Mopsuestia referring to the Church as the Body of Christ,¹⁵ and a quotation of Narsai refers to Christ as the Church's bridegroom,¹⁶ both of them images from the New Testament. The metaphor of the Church as a vineyard is also derived from Scripture, and Shbadnaya himself uses this image in his poem: "He planted us in his glorified vineyard."¹⁷ On two occasions he prays to Christ as the Shepherd of the Church, his flock.¹⁸ Household metaphors are the most frequent metaphors employed by Shbadnaya in this connection,

12 A, ff. 152b, 176a, 204b, 209b; also negative on ff. 92b, 107a, 168a. Although the label "believer" can be used in a sectarian way, the term "unbeliever" is never used by Shbadnaya to refer to other Christians, nor is "belief" equated with "orthodoxy" in this work.

13 "Those who believe in Him": A, f. 81b (quoting Shem'on Shaqlawaya); cf. A, f. 220b. "Sons of my faith": A, f. 149b.

14 "Church" alone: A, f. 3a; G, f. 35b (quoting MarAba); A, ff. 75b, 86a, 89a (quoting Isho'dad), 175b-176b, 178b marginal gloss, 198b (quoting Narsai). "Holy Church": A, ff. 82a (quoting Shem'on Shaqlawaya), 208a (quoting John of Zo'bi). "The Church of the Gentiles": A, f. 149b. "Church of Christ": A, ff. 174b-175a. "Sons of the Church": A, f. 175a. "His Churches": A, f. 176b. "His Church": A, f. 196a.

15 A, f. 84b.

16 A, f. 198b.

17 A, f. 149a.

18 A, ff. 148a, 220b.

however, referring to Christians as members of the household of the Trinity¹⁹ gathered from the dispersion of the peoples²⁰ and now adopted by God.²¹ In a similar metaphor, he refers to Christians as inhabited by the holy Trinity.²² Less metaphorically, Shbadnaya also identifies Christians as those purified by God²³ and the recipients of “deification” or “theosis.”²⁴ These descriptions of the Church’s relationship with God could be replicated from the thought of any of the ancient Eastern Churches, and they are perhaps distinctive only in the relative emphasis on the metaphors of the household.

It comes as no surprise that the sacraments are the effective means of accomplishing the Church’s relationship with God, and therefore they play a central role in Shbadnaya’s ecclesiology. In his prose commentary, Shbadnaya describes baptism as “this which our Life-giver [i.e. Christ] entrusted to the Church, by which we obtain the indwelling of the Trinity.”²⁵ Poetically, he calls baptism “the key of the kingdom on high and the abolisher of slavery. / The composition of the new transformation it effects, and it is the justifier. / It is perfection of mind on the road leading on high and the giver of fellowship.”²⁶ Later on, baptism is “the seal and sign for the one signed. It is the new birth, the renewer and unifier.”²⁷ Again, “It is the immersion and anointing and thus the deifier,” and later, “It is the spiritual womb for the one being born again... The Life-giver’s mouth revealed that it is the justifier of all.”²⁸ Shbadnaya quotes earlier authors to show that baptism accomplishes the adoption of the person by God and incorporation into the body of Christ,²⁹ as well as the entry into the Church and the household of the Trinity.³⁰ Thus is it

19 A, ff. 85a (quoting Thomas of Edessa), 196a.

20 A, f. 148b.

21 A, ff. 84a (quoting Theodore of Mopsuestia), 111b.

22 A, f. 86b.

23 A, f. 110b.

24 A, ff. 93a, 111b, 196b.

25 A, ff. 86a-b.

26 A, ff. 92a-b.

27 A, f. 92b.

28 A, f. 93a.

29 A, ff. 84a-b.

30 A, ff. 85a, 89a.

clear that baptism is the ritual which makes a person Christian, so it is an important part of the definition of the Church.

The Eucharist is equally important as a means of establishing and maintaining Christians' relationship with God. Shbadnaya refers to it as "a deposit of his love," the Passover of Christ, "the *angelia* [i.e. announcement] of the memorial of his death," and "the sacrament of his body."³¹ At greater length he enumerates the benefits obtained through communion: the Eucharist

is the second grace which is bestowed on the one who trusts.
The destruction of sin and the renewal of perfection, it affirms
and assures.

The giving of life in themselves, it will give to all people.

The inheritance of adoption it accomplishes for the one who
has refined the heart.

The cup of comforts removes grievous things and a cover wraps around,
While giving even blessedness and making ascend above the heavens.
Lack of nothing in the world of light it accomplishes and assures.
Immortality it makes the mortals inherit and clothes them.

Uncovered faces it grants in the confidence of Jesus toward God.
Spiritual eating and drinking which carries to the kingdom.³²

What baptism initiated is brought to completion through the Eucharist, both of which were instituted in the Church by Christ and demonstrated by the water and blood flowing from Christ's side on the cross, according to a poem quoted by Shbadnaya.³³ Regarding the sacraments as effective is not at all unique to Ishaq Shbadnaya, and the power he ascribes to the sacraments is paralleled in other traditions. On the other hand, an individual's baptism or partaking of the Eucharist is more observable than whether someone is being deified. Therefore the very power ascribed to the sacraments can reduce the concept of Church membership in terms of God's saving action to the more observable criterion of participation in the sacraments. The question whose sacraments count, however, demonstrates that a shared theological vision of the necessity of the

31 A, f. 110b.

32 A, ff. 111a-b.

33 A, ff. 175a, 176a.

sacraments, when combined with a restrictive understanding of who has valid sacraments, can exclude Christians of other ecclesiastical affiliations from the concept of the Church.

The larger liturgical context of the sacraments, according to Shbadnaya, connects the present congregation with the broader worshipping community. Shbadnaya asserts the existence of a heavenly Church in a gloss on the Greek word *ekklesias*, which he defines as "The leaders of the Church in heaven."³⁴ According to a quotation from Mar Aba, the Nativity is "the appointed festival of angels and of humans. The Church is one in Christ."³⁵ Thus the liturgy is the demonstration of unity between the earthly and heavenly Church. The liturgy also links the congregation to those Christians who have passed away, through the memorials of the deceased: the apostles "defined and determined that the memorial should be performed for the deceased who received the medicine of life, just as Mar Ephrem mentions with the tradition of the reverends who say that the faults of the deceased are expiated by the *qurbane* which they perform for them, both implicit and visible."³⁶ This quotation defines the deceased Christian as one who received the Eucharist, "the medicine of life." It also shows that the *qurbane* of the living expiate the sins of deceased Christians. The Church is conceived as not limited to its present earthly embodiment, but linked between earth and heaven by the celebration of the liturgy.

The apostolic origin of the liturgy also hints at the historical understanding of the Church. One would expect Ishaq Shbadnaya's historical perspective on the Church to be more particular to the Church of the East than his theological or sacramental concepts. Surprisingly, his concept of the Church in history presents very little that is distinctive, and he shares many elements with other Christian traditions, for example when he views Christianity as the upgrade of Judaism and the undoing of paganism. He quotes the exegesis of Isho'dad of Merv that the baptism of Christ abrogated Jewish baptisms, but also that the reputed course of the river Jordan indicates

34 A, f. 178b.

35 G, ff. 35b-36a.

36 A, f. 112b.

"the communion of the people [Jews] with the peoples [gentiles] in the unity of sonship and worship, and in this equality of the giving of grace."³⁷ More polemically, Shbadnaya contrasts the exile and diaspora of the Jews with the gathering of the gentiles into a single Church: "Judaism he scattered and dispersed and he gathered my going astray," and later, "He rewarded rejection to the crucifiers for my demonstration and my relationship."³⁸ In the same section he presents Christianity as the replacement for previous non-Jewish religions: "He undid paganism completely and made a household of my dispersion."³⁹ This presentation of Christianity as better than Judaism and paganism, familiar from Robert Murray's *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*,⁴⁰ situates God's plan of salvation in the Church in the broader religious history of humanity.

In a narrower focus, the history of the apostles finds its place in Shbadnaya's account of God's economy. The upper room of the Last Supper became "a church and meeting place for the disciples until the uprooting of Jerusalem,"⁴¹ and Christ's establishment of the apostolic leadership in the Church is indicated by the line, "Leadership of his Church he entrusted to those who were trustworthy."⁴² Shbadnaya describes the apostles speaking all languages, making disciples of all peoples, bringing them into God's household, and preaching from one end of the earth to the other.⁴³ The apostles' ministry is presented at length:

Clerics in every clime they appointed. They gathered all.

Persecutions, imprisonments, and tortures they bore, they also endured.

The truth of their confession was not shaken and did not fail.

They made a beginning from Jerusalem just as they were commanded.

The Trinity supported them and in it they baptized all.

37 A, ff. 88b-89a.

38 A, ff. 148b, 149a.

39 A, ff. 148b-149a.

40 Murray, *Symbols*, 41, 67.

41 A, f. 123b.

42 A, f. 196a.

43 A, f. 196a.

The wonder of the beginning of the union of our body they made a sacrament.

The hymn of the greatness of the garment of the Son, the Word, they established.

They were a theater for the angels and humanity as they testified.

The confession of the truth they taught and wrote, they also made known.⁴⁴

Here we see the apostles ordaining priests, enduring persecutions, establishing sacraments and liturgy, and indicating the true confession in speech and writing. It may fairly be said that Shbadnaya views every good aspect of the present Church as deriving from the apostles.

The subsequent history of the Church plays a lesser role in Shbadnaya's presentation, although the post-apostolic history is where the historical self-concepts of the various branches of Christianity diverge. The titles of his poetic sections jump from apostolic history to eschatological expectation, from Pentecost to "the coming of the son of perdition." Shbadnaya quotes the medieval poet, John of Zo'bi: "From the crucifixion of Christ, and for five hundred years, / more or less, without sin the holy Church was continuing."⁴⁵ This quotation implicitly ascribes the decisive breakdown of ecclesiastical unity to the post-Chalcedonian Christological controversies. Shbadnaya gives Theodore of Mopsuestia his usual title in the East Syrian tradition, "The universal Interpreter, the light of the Church,"⁴⁶ and he excludes Nestorius by name from the category of heretics.⁴⁷ But his most detailed discussion of ecclesiastical history is a list of heretics and the orthodox champions who overcame them. He rejects by name Arius, Bar Daysan, Macedonius, Marcion, Mani, Valentinus, Tatian, Eutyches, Apollinaris, Cyril, Eustathius, and Photinus.⁴⁸ His champions of the Church include the standard "Greek Doctors" celebrated in the East Syrian liturgy, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of

44 A, f. 196b.

45 A, f. 208a.

46 A, f. 75b.

47 A, f. 103a.

48 A, ff. 103a-104a.

Mopsuestia, and Nestorius, as well as other Greek authors such as Polycarp, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen. Surprisingly, he identifies very few Syriac refuters of heresies, only naming Ephrem, Narsai, and possibly Aqaq, if that name refers to the fifth century Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Equally surprisingly, Shbadnaya also cites the Latin authors Ambrose and Leo, presumably Pope Leo I. The fact that most of these names are Greek, and all from the fifth century or earlier, probably indicates that this presentation is derived mostly from late antique Greek ecclesiastical histories. Whatever the pedigree of this catalogue, however, it provides not only a concept of the true Church as maintaining the truth throughout history, but also a hagiographical dimension identifying which theologians are heretics and which are saints. Although many of these heretics and saints are shared with other Churches, especially with the Chalcedonian Greeks, the identifications of Cyril of Alexandria as a heretic and Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia as saints are unique to the Church of the East.

The identification of heretics and their orthodox opponents also implies what is most often taken for granted, that the Church can be defined by a standard of orthodoxy. In one sense, Shbadnaya's teaching on doctrinal orthodoxy is unremarkable for the Church of the East since the establishment of Babai's teaching in the seventh century. Shbadnaya quotes earlier authors such as John Penkaya and Gabriel Qatraya to prove the traditional Christological formula of the Church of the East: in Christ there are two natures, two *qnome*, and one person (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ).⁴⁹ He appeals to the Greek authors Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and even Cyril of Alexandria "from before he went into schism," to support the position that there are two natures in the incarnate Christ, which Shbadnaya regards as equivalent to the two-*qnome* Christology.⁵⁰ His qualified positive evaluation of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 presumes this doctrinal position: he asserts that the council "transmitted all the true things which we confess," and the reason they asserted one *qnoma* (i.e.

49 A, ff. 58a, A182b-183a; G, f. 32a.

50 A, f. 206b.

hypostasis) is "because there is no distinction between *qnoma* and person in the Greek language."⁵¹ Thus Chalcedonian dogma is explained as a misunderstanding based on a Greek failure to differentiate two important terms. The appeal of this explanation demonstrates both the importance of orthodox doctrine to the concept of the Church and yet the desire to remain open to Christians who subscribe to the Council of Chalcedon.

On the other hand, it is surprising how rarely Shbadnaya invokes the concept of orthodoxy when discussing the doctrinal function of the Church. The Greek loanword *orthodoxia* is used in the passage on the Council of Chalcedon, and the standard Syriac calque ܡܬܚܕܝܬܐܐܝܢ only occurs once, to indicate an exegetical consensus in a non-dogmatic context.⁵² Shbadnaya provides a concise summary of the Church's teaching early in his first section: "This is our teaching in its entirety: the secret that was hidden and the Son revealed in his dispensation."⁵³ Rather than a specific short list of orthodox dogmas, however, the Church reveals wisdom to angels and humans: "Just as Paul, the instrument of glorious things, testified / That in the Church on earth angels learned wisdom."⁵⁴ As I quoted above, the apostles "were a theater for the angels and humanity as they testified."⁵⁵ Shbadnaya also quotes a poem ascribed to Narsai, which asserts that if spiritual beings learned wisdom from the Church, how much more ought humans to submit to the Church's teaching as it is written

51 A, f. 208b. This was a position already taken by 'Abdisho' of Nisibis in his *Book of the Pearl* at the end of the thirteenth century: 'Abdisho' bar Berika, *Ktabha d-methqre marganitha d-'al shrara d-khrestyanutha*, ed. Yosip d-Qelayta, 2nd ed. (Mosul: Mtabba'ta Athorayta d-'eedta 'attiqta d-madnha, 1924), 26; George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals: With the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844, and of a Late Visit to Those Countries in 1850* (London: Joseph Masters, 1852), II:399. Badger's appendix contains the most widely available English translation of this text, but he makes nonsense out of the argument by translating both *qnoma* and *parsopa* as "Person," incidentally demonstrating the confusion to which 'Abdisho' objects.

52 A, f. 159a.

53 A, f. 2a.

54 A, f. 3a.

55 A, f. 196b.

in the Bible.⁵⁶ This presents the entire Bible as God's revelation through the Church, which may shift the focus of Shbadnaya's doctrinal ecclesiology away from a Christological formula which is uniquely held by the Church of the East and toward a narrative accepted by other Churches as well.

The last central component of Ishaq Shbadnaya's concept of the Church is the hierarchy. As I quoted previously, Christ entrusted leadership of his Church to the apostles, who appointed "clerics in every clime."⁵⁷ In his prayer for the Church which concludes this work, Shbadnaya specifically prays for the Catholicos Patriarch of the Church of the East as the "chief shepherd," as well as the "shepherds" (bishops), priests, and "Levites" (deacons).⁵⁸ He quotes Rabban Emmanuel to establish that the apostolic succession was passed on to the "directors" (bishops) and priests.⁵⁹ In the same passage Rabban Emmanuel describes the five patriarchal thrones established in Rome, Byzantium, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Antioch, and Alexandria, with the priestly ministry in each region depending on the ordination of the patriarch.⁶⁰ Therefore the ecclesiastical hierarchy is the necessary channel for the priestly ministry, of which the sacramental ministry is the most important function.

The list of five patriarchates which Shbadnaya gleaned from Rabban Emmanuel leads us to ask whether there is a geographical component to the nature of the Church in our author's conceptualization. Compared to Greek Orthodox lists from this same period, this enumeration of patriarchal thrones replaces Jerusalem with the capital of Sasanian Persia, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the original seat of the East Syrian Catholicos.⁶¹ Rabban Emmanuel's list makes

56 A, f. 198b.

57 A, ff. 196a-b.

58 A, f. 220b.

59 A, f. 201a.

60 A, ff. 201a-b.

61 The idea that the Church in the Roman Empire was ruled by four patriarchates is an early part of the East Syrian tradition. The "Canons of Marutha of Maipherqat" enumerate four patriarchates – Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus (transferred to Constantinople), and Antioch – and give the metropolitans of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, and Seleucia-Ctesiphon patriarchal privileges without the title: Arthur Vo"o"bus, ed.,

Seleucia-Ctesiphon responsible for "the end of the East."⁶² Elsewhere Shbadnaya gives Narsai the honorific, "the tongue of the East."⁶³ On the other hand, as noted above, the phrase "the Church of the East" never occurs in this work. Instead, Rabban Emmanuel asserts about these patriarchates:

And from then on and forever	in them and from them all the priesthoods
In other cities,	servants of the metropolis
From the ends to the ends of the world	all peoples and nations
To these thrones, then,	are linked and also ordained. ⁶⁴

According to this passage, each of the five patriarchates is "henceforth and forever" necessary for the priestly ministry in the Church in different geographical regions. Shbadnaya presents the apostles obeying the command to "make disciples of all nations": they founded churches in "everywhere and place" (ܠܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ) and "the whole inhabited world" (ܠܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ).⁶⁵ The eastern

The Canons Ascribed to Maruta of Maipherqat and Related Sources, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 439; Scriptorum Syri 191 (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1982), 59-61; Arthur Vo'o'bus, trans., *The Canons Ascribed to Maruta of Maipherqat and Related Sources*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 440; Scriptorum Syri 192 (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1982), 53-55. The Synod of 585 presented the universal Church as ruled by five patriarchs, of which the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon is the one responsible for the Persian Empire, although the Synod did not identify the four "Western" patriarchates by name: Jean Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 160, 419-20. At the end of the eighth century, Catholicos Timothy I cited the same pentarchy of patriarchates as Rabban Emmanuel later would, but he argued that Seleucia-Ctesiphon has primacy over the western four: Raphae'l J. Bidawid, *Les Lettres du Patriarche Nestorien Timothee I*, Studi e Testi 187 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1956), 27. Thanks are due to Theresia Hainthaler and Simon Ford for calling my attention to Timothy I's correspondence and the "Canons of Marutha of Maipherqat," respectively.

62 A, f. 201b.

63 A, f. 198b.

64 A, f. 201b.

65 E.g. A, ff. 196a, 205a.

geography of Shbadnaya's own Church, while not entirely forgotten, is nowhere presented as an important feature of the Church of Christ.

Conclusion: Not Sectarian but Conceptual

Throughout this paper, I have indicated how Shbadnaya paraphrases his theological tradition within the Church of the East, while sharing much of his thought on the nature of the Church with other traditions. The question remains, however, whether Shbadnaya's view of the Church is sectarian, in the sense of considering the Church of Christ to be coterminous with the Church of the East, to the exclusion of all other denominations. In this sense, one might argue that Ishaq Shbadnaya is sectarian. The Christological formula he puts forward is that held only by the Church of the East. He praises Narsai, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius as saints, which no other Christian tradition considers them to be. He prays for Christ to support the Catholicos Patriarch of the East as the "chief shepherd" of Christ's Church. Since priesthood can only come from a patriarchal throne, according to Shbadnaya's quotation of Rabban Emmanuel, one might deduce that the sacraments which are necessary for being Christian can only be administered by the hierarchy of the Church of the East. This would imply that only the Church of the East is the people and household of God. Here we see how even the elements of his ecclesiology which he shares with other theological traditions, such as the necessity of participation in the sacraments administered by a legitimate clergy, can be a barrier to recognizing others as Christians.

On the other hand, it has already been noted that most of the champions of orthodoxy listed by Shbadnaya are Greek, and although he considers Cyril of Alexandria a schismatic, he never suggests a general apostasy of other Churches. Shbadnaya presents a global view of the apostolic ministry, in which the apostles spoke all languages by the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶ The lack of emphasis on the "Eastern" region of his Church, and even the comparative lack of insistence upon the Christological formula of two *qnome* (shown by his lenient evaluation of the Council of Chalcedon), may indicate an openness

66 A, ff. 196a, 201b-202a.

to Christians of other traditions. He never asserts that other Churches do not have valid sacraments or hierarchy, so the deduction of exclusivity moves beyond his explicit statement. According to this interpretation, Ishaq Shbadnaya's ecclesiology is not sectarian at all.

Perhaps it is safest to adopt the mediating solution: Ishaq Shbadnaya presents a view of the Church of Christ. He is certain that his own Church, the Church of the East, is the Church of Christ, and thus he prays for the Catholicos as "chief shepherd" of his Church. He is also certain that God's economy of salvation was not designed for a single region, but that Christ is the Savior of the whole world. He says nothing against the other Churches because he does not set out to delineate the membership of the Church of Christ. Instead, he merely clarifies his understanding of the nature of that Church, leaving it unexplored whether other Churches qualify. This illustrates the importance of distinguishing the concept of a community from its present membership: by only speaking of the community concept, Ishaq Shbadnaya was able to recapitulate his theological tradition without reproducing sectarian polemics. His work was sufficiently non-sectarian that Chaldean Catholic scribes of the nineteenth century considered it sufficient to omit "two *qnome*" and to swap Cyril and Nestorius.⁶⁷ When they prayed for the "chief shepherd" of the Church of Christ, these Catholic scribes presumably thought of the Pope rather than the Catholicos of the East. Nevertheless the reception of Shbadnaya's work demonstrates that his ecclesiology was not overtly sectarian, but was instead a traditional and multi-dimensional concept of the Church of Christ.

Thomas A. Carlson
221A Eisenhower St,
Princeton, NJ 08540
USA
E-mail: tcarlson@Princeton.EDU

67 G is a Chaldean manuscript from 1895, and bears the mark of Catholic revisions. Altering "two *qnome*": G, f. 52a vs. A, f. 105a. Swapping Cyril and Nestorius: G, f. 51a vs. A, f. 103b. The revision was not thorough, however, since "two *qnome*" is preserved on G, ff. 91b, 104b.

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

(Continued from page 270)

3. I read the opening of this book
and was filled with joy,
for its verses and lines
spread out their arms to welcome me;
the first rushed out and kissed me,
and led me on to its companion;
and when I reached that verse
wherein is written
the story of Paradise,
it lifted me up and transported me
from the bosom of the book
to the very bosom of Paradise.

(Continued in page 302)

Ugo Zanetti

" FRACTION PRAYERS " IN THE COPTIC LITURGY

In the celebration of the Eucharist, after the Anaphora - during which the bread and the wine offered become the Body and Blood of Christ through the coming down of the Holy Spirit - the priest has to divide the consecrated Lamb to be able to communicate himself, and to give communion to all. This problem is nearly non-existent in the Latin rite, where the practical Western mind has thought centuries ago to use many hosts, a bigger one for the celebrant, which is also used for the elevation, and smaller ones to give communion to the people: the symbolism of " one bread, one cup " is lost, but the duration of the mass is considerably shortened ! In most Oriental Churches, however, this symbolism is preciously preserved, and thus there is a ritual for dividing the consecrated bread.¹

You know better than me that the Syrian rites emphasize the mystical interpretation of this division, seeing it as a memorial of the Passion: the Lamb of God gave away his life for the salvation of the world, his side was pierced with a spear and there flowed out blood and water for the atonement of the world.² Other rites make it in a

1 Liturgists distinguish between the *melismôw*, which is the symbolic part, and the *communion*, i.e. the practical act of dividing the consecrated bread into small pieces, so that every communicant can receive a portion. Cf. Taft, *Melismos*, p. 533.

2 This question is well summarized in Varghese, *West Syrian Lit. Theol.*, p. 68-71. .

simpler way, but still with prayers and symbolism³ In the Coptic Church, too, there is a ritual for this melismos, together with some prayers: after the end of the anaphora, the priest says the blessing Peace be to all, then the Preface to the Fraction, a short prayer of thanksgiving; after this, he performs the so-called Consignation, i.e. he signs the Holy Body of Christ with his Precious Blood, saying just these words (The Holy Body - And the Precious Blood - of His Christ, the Almighty, Our God); then again Peace be to all, after which comes the Prayer of the Fraction. Notice that, contrarily to what happens in Syrian rites, the Coptic Consignation is very simple.⁴ Although this moment is a very sacred one in the Coptic mass, it has not been commented upon in the liturgical literature, at least in so far as I know. Patriarch Gabriel the Vth (1409-1427), who wrote the commentary which is still the reference as to the rubrics in the Coptic Church, describes the acts of the priest, but nothing more. Modern commentaries written to explain the mass to the faithful do indeed emphasize that the consignation of the Body of Christ with His Blood is a sign of Christ's indivisible union as both God and man, but they do not insist on it, and Patriarch Gabriel did not even mention it.⁵

- 3 From an anthropological point of view, Lady Drower's *Water into Wine* remains a classical study. She described, among others, the various rituals for breaking the bread in use among Middle East christians, including Copts and Ethiopians. However, her point of view was not that of a liturgist, not to say an historian of liturgy.
- 4 Did it develop in Egypt under Syrian influence? The few old Coptic rite missals which reached us give no rubrics at all. - The ritual was described in Latin by Renaudot, *LOC*, in English by Burmester, *Lit. Serv.*, p. 72-74, and in German by Graf, *Zeremonien*, p. 241-243. Those who wish to know more about the contemporary practice may consult a paper by Fr Gregory Tillett, *The Fraction in the Coptic Orthodox Liturgy*, in *Glastonbury Review*, 101 (Dec. 1999); it is available in the internet (<http://britishorthodox.org/glastonbury-review-archive/misc/the-fraction-in-the-coptic-orthodox-liturgy/>). Despite its title, this paper details the melismos, not the Fraction prayers. I thank Prof. Dr H. Brakmann, who kindly draw my attention to this paper.
- 5 Cf. Abdallah, *Ordinamento liturgico*, fol. 65v-66r, = p. 192f (Arabic text), and p. 377 (Italian translation). As a modern commentary for the use of the faithful, see e.g. Manâra, p. 68.

After this Consignation, the priests reads aloud, or rather chants, the Prayer of the Fraction. In so far as I know, this prayer is proper to the Coptic rite in its features, since it has nothing to do any more with the fraction of the Lamb, but it is in fact a preparation to the communion, and introduces the Our Father; and this distinguishes the Coptic ritual from the Syrian ones, I think. Another Coptic peculiarity is the rather high number of Prayers of the Fraction found in the missal:⁶ the usual one contains some twenty items, one with each of the Liturgies of saint Basil, saint Gregory and saint Cyril, and seventeen other ones, appointed to be said at various feasts and during the various seasons of fasting. The priest chooses the fitting prayer according to the season and/or the circumstances. In fact, however, the manuscripts I saw contain a large number of other prayers (not all really new, by the way),⁷ so that, all together, my listing goes up to 57 items.

These Prayers of Fraction seem to go back to the very beginning of the Coptic liturgy, since they are found, in so far as I know, in all manuscripts containing a Coptic Eucharist, be it in Greek or in Coptic. Even the so-called Anaphora of Serapion (in the unique witness bearing the title: Εὐχὴ προσφᾶρου Σεραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου), a collection of 14 leaves preserved in an XIth-century manuscript of Lavra, on Mount Athos, contains a prayer related to the Fraction which makes no allusion at all to the melismos, and only prepares to communion (but it does not either introduce the Our Father).⁸ For the rest, there are few witnesses earlier than the XIIth century, and most of them are not informative from our point of view, since they stop exactly with the end of the anaphora, so that we do not know if a Prayer of the Fraction followed. However, we have two Sahidic

6 This missal is called in Arabic *yūllūgi*, a deformation of the Greek *e'xológion*.

7 To be precise, I discovered most of these prayers in the eighties. In the meantime, Fr Tadros Malaty published (in Arabic, with an English translation) a number of these prayers, but not all of them. Further, Fr Tadros neither gives the Coptic text of the prayers, nor makes any systematic attempt. My own purpose is that of an historian of the liturgy, and aims at a systematic cataloguing of the liturgical manuscripts.

8 Cf. Johnson, *Serapion*, p. 50f, and 114-117.

missals, both incomplete, on the one hand the *Grand euchologe du Monastère Blanc*, Xth-century⁹, published by the late dom Emmanuel Lanne, and on the other hand a manuscript discovered by Doresse and published by him together with dom Lanne as *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile*.¹⁰ The latter contains an anaphora of Basilius, ending with a Prayer of the Fraction not found in the usual series, but which appears in some Bohairic manuscripts (including Paris Coptic 31, XIVth cent.), and which is Nr. 24 in my own list. On the other hand, the *Grand euchologe* has a whole set of anaphoras, all but one leaving room to a Prayer of the Fraction, since they needed something subsequent to introduce the Pater noster;¹¹ the exception is the "Anaphora of St James", which ends with an introduction to the Our Father, so that no Prayer of the Fraction seems to be needed (assuming that the Our Father was already a fixed part of the mass).¹² This most interesting feature questions the position of the Prayer of the Fraction in the Coptic liturgy, but I cannot enter into this problem now.

-
- 9 In a paper to appear soon, Alin Suciu has been able to show that the manuscript containing this *Grand euchologe* is of the same hand as a Sahidic fragment containing a colophon dated around 990 C.E. We can thus safely conclude that dom Lanne was right when he dated his manuscript "between the Xth and the XIth century" (Lanne, *Mon. Blanc*, p. 9 [= 273], and n. 21).
- 10 Lanne, *Mon. Blanc*, and Doresse-Lanne, *Témoin Basile*. For the latter one, now that both authors have died, it may be just to say that dom Lanne prepared the edition alone, the Latin translation as well as the Greek rendering, the notes and the commentary. Doresse had bought the manuscript in Egypt and sold it to Mgr Lefort, and he also revised the work once it was done. Strangely enough, when dom Capelle, who authored the additional paper about *Les liturgies basiliennes et saint Basile* (p. 45-74), was asked to write the preface, he thought that Doresse had prepared the Greek text as well as the Latin translation; when dom Lanne saw it, it was too late to be changed. See also *Irénikon*, 81 (2008), p. 155-157 (review of Budde's *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*).
- 11 Of course, we are limited by the text as it stands: several anaphoras in this manuscript have lost their end, so that we can prove nothing about the Prayer of the Fraction.
- 12 Cf. Lanne, *Mon. Blanc*, p. 366-370 (fol. 180-182 of the manuscript). This anaphora is entirely different from the one known under the same name in the Syriac liturgy.

The Grand euchologe also contains several Prayers of the Fraction listed in my inventory:¹³ B (without beginning), C (1 line only), Nrs. 20, 43, 50 and 57. The three first ones are found in the Bohairic tradition, and some of them also in a Greek version. Not all of them, however, were classified as a "Prayer of the Fraction" in the manuscript: Nr. 20 in my listing was used as a prayer for blessing the bread at a marriage service, a rather surprising parallel for us,¹⁴ but we find it as a proper Prayer of the Fraction in the Ethiopian anaphora of Gregory of Nyssa. Other prayers found in the Grand euchologe lack a heading and a beginning (Nr B and 50); the Prayer of the Fraction of the liturgy of saint Cyril has so short an incipit (the manuscript is interrupted) that the editor could not recognize it (Nr C); the two last items (Nr. 43 and 57) are complete, and Nr 43 lost its title. Nr 43 is also remarkable in that it is, in so far as I know, the only Coptic Prayer of the Fraction directly borrowed from the Syriac tradition in remote times;¹⁵ Nr 17, which is called "The Syrian Fraction Prayer" in the Coptic missal, also comes from the Syriac liturgy, but it seems to have been translated much later.¹⁶

Leaving now aside the Grand euchologe and coming to the checklist, we notice that a Prayer of the Fraction, Nr 56, is found only in Greek; at least, I have not yet discovered any Coptic or Arabic translation of it. Its text might however have survived somewhere in

13 In my checklist, I called the three Prayers of the Fraction printed inside the main anaphoras B (Basil), G (Gregory) and C (Cyril), following in this Graf's principle; the 17 other ones included in the reference missal (the 1902 edition by Hegumenos 'Abd al-Masîh Salîb al-Mas'ûdî al-Baramûsî) bear the numbers 1 to 17; numbers 18 to 57 have been given to additional Prayers of the Fraction.

14 Lanne, Mon. Blanc, p. 396-398; it has been published in Bohairic and Arabic by Viaud, Abraham.

15 Lanne, Mon. Blanc, noticed (p. [21] = 285, n. 1) that this prayer (which is complete in the manuscript, but its title is illegible) is identical with that of the Syriac anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria, and quite near, but with a different ending, to the one we can read in the Testamentum Domini.

16 It is found in a missal preserved in Hamburg, Euchol. 43 (cat. Störk n° 106), fol. 2rv, written in the XVIIIe-XIXe s according to L. Störk; in so far as I know, it should be the oldest occurrence of this prayer in a Coptic manuscript.

the missal under a different title. Eight other prayers are found only in Sahidic or in Arabic (and sometimes in Greek too), but not (yet?) in Bohairic: Nr 43 and 50 through 57. Moreover, the Greek version of the ordinary Prayer of the Fraction included in the liturgy of saint Gregory is in fact a retranslation from Coptic into Greek, a very surprising feature.¹⁷

Why have so many different prayers for the same use? Fr Hieronymus Engberding showed in 1956 that the Egyptian liturgy has been accustomed, from Antiquity, to present the celebrants with different Prayers, among which he should choose, according to the liturgical season.¹⁸ This was true in Upper Egypt up until the middle of the XIIth century, when Gabriel ibn Turaik, the 70th Patriarch of Alexandria, forbade the Upper Egyptians to use any anaphora other than the three which were then usual in Lower Egypt, and which are still in use; and indeed the Grand euchologe is a witness of the large number of possible eucharistic prayers that were formerly in use in Upper Egypt. By the way, this decision of Patriarch Gabriel ibn Turaik has not affected Ethiopia, where there is still a wide spectrum of anaphorae, to be used according the indications of the Gessawe (a liturgical book working more or less as a liturgical calendar).¹⁹ In the Coptic Church, this patriarchal decision did not affect other parts of the service, since we find not only a large number of Prayers of the Fraction, but also other variable parts left to the decision of the priest, or of the deacons for the part to be chanted, the clearest example being the night service during the month of Kyhak (somehow equivalent to the Latin "Advent" before Christmas). This openness is a feature of the Coptic pastoral concern: the clergy has the possibility to adapt the service to the needs of the faithful, of course

17 Cf. Ugo Zanetti, *Du copte en grec. Une prière de la fraction de la liturgie de Grégoire* (to be published). The Greek text of this prayer was published by Renaudot, LOC, p. 117-118, from the ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Grec 325, about which see Brakmann, Par. gr. 325.

18 Engberding, *Neues Licht*, p. 48: "... die sogenannte 'aliae'... sind Gebete, welche einem ersten, für den gleichen Zweck bestimmten Gebet beigegeben und deshalb als 'weitere' bezeichnet werden. "

19 Cf. EAE, entries Anaphoras (I, p. 251-253, by Habtemichael Kidane), and Ge??awe (II, 773-775, by Emmanuel Fritsch and Ugo Zanetti).

taking also into account the liturgical prescriptions. That is why three of the Prayers of the Fraction for ordinary days are very short, while some other prayers, as the ones for Christmas and for Lent, are very beautiful, but also quite long : it is up to the priest to choose the one which fits according to the circumstances.

Another Coptic peculiarity is that these Prayers of the Fraction are addressed either to the Father or to the Son: taking into account the 60 prayers of my listing, 38 are addressed to the Father and 20 to the Son.²⁰ Quite often, the title of the Prayer mentions to whom it is addressed, but in some cases either there is no indication, or what is written is simply wrong.²¹

These Prayers of the Fraction are also rich in Biblical quotations and hints. Their contents are quite simple and easy to understand, so that they may be memorized by the faithful and work as a catechesis, especially the more detailed ones. This also explains why there are so many variants: in fact, some of the prayers I discovered in the manuscripts are just a different arrangement of bits taken from already known prayers, and most of them do not really bring in valuable new thought from a theological point of view. This fact may question the very purpose of my paper: why should we look at this material? There are two reasons for that. First, for the sake of the history of Coptic liturgy and pastoral spirituality, since these Prayers of the Fraction are a witness of the efforts made by the Coptic clergy to find and adapt new texts to enhance their catechesis. Second, in view of a quick and precise cataloguing of the liturgical manuscripts.

Indeed, I think I demonstrated in 1987 that Bohairic manuscripts containing missals (euchologia) can be described precisely and quickly

20 To that number add two anaphoras which cannot be decided upon, since they look as though they are addressed to both the Father and the Son (Nr. 17 and 49).

21 There is no need here to remind us of the discussion about the prayer made to Christ; cf. 1925 by J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, (= *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 19-20), Münster, 1925. It has been well rediscussed by Gerhards, *Gregoriosanaphora*, p. 176 ss. See also Varghese, *West Syrian Lit. Theol.*, p. 69, for the Syriac liturgy.

by checking just some of the points which vary.²² All the rest is identical in all manuscripts, except additional mistakes made by the copyist.²³ Thus, a checklist with the incipit of all the prayers which can alternate will be a very practical tool to identify the items. That is why in my checklist there is a separate entry for any different incipit, however rare it may be, even if some of them were an unicum, since this will be proved only when all the Coptic manuscripts will have been described, and this day still lies far away. In the same way, I maintain separate entries for prayers which are very akin to each other, but whose incipit is different; there is even a case where two entries are practically identical but for two words... which happen to be the two first words of the incipit (Nr. 11 and 21)!²⁴ For the rest, the points to check were listed in the *Typologie des euchologes coptes bohairiques*. My inventory was made mainly from the manuscripts of the monastery of Saint Macarius, as well as manuscripts preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican Library, the Coptic manuscripts in Hamburg described by Burmester and by Störk and, up to some point, those of the Coptic Museum. It can certainly be widened, but I hope it already gives a solid starting point for the description of Coptic liturgical manuscripts.

But such an inventory opens also the question of comparison: are these Prayers of the Fraction found somewhere else? The first place to check is obviously Ethiopia. Unfortunately, I have not yet had the time to make a careful check. I can just say that, as mentioned above, Nr. 20 on my checklist - the one which is found in the *Grand euchologe du Monastère Blanc* as a prayer to bless the bread in a marriage service - is found in the Ethiopian anaphora of Gregory of Nyssa; in addition to that, my Nr. 52 seems to have been translated from the Ethiopic (when? this is a point to be searched further). That is all for now.

22 Zanetti, *Typologie*.

23 Sure, these mistakes could be valuable in demonstrating that a manuscript was the model for some other one, but this point is quite secondary on a wider scale of the history of Coptic liturgy.

24 With the same idea in mind, I also made a listing of the Prayers of the *Aspasmos* (or: Kiss of Peace), because there are 10 different items (in practice, only 8 occur in Bohairic manuscripts, it seems, but this again cannot be proven by now). A listing allows to identify them with a simple number.

The other place to search is obviously in the Syriac liturgy. This is probably where most of you would have started from. It is not my case, since I am not a specialist of Syriac liturgy. But I am very happy that this Conference offered me the opportunity to discuss this point with those of you who are eminent scholars of the Syriac liturgy. I think I am now clear about the relation between these Coptic prayers and their Syriac equivalent, and I hope to comment upon them in a further occasion. Thank you!

List of abbreviations

Abdallah, Ordinamento liturgico = A. 'Abdallah, L'ordinamento liturgico di Gabriele V, 88° Patriarca copto (1409-1427) [= Studia orientalia christiana. Aegyptiaca], Le Caire, 1962.

Brakmann, Par. gr. 325. = Heinzgerd **Brakmann**, Zur Stellung des Parisinus graecus 325 in der Geschichte der alexandrinisch-ägyptischen Liturgie, in Studi sull' Oriente Cristiano, 3 / 1 (1999), p. 97-110.

Burmester, Lit. Serv. = O.H.E. **KHS-Burmester**, The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments, (= Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte. Textes et Documents, X), Le Caire, 1967.

Doresse-Lanne = J. **Doresse-E. Lanne**, Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile [= Bibliothèque. du Muséon, 47], Louvain, 1960.

EAE = Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, edited by Siegbert **Uhlig**, vol. 1-3, Wiesbaden, 2003-.

E. S. **Drower**, Water into Wine. A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East (London, 1956).

Engberding, Neues Licht = Hieronymus **Engberding**, Neues Licht über die Geschichte des Textes der ägyptischen Markusliturgie, in Oriens christianus, 40 [IV,4] (1956), p. 40-68.

Gerhards, Gregoriosanaphora = Albert **Gerhards**, Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des

Eucharistischen Hochgebets, (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 65), Münster, 1984.

Graf, Zeremonien = Georg **Graf**, Die Zeremonien und Gebete bei der Fractio panis und Kommunion in der koptischen Kirche, in *Der Katholik*, 1916/2, p. 235-251 and 327-341.

Johnson, Sarapion = Maxwell E. **Johnson**, The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis. A Literary, Liturgical and Theological Analysis, (= *Orientalia christiana Analecta*, 249), Rome, 1995.

J. A. Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, (= *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 19-20), Münster, 1925.

Manâra = P. **Manqârîûs 'Awadallâh**, Manârat al-adqâs fî yîdmat al-quddâs. vol. III, Cairo, 19813 (often reprinted).

Lanne, Mon. Bl. = E. **Lanne**, Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc, (= *Patrologia Orientalis* 28,2), Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1958.

Malaty = The Prayers of the Fractions, Edited and revised by Fr. Tados **Malaty** & Mary Rose **Halim**, St Marina's Coptic Orthodox Church, Lake Forest - CA 9263 (USA), 1997.

Renaudot, LOC = Eusèbe **Renaudot**, Liturgiarum orientalium collectio, I, Paris, 1716.

Störk = Lothar **Störk**, Die Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. Teil 2: Die Handschriften aus Dair Anbâ Maqâr, (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XXI, 2), Wiesbaden, 1995.

Taft, Melismos = Robert **Taft**, Melismos and comminution. The Fraction and its Symbolism in the Byzantine Tradition, in *Tradition et Progressio. Studi in onore del Prof. Adrien Nocent, OSB*, a cura di Giustino Farnedi, (= *Studia Anselmiana*, 95 [*Analecta liturgica*, 12], Rome, 1988, p. 531-552.

Varghese, West Syrian Lit. Theol. = Baby **Varghese**, West Syrian Liturgical Theology, (Liturgy, Worship and Society), Aldershot, 2004.

Viaud, Abraham = La prière de la fraction de notre Père Abraham. Texte copte-arabe édité par Gérard **Viaud**, in *Studia orientalia christiana. Collectanea*, 9 (1964), p. 363-376.

Zanetti, Typologie = Ugo **Zanetti**, Esquisse d'une typologie des euchologes coptes bohaïriques, in *Le Muséon*, 100 (1987), p. 407-418.

Fr. Ugo Zanetti
Monastère Bénédictin
B. 5590
Chevetogne
Belgium

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

(Continued from page 290)

4. The eye and the mind
travelled over the lines
as over a bridge, and entered together
the story of Paradise.
The eye as it read
transported the mind;
in return the mind, too,
gave the ye rest
from its reading,
for when the book had been read
the eye had rest,
but the mind was engaged.

(Continued in page 334)

Thomas Mannooramparampil

THE COMMENTARY OF AN ANONYMOUS AUTHOR ON THE EAST SYRIAN HOLY QURBANA ATTRIBUTED TO MAR GEORGE THE BISHOP OF ARBEL AND MOSUL

Dom Hugh Connolly (1873-1948) has published the Syriac Text and its Latin translation of the anonymous work on “the exposition of the Offices” attributed to Mar George, the Bishop of Arbel and Mosul (10th century). Its fourth tract is a commentary on the Holy Qurbana. It is a very valuable work to get to know the details of the celebration and its theological meaning in his days. He is commenting on the pontifical Qurbana. Although he seems to interpret the liturgical regulations of Ishoyahb III he points to some of the elements which were introduced later.

While dealing with the liturgical space time of the Eucharistic liturgy he finds two distinct levels of symbolism. The first one is cosmic symbolism which serves as the basis for the second, namely the space time of salvation accomplished in Christ.

Cosmic symbolism

The author applies this symbolism to the interpretation of the liturgy. He brings forward cosmic, Christological, eschatological and soteriological arguments in favour of facing East in prayer. The East has priority in the cosmic space. The fact that sun and stars begin their course from the East constitutes the cosmological argument. Eastern region has priority even on Earth. Cosmological argument leads to Christological argument in which Christ takes the place of sun. The relation of the East to paradise constitutes the eschatological argument. Paradise is a place of sanctity. It is situated in the East. The primordial paradise is viewed also as the eschatological paradise. The soteriological argument consists in this that paradise, the place of our fall becomes our place of salvation.

He gives an elaborate symbolism to different parts of the Church building and to the persons and things involved in the Qurbana. He explains them in terms of the heavenly liturgy. Basing on his commentary we shall try to see the structure of the church of his time, various parts of the Qurbana, different practices in the celebration and the history of salvation as present in it.

Structure of the Church Building

Church is arranged in order to celebrate mainly the Holy Qurbana. East Syrian liturgy being fundamentally Jewish Christian the church is built in imitation of the tent of testimony, having three parts: the Holy of Holies, tent of testimony and the part before the tent. East Syrian church also has three main parts: Madbaha (sanctuary), Questroma and Haikla (nave).. The space of the Church represents the whole of creation.

Madbaha which is in the East end of the church symbolizes heaven. Altar is placed in the Eastern side of it and is called the throne of God. Whether Diaconicon which is in the Madbaha was walled off from the rest of it is not clear. Questroma which between the madbaha and haikla shares the characteristics of both and is in the place of paradise. It stood on the level with the Madbaha¹ and

1 R.H.Connolly(Tr),Commentary on the Mass by the Nestorian George , bishop of Mosul and Arbel .ed. by Fr. Robert Matheus, OIRSI NO 243,Kottayam 2000.,2-3.Hereafter quoted as George of Arbel.

was bound to the haikla. It shared with heaven in its height and was bound to the earth in its essence. Several steps from the haikla lead to the *Questroma*. *Madbaha* had two doors to the *Questroma* – a great door and a minor door. The door from *Questroma* to *diaconicon* was the same as the minor door of the *Madbaha*. *Haikla* symbolizes earth. *Bema* which is placed in the middle of the haikla is a raised platform large enough to accommodate bishop and a good number of the clergy. It symbolizes Jerusalem which is considered to be the centre of the earth because our Lord performed His dispensation there. The altar in the middle of the bema is called *Golgotha*. The throne of the bishop is on the Western side of bema facing east. There were two lecterns, one on the right side and the other on the left side. They were probably raised above the level of the rest of the bema. There was probably a low parapet around bema which could hide a man sitting down. Lamps were suspended between the altar and the great door and at the great door of the *Madbaha*. Veils were hung in front of the *Madbaha*. Between the *Madbaha* and the bema there was a straight gangway with three doors: One opening to *questroma* from the *Madbaha*. another at the bottom of the steps of the *Guestroom*, the third one at the bottom of the steps to bema.

The doors of the haikla and the baptistery were in the south side because Israelites claimed that they crossed Jordan and settled in the promised land. Therefore they opened the doors of the temple of Jerusalem towards Jordan which was in the south side. Whoever wants to enter heaven needs to go through the door which is baptism. So let him believe in the Scriptures and accept His commandments and Laws. Thus he goes from Jerusalem to paradise and from there to heaven.

George of Arbel starts from the basic principle that the Church is a type of heaven and that all that is done in the Church's liturgy represents something in the celestial liturgy. This applies to each minister who takes part in the ceremony and to each part of the Church building in which a particular part of the ceremony takes place.

The following terminologies and symbolisms are also very important to understand his commentary.

- Bishop (celebrant) = sometimes Our Lord, sometimes St.Peter(Cephas)
- Presbyters = disciples of our Lord.
- Two deacons who make address to the people = Gabriel and Michael.
- Two deacons who take part immediately in the service= keepers of the order or "on duty" (The names Michael and Gabriel are not surely confined to two deacons "of the order" or "on duty". Archdeacon is called Gabriel at one point).
- Deacons = high church of angels
- Sub deacons= middle church of angels.
- Readers = lowest church of angels.
- Lay communicants = those on whom mercy has been done or who have received mercy.
- Holy Eucharist = mansions.
- Holy Communion =enjoyment
- Nature = period of world's history before Abraham
- Sitting on the ground = death
- Rising up = resurrection
- Jordan = baptismal font
- Abours = office of those who actually minister at the service.

All symbolisms and usages in the commentary point to the fact that earthly liturgy is the foretaste and anticipation of the heavenly liturgy. Therefore he explains the earthly liturgy in terms of heavenly liturgy and expresses the cosmic dimension of the liturgy in which heaven and earth become one. Therefore Arbel states:" Now heaven and earth are become one church; and heaven is not heaven, not is earth earth; for time and material place have been removed; for heaven is the heaven of earth, and earth is the earth of heaven: for unless there were a heaven above, there would not be an earth beneath; and unless there were an earth beneath, there would not be a heaven above..But now that those above and those beneath are become one church, there is no more "above" and "beneath".

Moreover God has appeared on earth, and our nature has gone up to heaven. And since God has come down to us, earth is become heaven; and since a son of our race has been lifted up on high, heaven is become earth. Wherefore heaven and earth are become one and there is no more earth and heaven"².

Parts of the Qurbana

If Arbel has commented on all items the following were the parts of the Qurbana during his time. Other items which we now see in the Qurbana are to be considered of late origin and the items which are in the commentary and not found now are of late omissions.

1. Enarxis

Qurbana commences with marmitha in the seventh tune. When the celebrant enters the madbaha even if the marmitha is not over, they begin to sing ps.35:18 in another tune.³ Because of the change of the tune it is called shuhalapa (change). Its first line is sung in the madbaha and the following part is sung by those in the haikla. The onitha that follows is called onitha d'Qanke (anthem of the Qanke).⁴ The veil is opened and the celebrant with the ministers proceeds to the bema. When the procession reaches bema the archdeacon or deacon announces 'peace be with us' and the onitha 'Lord of all' is sung.⁵ Those who carry censers offer incense.⁶

2. Liturgy of the Word

After the ministers and censers have returned, those on duty ascend the bema and sing the onitha 'holy' as the introduction to the Liturgy of the Word.

2 R.H. Connolly(Tr), Commentary on the Mass by the Nestorian George , bishop of Mosul and Arbel .ed. by Fr. Robert Matheus, OIRSI NO 243,Kottayam 2000.,98.

3 Order for the Solemn Raza of the Syro-Malabar Church published by SMBC, Trivandrum 1986. ,12 .Hereafter quoted as order. The possible references of the commentary to the present text of the Qurbana are indicated in the pages numbers

4 Order, 13

5 Id.15

6 Id 15

The first reader bearing urara upon his hand comes through the door of the diatonic, venerates the altar, comes to the lectern and is blessed by the bishop. The deacon on duty says: "Sit ye and be silent."⁷ When the reader has finished reading the Law the second reader comes in the same manner to the same lectern holding the book of the prophets.

After the deacon on duty has said: "Be ye silent" the reader reads from the book of the prophets. Then the deacon commands "stand ye for the prayers"⁸ and all stand up to sing shurraya in which non⁹ scriptural verses interposed between O.T verses are sung.

Deacon takes the book of the Apostle, comes from the madbaha, and stands on the right side of the bema. Michael announces: "Be silent; peace be with us"¹⁰ Those in the haikla, stand upon their feet. Bishop and priests sit while archdeacon stands holding the bishop's staff. Deacon reads the Apostle. During the reading the deacon on duty and those with him come down to the bema with their faces to the West and their back to the East and worship towards the bema. A presbyter rises and worships and enters with them. The priest kisses the cross and the bishop and goes with them to the door of the diaconion. After reciting a prayer they enter the diaconicon. The priest remains there.

Zummara

When the Apostle is ended the deacon says: "Be ye silent" and a singer sings zummara.

The priest enters the bema. Deacon says: "Let us stand ready and hear"¹¹. Commenting on this greeting Arbel specifies how they stand: "now we stand ready when our faces are towards the East-let us stand and answer to the peace, that we do not turn our faces round and thus let us remain until we hear the character of a man's speech"¹². So those in the bema probably stood facing the bishop

7 Order 16.

8 Id18

9 Id 18-19

10 Id 19

11 Id25

12 George of Arbel 56

and the altar of the bema with backs to apse. They should not turn round to greet the Gospel till begins to be read. On days of passion and baptism he says: "Be still and silent"¹³. Priest greets: Peace be with you. They answer: "And with Thee and with thy spirit"¹⁴. People turn their faces to the reader of the Gospel and remain so till the end of the reading.

A deacon says: "Be ye silent now". Those who hold the thuribles are blessed by the Bishop and they incense the altar on the bema, cross and Gospel, right and left sides and the deacons on duty.¹⁵ After the reading of the Gospel it is kissed by the bishop. Before the homily that follows deacon says: "Sit ye and be silent". He who stands on duty says the first karoza and he who reads the Apostle recites the second karoza.¹⁶

Two deacons who bear the cross and the Gospel and two deacons on duty go to the madbaha. Those on duty stand at the door and those who carry the cross and the Gospel enter the altar. The priest blesses the people. Gabriel, Michael and he who carries the cross pronounce the formulas of dismissal and the fourth one commands the sub deacon: "ye hearers and see to the doors"¹⁷ Those who carry the cross and the Gospel do not put them on the altar until the veils are bound.¹⁸

Preparation for the Anaphora

When the onitha d'Raze is sung deacons bring out water and towels, two to the bishop and two to the presbyters for the washing of hands. The archdeacon and those with him prepare the bread and wine for the Eucharist.¹⁹

3. Procession from bema to the Madbaha

When the onitha d'Raze is sung they roll back the veil²⁰, and deacons come forth and reach the bema. They venerate the

13 Id 25

14 Id 25

15 Id 26

16 Id 26-29

17 Id 32

18 George of Arbel 61

19 Id 35-37

20 Arbel 73

presbyters there and turn to the altar where the gifts have been prepared and veiled. When all together sing 'Gloria' they venerate the gifts and embrace one another before going to the madbaha. The bishop enters the madbaha first and then his coadjutor.. Priests enter according to priority of merits one by one. Bishop worships before the altar first and then others. They stand before the altar: first bishop, then priests near to the altar and then deacons and sub deacons²¹. Readers stand on the questroma. Archdeacon places the staff of the bishop by the altar. Bishop begins the Nicene creed and all others join him²². The deacon of the Apostle stands at the door of the madbaha and recites the karoza for "Catholici"²³.

4. Pre-anaphora

The bishop recites the g'hantha and concludes it with qanona and the congregation seals it with Amen.²⁴ He signs with the sign of the cross saying: "Peace be with you" All respond "and with thee and with thy spirit". The deacon on duty commands: "give the peace one to another in the love of Christ". After the exchange of peace deacon Gabriel stands on the right side for the diptychs.²⁵, commemorates those who have been summoned to the kingdom and reads their names mentioning the living, even those who are in life. In the commemoration of the dead Michael reads the names of the O.T saints, and Gabriel sets in order his people order after order. At the end bishop makes petitions together with the whole community. After the diaconal proclamation: "Let us confess..."²⁶ veil is removed from the gifts.²⁷ The presbyter, who read the Gospel prepares for the offering of the oblation, receives the thuribles and is blessed by the bishop.²⁸

21 Id 33-35

22 Id 38

23 Id 39

24 Id 42

25 Id 43

26 Id 43

27 Id 43-44

28 Id 44

5. Anaphora proper

Anaphora proper begins ²⁹ with the dialogue prayer beginning with: “grace of our Lord”. The deacon on the bema says: “Peace be with us”. The g’hantha which follows signifies old dispensation and the first creation. Having recited silently those things which do with the O.T and creation, the priest wants to show that God was eternally praised by angels and so he raises his voice in the midst of the g’hantha and utters the formula with which the angels praise: “Holy, holy, holy”. The congregation becoming one with the angels repeats this sanctification³⁰.

When they finish the Sanctus the priest returns to the G’hantha which deals with the N.T dispensation centered in Christ³¹. In the recital of the history of the Institution he shows the whole scope of the dispensation of our Lord till He delivered His Body and Blood and sacrificed Himself voluntarily. He ends the g’hantha with the qanona to which people responds: “Amen”.³² Deacon recites the karozutha in which he commands to pray continually and asks for God’s mercy.³³ The G’hantha ends with the invocation that the Holy Spirit may come down and consecrate the gifts. It is followed by the qanona. Now that the mysteries have been completed he comes quickly to seal what he has laboured in through the rite of fraction and consignation. He breaks the Body and signs the cup with the Body and the blood over the body with the sign of the cross. He shows by his words that his work has been fulfilled: “Those glorious and holy and divine mysteries have been set apart and consecrated and completed”. Here he goes over the whole mystery. They were set apart when they were placed on the altar. They were consecrated when the anaphora was pronounced over them. They were completed when they received the seal of the signing. Thus they become these glorious and holy and divine mysteries.³⁴ So according to Arbel the consecratory part ends only with this prayer of sealing.

29 Id 44

30 Id 45

31 D 47-48

32 Id 48

33 Id 48

34 Arbel 106

6. Preparation for the Holy Communion

The celebrant recites the Pauline salutation: "grace of our Lord..."³⁵ By this he asks the assembly to receive the blessing and be prepared for the communion by reciting the *karozutha*³⁶ at the end of which he advises them to ask of God mercy and forgiveness of sins. But before doing so, they have to forgive the offences of others. The people assenting to his word begin the litany of forgiveness praying: "Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of Thy servants"³⁷. At the end of the litany he shows that when we perform these things we receive the fulfillment of them in the resurrection of our bodies and the salvation of our souls. People pray that they may have this disposition of faith for ever and may be able to live in heaven for ever. They seal the litany with Amen.³⁸

The celebrant prays: and make us worthy as introduction to our Father. And all together recite it. After reciting the embolism of the Lord's Prayer he invites the people to peace: "peace be with you" and for the Holy Communion: "Holy to the holies is fitting in perfection"³⁹ People respond: "One holy Father ...".

7. Holy Communion

Celebrant receives the Holy Communion first. Priests and deacons receive it in the *madbaha* and others outside it. Deacon Gabriel receives the cup from the priest and standing at the door of the *madbaha* announces: "Lo the king is about to come to you and in His mercy He will pardon your sins, and as a favour He will make you to enjoy (the mysteries) on account of the good quality of your faith" Then he begs the priest to bless the people and pardon their sins. He accedes to his request and says: "the Gift of the grace...". When the priest distributes the Holy Eucharist, deacons carry the Eucharist under the two species.⁴⁰

35 Id 56

36 Id 56-57

37 Id 57

38 Id 58

39 Id 60

40 Id 63

Terrible canon and *onitha d'bema*: On certain feast days of our Lord the hymn called 'terrible canon' is sung. After it those who are in the madbaha begin a new hymn: "Thy Body and Thy Blood..." This is repeated after each bates. *Onitha d' bema* is meant for all days.

***Thesbohta*:** During the communion *thesbohta* which is the common thanksgiving hymn is alternated by those in the sanctuary and *haikla*. First they sing "strengthen O Lord" and then "Our Lord Jesus". Thus in many ways they sing praises during the communion.⁴¹ The priest comes to the *bema* and gives communion to those who are there. When the communion is over, together with deacons and presbyters he enters the *madbaha* and sits upon his throne.

8. Post Communion

Deacon Gabriel proclaims at the door of the *madbaha* "Let us all then..."⁴² He asks the people to render thanks and praise Christ. The people then say in common: "glory to him for the greatness of His gifts, of which mortals are not sufficient to speak, which now has been poured upon us"⁴³. Then the deacon commands: "Pray ye now, that peace may be with us"⁴⁴. The priest recites the prayer of thanks: "It is fitting. .". The people worshipping on earth say: "Amen"⁴⁵ and ask of God that He will bless them. The priest says the prayer: "Lord Christ..".⁴⁶

9. In the Madbaha

Deacons announce peace secretly and those in the *madbaha* give peace one to another in secret. Then all except the consecrator recited psalms⁴⁷ or say some other prayer. He finally blesses them because it is who made them enjoy the mysteries.

Final blessing and Lord's Prayer

The priest accompanied by Gabriel and others goes forth to the people. The deacon requests him to bless the people and he blesses

41 Id 65.

42 Id 66

43 Id 66

44 Id 66

45 Id 66-67

46 Id 67

47 BR302.1.29-303.1.16

them saying: "He who now has associated our whole race in all perfect things through mediator Jesus Christ, may he bless you and render you and add to you abundant honour".⁴⁸ All together recite the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁹

10. After the Qurbana

After the veil in front of the madbaha has been closed, the eulogia after the service is distributed to those in the madbaha. Before its distribution it is blessed by the priest.

People return home and prepare a further banquet that the goodly joy of theirs may be completed by partaking bodily things. They also prepare entertainment for one another and feasts and banquets.

11. Differences in liturgical practices

It is evident from Arbel that there was no unanimity in liturgical practices owing to theological controversies and differences in liturgical views. Recent liturgical crisis has rocked the Syro-Malabar the church and has created much scandal within and outside the Church. History shows that this is not a new phenomenon. Let us see which were the differences indicated in the commentary.

1. Structure of the Church

Some say that the church building should have three parts, namely Holy of Holies, tent of the testimony and the house before the tent as was so in the temple of Jerusalem. Moreover, its doors were opened on the south and has baptistery on the South.

Others say that having the doors and baptistery on the South is not a necessary thing. As a proof, they point out that, although churches are differently arranged, no body finds fault with it. Mar Isho yahb prescribed such things without insisting that it should be so done necessarily, as he said regarding the furniture of the church. For example, he prescribed that presbyters, deacons and sub deacons

48 Id 69

49 Mar Timothy I asks to recite the Lord's prayer at the beginning and at the end of every liturgical service. But George of Arbel asks to recite it only at the end of the Qurbana. It is now said just before the final blessing

should go to the church and clears the lamps at midday. But it does not matter whether they go in the morning or before day light. So has he spoken here also.

Old people say that formerly the parts of the church were not thus orderly divided and that even women used to enter the madbaha⁵⁰ and there received the Holy Communion. They claim that it was Mar Nestorius who decided the present structure and fixed it.⁵¹

2. Marmitha

Some employ 'Heavens narrate' (ps 19) and others 'I will proclaim your greatness'(ps 145). These they use on all Sundays. Some change marmitha on festivals and memorials and some do not. Those who recite 'heavens narrate' say: this psalm is appropriate because it recounts the glories of God and His greatness. Ps 20 says that God answers out of tribulation and that all we have is from God. Ps 21 expresses the joy of the elect and the confusion of unbelievers. Those who recited Ps 145 (*shall exalt you*) says that *this marmitha typifies the end of times* and more over its phrases magnify God. He answers those who call upon Him in truth. Those who change the marmitha on festivals and memorials say that it is appropriate to say Ps 96 (sing to the Lord) figures the manifestation of our O Lord and his dispensation in Jerusalem. On memorials in which we honour saints let the marmitha be said which signifies the election of Aaron and his sons and the establishment of the tabernacles of testimony. As they were chosen to priesthood, so also the saints dedicated themselves to God, some were chosen to priesthood, some to apostleship and to prophecy.

3. Time for opening the veils

Some open the veil when the bishop comes to the madbaha. Others do not open until Laku mara.⁵² Those who open the veil claim that at the time when God the Word descended to save us let the doors of heaven be opened. Those who do not open say: Although

50 According the East Syrian Church discipline women are not allowed to enter the Madbaha

51 Arbel 2

52 Id 35

God the Word came down to us, mortals did not know him till His baptism and His baptism was in Jerusalem. At baptism heaven was opened. So until Lakumara which signifies the epiphany of our Lord let the apse be not opened.

4. When the bishop ascends the bema those who hold the lamps and candles return to the Questroma and stand there. Others add lamps also over the door of the madbaha.

5. Although all these things be not done in every place, yet Isho yahb was diligent to set down those things which signify a mystery.⁵³

6. *Laku mara* was sung five times. Now it has been reduced to three. Arbel explains the reason why it was sung five times thus: It is sung five times to show that we have five stages in our human life. The first is the stage of being seed. Since it has no beginning and cannot move from one place to another the first stanza is sung without introductory verse. The second stage is in the womb it is sung with an introductory verse from the Old Testament. The third stage is our bodily birth. The introductory verse is also from O.T, which signifies the sanctification of bodily things. The fourth stage is our rebirth in water and Spirit and our mystical death. Its introductory verse is: "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit". The fifth is our death, resurrection and eternal life. It is introduced by "From eternity and for ever" We shall live in heaven praising 'Amen, amen'.

He gives also another commentary: The first stage is our life in the womb. The second is birth and growth. Perfect growth is the third stage. Old age is the forth stage. Death is the fifth stage. We believe that those who are carried to the tomb will rise again at the second coming of our Savior.

7. Some bring out the book of the Apostles from the great door and others from the minor door. Those who bring it through the great door say: If the angel comes down from heaven let him come out through the great door so that his promise may be more perfect. Those who bring it from apse through the little door say: though he is come down from heaven, he has traveled by the way of the door of Moses. So let him come by the way which Torah and prophets came.

8. Before the Gospel reading those who hold the thuribles go and are blessed by the bishop and they incense the altar of the bema, cross and the Gospel and then the right and left sides and finally the deacons on duty. But there are some who give incense to the deacons together with the congregation and those who do not give to them together with the congregation.

9. Some kiss the Gospel when it goes forth from the Madbaha. Others kiss it when it was about to be taken back after the litanies. Those who kiss the Gospel when it comes down the apse say: When the light of the world has been manifested and has come from heaven (apse) to Jordan (the door of heaven) let us meet him with rejoicing since we know that He is our Saviour. Those who kiss the Gospel when it goes back to the apse after the litanies say: When He came down from heaven, although angels and spirituals perceived Him, we did not recognize Him until He was baptized and John bore witness to Him and Father from heaven spoke and the Spirit came down. So let us act as it was done at the baptism. When He was baptized and began to perform signs many believed him. So also during the reading of the Gospel let us be converted to him and receive him when He is going down from the dispensation of the bema after His passion (When it is about to be taken back to the apse after the litanies) so that we may imitate the women and the disciples. They did not account him worthy of worship before His passion. When he was glorified on the cross and rose from the grave they worshipped Him.

10. He interprets the dismissal formula in a symbolic manner. Deacon Gabriel: "He, who has not received baptism, let him depart". This means that having been baptized; you do not believe in the resurrection, you shall also become aliens for the fold of the kingdom. Deacon Michael: "Whoso receive not the sign of life, let him depart" It means that, although your bodies have been anointed with the pre-baptismal rushma, it is only a prophetic symbol of the Eucharist which will make your bodies immortal. If you do not fulfill this type of the reception of the reality, you may not count yourselves as aliens from the kingdom of heaven. One who carries the cross says: "Whoso receives not (the sacrament) let him depart". It means "receive those things which Gabriel and Michael have commanded you. If you do

not do things, go forth from the fold of the kingdom. The forth deacon says to sub deacons who are the middle church of angels:” Go, ye hearers. see to the doors. “It means that after entering into heaven shut the doors upon which the sinners knock.”

Arbel notes that others think differently. In the early Church there was an Apostolic custom of receiving baptism at the age of 30. One year before receiving baptism the baptizandi used to receive the pre-baptismal rushma which symbolized the baptism of John the Baptist. Even those who had been baptized used to abstain from receiving the Eucharist owing to accidental sin. They also used to remain in the church up to this point. When the deacons pronounced the dismissal formulas those who were not baptized and the noncommunicants used to go out. Those who received the Eucharist remained. Sub deacons shut the doors.

11. During the anthem of the mysteries bishop and presbyters sit on the ground signifying death. Their rising up and entering into madbah means resurrection and ascension. Others following the interpretation of Abraham Bar Lipha say that sitting means hiding for fear of the Jews. If so, what does rising and entering the madbaha mean? After receiving the Holy Spirit the disciples went to all parts of the world. If so after rising some priests should to go to women, some to this side of the bema etc. No one should go to the madbaha. So this interpretation is wrong.

12. Diptychs. With some the deacons Gabriel and Michael together recite in order the living and the dead and with some Gabriel alone recites the living and both of them together the dead. Those with whom Gabriel recite the living alone say: Those who have been sanctified by the N.T and who have become familiar of the Lord by their faith and works – these let Gabriel recite because he is entrusted with the N.T Michael should not mix with him since the testament which Gabriel dispenses is more exalted than the charge of Michael. Gabriel also has authority over those things which belong to Michael, if they they belong to the nature because nature is one. If they belong to the scripture the Testament of which Gabriel is the deacon goes along with this, because all the prophets saw the Son from far The Son did not long for the O. but the prophets longed to see Christ and

His time. So let both of them take part together to recite the names of the dead.

Those with whom both of them recite together say: As Gabriel has a part in those belonging to the O.T let Michael also have a part in those of the New because the prophets and the Apostles are one in Christ and both testaments bear the same character. Though one was given as it were to Children and the other to grown up, yet children and men are one in nature. So let us not make a difference between the saints of Gabriel and those of Michael.

13. The penitential rite consisting of karözutha, the litany of forgiveness and the prayer of absolution is not of the prescription of the ancients and the Apostles. Since Isho yahb prescribed it, it was accepted by some and many Churches continued for a long time not to say it. Some say that to this day there are churches that do not proclaim it. They say that formerly when the priest said the last canon "grace of" he proceeded to "make us worthy..." as we do in the days of the fast when we do not consecrate the mysteries.

14. Arbel notes that negligent priests and believers left those things that ought to be done. They do not enquire why Ishoyahb has prescribed them. It does not please them to depict all the representations of the mysteries. If he has commanded that the presbyters should sit, they deny it supposing that it is for laziness that they sit on the bema. Hence as they do not signify death by sitting they cannot signify the resurrection by standing up again. The faithful also do not worship and stand as they ought.

Insights and information

Arbel's commentary offers valuable information regarding certain liturgical matters which prove the antiquity of certain rites and prayers or throw light on certain elements which have either disappeared or have been changed. He also gives new theological insight by relating different elements.

1. Time of the mysteries

As St. Paul (1 Cor. 11:20: and the Acts 20:9) testifies, in the days of the Apostles and in the time after them they used to perform

the mysteries in the middle of the night in the church till morning. This practice existed for considerable length of time. Because of difficulties from plunderers and robbers the faithful requested to change the time to day time. What the Apostle did was they used to give the sacrament at the time when our Lord delivered His Body and Blood and also at the time when He rose from the dead. They decided to shift the time of the mysteries to the time when Cephas said "Lo, it is yet third hour". Yet as a witness to the former time of celebrating they left two days namely, Passover and Easter.

2. Preparation of the gifts.

During the onitha d' Raze (anthem of the mysteries) which was alternated by those in the haikla and Madbaha the archdeacon and those with him prepared the gifts and set on the altar. He calls the gifts mansions. He does not say whence the bread and wine come and how they were prepared and arranged. When Our Lord said "I go to prepare a place" and "in my Father's house there are many mansions", he did not make mention of how and where they are prepared.

At present the rite of preparation and setting on the altar are very solemn. But Roman document prescribes that this undue solemnity should be avoided since they are only material preparation.

3. Prostration.

While they sang the anthem they roll back the veil. Deacons come forth, go to the bema and worship the presbyters there. The presbyter and the deacons together sing Gloria and the elect hasten to go to madbaha. They embrace one another. Deacons go before them and when they reach the madbaha deacons remain outside till the presbyter enters. The Bishop enters first and then his coadjutor. Priests enter according to priority of merit, one by one. When the bearer of Bishop's staff enters, the archdeacon takes it and places it by the altar. The deacons enter after them and observe the order of their service. It seems that the present rite of prostration in the Syro-Malabar Qurbana is just a development of the rite of entry of Arbel's time.

4. Holding the Gospel book

A presbyter supports the Gospel when another presbyter reads it. This rite was followed in the non-restored Raza of the Syro-Malabar Church. The reason given by Arbel is this: That a presbyter supports the Gospel agrees with the words of Our Lord: "upon the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand". In genesis it is said: "It is not good for the man to live alone, I will make a suitable companion to help him." (2:18). God appeared to Abraham with two angels (gen.18). On the day of Denha the Father bore witness to Christ and the Spirit. So also when the presbyter supports the Gospel, the Gospel by the writing, presbyter by his voice and another by outward sign typify the three witnesses who are worthy to be believed.

5. Response after the diptychs

According to the present rubric it is a deacon who recites it But Arbel states that the bishop together with the whole community recites it.

6. Deacon's announcement.

Arbel says that before the Gospel reading deacon announces: "Let us stand prepared and hear..." and then: "Be ye silent now". In the present taksa either: "Let us stand ..." or "Be ye silent" is said by the deacons. But in the passion and fast deacon does not say: "Let us stand ready" but only "Be ye in silence". the reason is: deacon symbolizes angel. Since angels do not suffer or die the angel removes himself from us, attributing to us death and suffering: So 'Be ye in silence' in the second person. You fulfill the service that belongs to your own nature.

7. O.T readings are not given at Baptism and on Holy Saturday. Whenever we read the O.T. we depict the Old dispensation in baptism by the signings and the things before that point. We enter the beginning of the new dispensation by the karozytha. So it is not right that we read O.T. which means the old dispensation. We read the Apostle which means the birth of Our Lord, zumnara which signifies the baptism of John and Gospel which signifies the baptism of Our Lord.

On Holy Saturday when baptism is over, we say that our Lord rose with the baptized. Now the O.T. dispensation has lapsed and we have new Law. So we omit O.T. lessons and read the N.T. lessons which show the dispensation of Our Lord.

8. Though dismissal formula are pronounced in the pre-anaphora, the non communicants and unbaptized get out of the church only at the Holy Communion.

9. Holy to the Holies in perfection. By Qudasa in liturgy we mean the sacrament. Qudase means those who have been sanctified by baptism. So it fitting for the baptized to receive the sacrament in perfect conscience. Narsai also means that according to church tradition and law only the baptized can communicate. But Arbel understands by qudase the good. The saints opposed to sinners. He says that the sacrament has been given to sinners for the pardon of debts. He understands by quads holiness and caddis as the Trinity. Since the time of the reception of the Holy Communion has arrived the priest desires that they should confess the Holy Trinity and praise it. So when the priest says: Holiness to the Holies is fitting in perfection, people explains who these holy ones are."One Holy Father, one holy Son and one Holy Spirit and glorify them.

10. Through mediator

The one who has consecrated is not allowed to receive the Holy Communion by himself. Another priest gives it to him because the celebrant is a mediator and representative of Our Lord. Therefore he should not dare to approach the mysteries of our Lord without a mediator.

11. Communion with the help of deacons.

Gabriel receives the cup from the priest. It is he who will bear the cross of our Lord and come before him in the resurrection. The cup represents the cross which will appear before our Lord at His coming. Michael receives the paten. When the priest distributes they are the bearers of the Eucharist signifying that the whole service of the resurrection will be performed by angels. Sub deacons and other ministers receive the Eucharist at the door of the sanctuary and then

the priest goes forth to those in the hackle and distributes the Holy Communion.

12. Interrelation between peace greetings

(a). At the end of the first g'hantha the priest signs himself with the sign of the cross. This signing is also meant for all who are behind him showing that he also like them needs mercy. Then he utters that formula of peace which our Lord used to confer peace to His disciples after the resurrection. :“Peace be with you”. It means: as the master has given peace to you, do you sow peace, one to another, in your hearts, and “give the peace one to another in the love of Christ”.⁵⁴

In the same way at the end of the embolism of Lord' prayer the priest makes the sign of the cross on himself which is meant also for the whole congregation, turns to the people and utters the formula “peace be with you”.Arbel relating this peace with the preceding one says that the mystery of peace which the priest preached in the beginning of the anaphora proper has been now fulfilled and the peace which up to the present was given by a mystery has now been given fully in as much as the sins of us all have been pardoned. He has brought in their petitions and brought to them the gift of pardon. The relevance of this greeting lies in the fact that it comes after the litany of forgiveness, the absolution prayer and our Father. They all pray for forgiveness of sins. The priest then advises:“be ye strengthened in the abundant peace which by Him has been preached to you”.⁵⁵

(b). Just after the canon following the Institution and just after the invocation there are peace greetings. After the canon the deacon says:“Pray with the mind. Peace with us”.⁵⁶ After the invocation: “Be ye in silence and fear. Peace with us.”⁵⁷. The priest shows, as far the descent of the Spirit (epiclesis) death of Christ and His resurrection and at the time of the descent His resurrection and our

54 George of Arbel 80

55 Id.118

56 Order 48

57 Order50

death. He died while we were in the world, and He rose, and we are to die; and He is coming at the end of times to rise us up.

At the time of the epiclesis he represents His resurrection and our death. At the end of times he will come to raise us up. So the first peace depicts His death and the second our death. When our death and His death, our resurrection and His resurrection are united we shall be worthy to enjoy heavenly bliss. When the deacon says: "be in silence and fear" people worship upon the ground which symbolizes death. They rise up to depict the resurrection.⁵⁸

(c). The Pauline salutation at the beginning of the dialogue prayer⁵⁹ is interpreted relating to peace in the preceding diaconal proclamation⁶⁰ and at the end of the dialogue proper: "peace with us".⁶¹

Mar George asks why the deacon does not begin the karo-zutha (diaconal proclamation) with "peace is with us" or Let us pray peace be with us. The priest has already drawn near to administer the service. He approaches and worships as usual. He does not say peace because peace has already been given in the congregation in the first g'hantha⁶² and Christ, the Lord of peace is performing the service.⁶³ Relating to the peace at end of the dialogue prayer he asks why the deacon says only "peace with us"⁶⁴ Because Peace is with us concerning which Christ has come, the redeemer of all. If the deacon has "by His mediation peace may be multiplied unto you:" what should he pray except "Peace be with us". We are not in need of petition because peace, the Lord of peace is with us.⁶⁵

The anaphora proper begins with the Pauline salutation "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Spirit be with us all". Relating the preceding peace, Arbel says: "Peace is not perfected except when the grace of the

58 George of Arbel 100

59 Order 44

60 Id43

61 Id 44

62 Id 42

63 Arbel 87.

64 Order 44

65 George of Arbel.89

Trinity is given. Peace should come before grace because if there is no peace there is no grace"⁶⁶. Referring to the "peace be with us" after "it is meet and just" he says: "grace should come before peace because grace shows favour and the peace comes "⁶⁷

13. Interrelation between the Pauline salutations.

The anaphora proper begins with the Pauline salutation:" The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ..."Upton this point the present dispensation was celebrated and in all prayers he who prays or reads or sits was called either presbyter or bishop. But now these names are taken away and the celebrant is called priest because he represents Christ who fulfils His ministry. He is the priest and pontiff says St.Ephrem., "and He it is that offers and accepts, also consecrates". Now the priest approaches to carry out the next part of the service. In this part he who approaches is called priest: secondly the wording of the service is of one kind and is not composed from this and that testament or from this and that scripture. It means that anthems composed fully of Scripture are not used in this central position of the liturgy, thirdly up to now many took part in the service. But now after we have become all of one mind and one thought and one soul the conductor of our service is one and he speaks from one mouth, employing the anaphora in the first person. Practically, the priest is the only minister of importance.

According to Arbel the priest's part is ended with the second Pauline salutation.by which the priest announces:"What we have begun is accomplished. And the contest into which I entered I have fought out, and I have conquered ; and now I make this known to you His goodness (grace) "⁶⁸ and the word which I formerly spoke the same I have performed. Then I depicted to you by a mystery the things that were to be : but what I said at first in a mystery is now done in fact. And you must not suppose that there is any change between the things of the mystery and the things of the performance: the mystery and the performance are one"⁶⁹

66 George of Arbel 91

67 Id 91

68 The first Pauline salutation

69 George of Arbel 110

The History of Salvation

The procession from sanctuary to haikla and to bema signifies the descent from heaven to earth and then to Jerusalem. So also, the procession from bema to Questroma and to sanctuary means ascent from earth to heaven. Therefore he divides the Qurbana into three cycles: The first cycle is from marmitha till Trisagion. It signifies the coming of John the Baptist till the manifestation of Jesus in baptism. The second cycle begins from the rest of the liturgy of the Word till the kiss of peace. It marks the divine dispensation from the creation till the end of the World. The third cycle is from the rest of the anaphora till the final blessing signifying again the dispensation from creation till the parousia.

The main difference between the commentary of George of Arbel and those of others consists in the selection of elements and the relative importance given to each element. Gabriel Qatraya and those who follow him comment on important rites and elements of the Qurbana and avoid the explanation of unimportant rites and the meaning of the words of the prayers in general. But on the other hand, George of Arbel deals with the important parts of the Qurbana very casually and offers extensive commentary on seemingly unimportant words of prayers and rites.

Now let us see how the salvation history is presented in these three cycles.

1. First cycle.

Marmitha represents the Law which is to be completed in the N.T. According to the order of the Psalter it symbolizes Jacob and all the Fathers including those before him and after him till Moses. It is sung in the seventh tune to symbolize the mystery of the coming of John the Baptist. The whole marmitha represents the voice of John the Baptist. Aquupta means that all come to Jesus. That the aquapta is sung by those in the Qanke means that John first praised Our Lord and that he first saw the angels, the opened heaven and the descent of the Holy Spirit. After seeing these he exclaimed: Behold the Lamb of God (Jo. 1:29). The official beginning of the liturgy is the procession to Bema which is accompanied by onitha d'qanke. This chant shows

that God the Word descended from heaven, assumed the body and came to Jerusalem to fulfill the plan of salvation.

Arbel describes the procession to bema: When the Archdeacon gives sign, the veil is opened, and the two officiating deacons namely Gabriel and Michael walk in front, then the sub deacons who carry the cross and candles, then the deacons who carry the cross and the Gospel and finally the bishop with the archdeacon on left. Bishop at the end of the procession is in the place of Christ. This procession symbolizes the coming of Our Lord to Jerusalem. He says: "Wither are they going? To the place which was first employed for the worship of God ... and so he descends from heaven, along the way trodden by the Prophets -the ladder which Jacob saw-and he comes to Jerusalem Indeed they proceed from the sanctuary -heaven- and come to the bema -Jerusalem".⁷⁰

Drawing the veil

Drawing the veil of the sanctuary is another action symbolizing the opening of heaven with the coming of the Lord. He says that there are those who open the veil with the coming of the bishop to the sanctuary and those who open veil only at 'Lord of all'. Those who open the veil when the bishop comes, say that at the hour at which God the Word descended from heaven, the doors of heaven were opened. Those who opened at 'Lord of all' say that although the Lord came to the world we acknowledge him only at his baptism. Therefore the time till 'Lord of all' symbolizes the manifestation of our Lord and the beginning of His public life. Two deacons stand near the seat of the bema in order to honor the bishop. Through the Gospel and the cross, the bishop who represents Christ who fulfilled the divine dispensation is honoured. Praise and honour are rendered to God become man and to man become God. Two deacons sing the hymn 'holy' which is the completion of this part of the mysteries. Until now they figured the ministry of the divine dispensation. Now the dispensation is completed.⁷¹

70 Id 34

71 Arbel 36

Second Cycle

The reading of the Law symbolizes the creation of the world while reading from the prophet presents the giving of the Law. The O.T. readings mark the time when the heaven was not opened. He explains this when he points out the coming of the lector from diaconicon: "The lector comes out from the diaconicon because the way by which they (angels) come out from heaven has not yet been trodden.

He explains why all sit during the O.T. reading thus: "World used earthly things. It is formed of earth and will return to it. Until now all are equal. The first reader fulfils the natural dispensation as angel appeared to Noe and gave instruction regarding the construction of the arc. Before Law was given angel appeared to Abraham, Isaac, Hager and Jacob so that they may know God, so also the lector comes and reads. All in Jerusalem (Bema) and heaven(sanctuary) sit and signify death. After the reading the M.C asks all to stand up which means: a man who was sent before the new law was given, rose up and gave promise regarding the light which was to be shed. Suraya means that sacrifices were offered by the strength of the promise of the N.T. from the time of return from Babylonian captivity till the manifestation of our Lord.

The first sentence is read loudly from the Epistle signifying the visit of angel Gabriel to Zachariah. The rest of the reading is read in low voice signifying the annunciation to Mary by the angel. The whole reading means the divine dispensation from announcement of the birth of John the Baptist till he appears in Jordan from the desert. Deacons coming to the door of the bema mean the visit of Maggai. That the deacon who is the keeper of the order (M.C). Stands away from bema means that angel asked the holy family to fly to Egypt. Priest goes to diaconicon and remains there to signify that He went to Egypt and remained there till he returned to Nazareth. Singer of Zummara comes from the left side of bema and sings zumara. It means that John the Baptist came from desert, preached and baptized people. The singer sings alleluia which signifies the preaching of John the Baptist. The response of the people by singing alleluia signifies the response which people gave to St. John. The

verse from O.T signifies what he answered to priests sent by the Jews. Singer there presents the missions of St. John and baptism – his sermon on the kingdom of God, his prophecies and scolding against the Jews.

When the Gospel procession began those who were in the sanctuary kissed the Gospel at the entrance of the sanctuary. It signifies that when the light of the world appeared and came to Jordan we saw his face So we receive him by kissing.

The Gospel procession signifies Christ's coming to Jerusalem to preach the Gospel. The reading of the Gospel means his teaching and ministry after his baptism. That the Gospel comes down from the place of reading means that he was led by Jews to be crucified. It is placed on the altar of the bema means his crucifixion. After the reading the Archdeacon receives the gospel book from the priest and puts it on the altar to show that Christ was crucified through the intervention of others. That the Gospel brought from the sanctuary to bema in procession means that he comes to suffer voluntarily, not by force. Since priest is the symbol of Christ, being crucified, he cannot engage in another action outside his specific symbolism. Preaching after the Gospel reading symbolizes that Christ explained to his disciples what he taught in parables. Karozutha after the Gospel reading signifies his passion, death and resurrection. The procession back to the sanctuary symbolizes ascension, the solemn entry to heaven. Two deacons who carry the cross and gospel and two other deacons who walk with them represent the ascension. These who carry cross and gospel enter the altar as if leading Christ to the throne. Others remain outside looking like the disciples who saw the Lord ascending into heaven. The promise of angels is reminded here that he will come again at the end of the times. The admonition of deacon before the imposition of hand prepares the people to receive the blessings of ascension. Imposition of hand is the blessing of ascension.

The dismissal has an eschatological symbolism. The dismissal from the place of the Qurbana means exclusion from heaven. This dismissal also means that those who are worthy are selected to enter heaven with the Lord. Now the scene is ready for the heavenly

liturgy. From now on we find allusion to the praises of heavenly members.

Dismissal has another function also. Qurbana is the reenactment of Christ' death and resurrection. Our participation in it means our in the death and resurrection of Christ. Baptism is a necessary condition to take part in the Qurbana for the participation in the death and resurrection of Christ.

The hand washing of bishop is different from that of priests. Bishop washes first while the other deacons are standing at the door of the bema. m That is, our vivifier resurrected first and human race will resurrect in the end of times. Bishop washes together with priests because our Lord in his human nature is from us. We will resurrect with him because of his resurrection. Deacons who bring water for the ablution come through the minor door because as we came through that door through which sin and death came. Ablution which is the symbol of pardon also comes through the same door. Mercy of God came to our nature through the door of death so that having been purified from our sin we may enter heaven. After accomplishing the type of death and expiation, they figure soon the resurrection and entrance into heaven. For our Lord promised: Where two or three are gathered together in my name there I am with them (Mt 18:20) they mystically resurrect from the earth as Christ did and become immortal. In the bema where future resurrection takes place, they resurrect as Christ did and then they start to the kingdom through his way.⁷²

During the onitha d' Raze gifts are prepared. It is not said from where they are brought and how they are prepared. Our Lord said in Jo. 14:2 that he goes to prepare mansions for his faithful. Preparation of gifts is the preparation of mansions in heaven.⁷³

Why the onitha is sung first in the haikla and is responded by those in the sanctuary? After the church through the onitha showed the dispensation of our Lord so that through the faith in it men may be rendered worthy for the kingdom, Christ is revealed to the spirit and therefore they confess together with us. In the rite of entrance

72 Arbel 36

73 Id 36-37

to the altar, deacons who prepared the gifts in the sanctuary come down to bema in order to introduce them to heaven where mansions are prepared ⁷⁴ Entrance to the sanctuary symbolizes entrance to heaven.

Kiss of peace. The greeting "peace be with you" symbolizes the words which our Lord said to the disciples after resurrection⁷⁵

Third Cycle

In the commentary of the creed Arbel recalls that God the Father created the world ands Son redeemed us and renewed us through his resurrection and gave the hope of our resurrection.

The Second G'hantha signifies O.T divine dispensation and the first creation. It shows how God created the creatures out of nothing, how he created man, how he led them without law and how he gave laws. Third G'hantha reminds the whole divine dispensation of Christ. He recalls what happened in his birth, in the Denha and all events till his passion and death. Through the other g'hantha His death and our death, so also His resurrection are signified. Rising from dust we become worthy to enter the mansions of the kingdom of heaven and enjoy the everlasting happiness.

After remembering the divine dispensation in the previous g'hantha, in the karozutha before the fourth g'hantha deacon recalls the death of Christ. He points out that Christ was handed over to the cross and death without sin. Till the descent of the Holy Spirit the the fourth G'hantha shows Christ's death and at the time of the descent of the Holy Spirit His resurrection and our death are signified. When we are in the world he is dead; when he is risen we are dead. At the end he will come and resurrect us. Till the middle of the G'hantha his death is recalled. after the middle of the g'hantha our death is signified. The peace before the g'hantha is the peace of his death. The second peace is the peace of our death.. Since our death is related to His death and our resurrection to His resurrection, we will be made worthy to enjoy divine blessings. Qanona speaks about the final judgement.

74 ID.38

75 Id 42

If *Qudasa* is completed why there is fraction and consignation? Arbel answers: Till now mysteries are consecrated and made the body and Blood of Christ. Now, after becoming the Body and Blood of Christ, it is necessary to join them so that the Body may be of the Blood and Blood may be of the Body. He says that the prayer of consignation figures the whole redemptive dispensation: “separated”, when they are placed on the altar, “consecrated” when the whole redemptive dispensation is sealed on them ; “perfected” when it receives the sign of sealing ; What do they become?. Glorious, holy and divine mysteries.

“The karo-zutha before the litany of forgiveness recalls the history of salvation: ‘The only begotten Son came down from heaven for our salvation and received from us mortal body and immortal, rational, and intelligent soul, through holy commandments and divine precepts converted us from the darkness of sins and brought to his kingdom. After the dispensation he suffered, was crucified and resurrected and ascended into heaven. He left us this mystery as a memorial of his mercy towards us’.

The coming of the priest to distribute communion symbolizes Christ coming down from heaven to Jerusalem⁷⁶. Priest completes the whole dispensation of the Lord, ⁷⁷ that which is in the past and that which is in future. Participation in the past events of passion, death and resurrection leads to the possession of the future reality of heavenly glory. Thus the Communion rite presents the entry of the kingdom, where they experience the space and time of salvation beyond the physical principles of the experience of the space and time. The joy and thankfulness on account of this is expressed in the proclamation of the deacon after the communion.

Arbel finds the liturgy as the reenactment of the salvation history completed through the Christ events. This reenactment takes place in the mystical space which is the meeting place of heaven and earth.

To sum up, the commentary of the East Syrian Qurbana by the anonymous author throws ample light on how the Holy Qurbana

76 Id 80

77 Id 81

was celebrated in his time. We can get to know from the commentary what are the meanings of each element of it and its relevance in the presentation of the history of salvation from creation till the parousia. We know that in the course of time several relatively unimportant elements have disappeared and new ones have been introduced. The reason for it should be found in the better liturgical and theological understanding of the Holy Eucharist and of the history of salvation. We can ask what the appropriateness of a particular element in the celebration of the liturgy is. The answer should be found in the role which this element plays to present the mystery of the Eucharist and the mystery of salvation. Mar George of Arbel's aim was not different. He was preoccupied to point out how each element presents a particular aspect of the history of salvation. If all the explanations of all liturgical elements are put together and in order we have a detailed history of salvation before us.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Mannooramparampil
Professor Emeritus,
Pontifical Oriental Institute.,
Vadavathoor
Kerala, India
tmannoor@gmail.com

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

(Continued from page 302)

5. Both the bridge and the gate
of Paradise
did I find in this book.
I crossed over and entered;
my eye indeed remained outside
but my mind entered within.
I began to wander
amid things not described.
This is a luminous height,
clear, lofty and fair:
Scripture named it Eden,
the summit of all blessings.

Gen. 2:8

(Continued in page 352)

T. B. Sailors

QUOTATIONS OF POLYCARP'S LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS PRESERVED IN SYRIAC

Some scattered quotations preserved in Syriac are counted among the witnesses to the rather poorly preserved text of the letter of Polycarp, second-century bishop of Smyrna, to the Philippians.¹ These were made by Timothy Ælurus (Pope Timothy II of Alexandria from A.D. 457-477) in his *Testimonia Patrum*, by Severus of Antioch (patriarch from A.D. 512-518) in his *Against the Impious*

1 Though Polycarp would seem to have written several letters (so Irenaeus of Lyon, in a letter preserved in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.20; see too Ignatius of Antioch's request in his Letter to Polycarp 8), only this one is extant. Chapters 1-9 are preserved in eleven Greek MSS dating from the 11th to the 17th centuries that derive from a common archetype designated by the siglum G (Greek MSS v o / f p / n t[b] c[s] a d; MS r, though now lacunose, would also appear to have originally contained these chapters from the letter). These MSS adjoin, near the end of 9.2, the likewise incomplete text of the Epistle of Barnabas to Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians. Two long quotations from the letter, consisting of chapter 9 and all but the last sentence of chapter 13, are found in Eusebius (*H.E.* 3.36.13-15). And a Latin version is preserved in at least thirteen witnesses dating from the 10th or 11th to the 16th centuries (Latin MSS r t c b o p f v m as well as Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque royale, MSS 1034 and 905, *olim* Bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne MSS 689-705 and 20132 [copies of Latin MS b; I would therefore propose that these be designated MSS d and e]; Charleville-Mézières,

Grammarians chapter 41 (in these two authors, the extracts follow ones from Ignatius of Antioch, to whose correspondence this letter of Polycarp is related) and in an anonymous *Testimonia Sanctorum Patrum*. The quotation in Timothy is from Philippians 12.2, those in Severus from 5.2 and 12.2 and those in the *Testimonia* from 7 and 12.3. Since the text of chapters 10-12 and 14 is otherwise extant only in Latin, not in Greek, the excerpts from chapter 12 preserved in Syriac may be seen as particularly important.² All of these

Bibliothèque municipale, MS 173 [I would propose designating this MS g – perhaps one could think of Charles Gonzaga!]; and Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 281, *olim* 51 [I would propose designating this MS a)]. A note on fol. 211^v of Vatican gr. 859 (Greek MS v) written in Armenian *bolorgir* script indicates that Nerses (probably Nerses of Lambron, 12th-cent.) produced a (now-lost) Armenian translation of ‘this letter’, presumably Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians and the Epistle of Barnabas in their fused form.

The quotations of Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians preserved in Syriac have no bearing upon the question of the integrity of the letter, i.e. whether or not it has been formed by the fusion of two discrete letters consisting of chapters 13-14 and 1-12.

- 2 Though made from an older form of the Greek text than that represented in the extant Greek witnesses to the letter, J. B. Lightfoot described the Latin version as ‘very loose and paraphrastic’ and provides an example from 1.1 showing that ‘the translation is very loose at times, and the Greek text from which it was made was not free from errors. Moreover the text of the version itself has not been transmitted to us uncorrupted’ (*The Apostolic Fathers: Part II. S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp*, 2d edn [London 1889], 3.317 and 1.551). Further examples of errors or problems in the translation or transmission of the Latin (from chapters 11, 13 and 14) are given by P. Hartog (*Polycarp and the New Testament* [WUNT 2/134; Tübingen 2002], 69, 79-80 and 225-226). Although Lightfoot also writes that the quotations in Eusebius and those preserved in Syriac ‘show that, whenever we have opportunity of testing the text of the Greek and Latin copies, its general integrity is vindicated’ (2.3.318), this statement relates only to the connexion (particularly in the Latin) between Polycarp’s letter and the ‘long recension’ of the Ignatian corpus, which contains not only six additional spurious letters, but also interpolations in the genuine letters of Ignatius. The ‘integrity’ of which Lightfoot writes refers to the absence of such interpolations in the Greek and Latin witnesses to Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians. This formal integrity in no way undermines the ‘highly important testimony’ of the quotations preserved in Eusebius and in Syriac to variant readings in the text of the letter.

quotations were initially published, and then reprinted together, in the nineteenth century. Given an intervening edition of Severus and the digitization of the manuscript containing the *Testimonia*, a reprinting of the quotations here and an up-to-date examination of them may prove helpful.³

Timothy Ælurus, *Testimonia Patrum*

Next to nothing remains in Greek of the works of Timothy; some, however, are preserved in Armenian and, above all, in Syriac.⁴ Philippians 12.2a is introduced and quoted in his *Testimonia Patrum* as follows:

Testimonia Patrum

കുറിപ്പ്: ഈ ക്രമരേഖയുടെ പകർപ്പ് കൈമാറ്റം ചെയ്തതിനുശേഷം
 തിരുത്തലുകൾ വരുത്തിക്കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനായി സർക്കാർ
 കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ അംഗീകൃതമാക്കിയ ക്രമരേഖയുടെ പകർപ്പ്
 സർക്കാർ കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ അംഗീകൃതമാക്കിയ ക്രമരേഖയുടെ പകർപ്പ്
 സർക്കാർ കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ അംഗീകൃതമാക്കിയ ക്രമരേഖയുടെ പകർപ്പ്

3 The citations in Timothy and Severus were first published by W. Cureton, *The Antient Syriac Version of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius to St. Polycarp, the Ephesians and the Romans* (London 1845), 34 and 46, and idem, *Corpus Ignatianum: A Complete Collection of the Ignatian Epistles* (London 1849), 212 and 214-215. These were reprinted by Lightfoot, 2.1.563-564. For the text in Severus, see now J. Lebon, *Severī Antiocheni: Liber contra Impium Grammaticum* (CSCO 101; Louvain 1933), 283, ll. 1-9. The citations in the *Testimonia* were first published by P. Zingerle, *Monumenta Syriaca* (Innsbruck 1869), 1.1, from Vatican syr. 135 (7th-8th cent.) and reprinted by Lightfoot, 2.1.565-566. Full images of this MS have been published on DVD-ROM, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Vatican Library: Volume I* (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana and Brigham Young University, 2005). Where the extracted text preserved in Syriac does not present the entire verse, only the corresponding Greek or Latin is given below. There is no indication that the entire letter was ever translated into Syriac; the quotations appear to have merely been translated as part of the Greek works in which they were excerpted.

4 See J. Lebon, 'Version arménienne et version syriaque de Timothée Éluire,' *Handes Amsorya: Monatsschrift für Armenische Philologie* 41 (1927) 713-722.

Philippians 12.3

Pro omnibus sanctis orate. Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus atque pro persequentibus et odientibus vos et pro inimicis crucis,

ܕܥܝܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ or 'dei filius Iesus Christus' in 12.2a?

Apart from some quiddities involving conjunctions and prepositions, it will be seen that a major contribution of the quotations preserved in Syriac involves a reading in Philippians 12.2a. Here, both Timothy and Severus have ܕܥܝܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ('God Jesus Christ'), whereas the Latin reads dei filius Iesus Christus ('Son of God Jesus Christ'). Lightfoot here writes, 'In the attempt to reproduce the original Greek, I have followed the quotations in Timotheus and Severus, as being much more ancient than our other authorities, and have given θεός in place of θεοῦ υἱός' (2.3.345). Neither Holmes, Ehrman, Camelot, Funk-Bihlmeyer nor Lake adopt this reading, though Holmes does note it in his apparatus.

Given the close connexion between Polycarp and the Ignatian correspondence, it is unsurprising that this phrase and analogous phrases appear in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch:⁹

1) In Ephesians one finds ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν (in the greeting) and ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ... (18.2).

2) In Trallians 7.1 the Armenian and Arabic read only ܕܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ('from Jesus Christ').¹⁰ Whether the reading

9 General similarities of Polycarp's letter to the letters of Ignatius are briefly discussed by C. Burini, *Polycarpo di Smirne: Lettera ai Filippesi, Martirio* (Scritti delle origini cristiane 26; Bologna 1998), 59-60, in the section entitled 'Analogie con l'epistolario d'Ignazio'.

10 The Armenian version of the Letters of Ignatius includes the entire corpus and represents an (at times uneven) translation from the Syriac. It has been suggested that the translation was made as early as the fifth century. However, the six spurious letters from the 'long recension' have been attached to the Armenian version, so enough time must be allowed for these to have been forged in the fourth century, to have been attached to the 'middle recension', for observed corruptions in the Syriac of this combined corpus to have arisen and then for this combined corpus to have been translated from Syriac into Armenian.

in these not otherwise unproblematic witnesses to the 'middle recension' of the Ignatian epistles is to be preferred over the reading in the other witnesses to the 'middle recension' (Coptic, 10th-11th cent., $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\text{Π}\text{Ο}\text{Υ}\text{T}\bar{\text{E}}\ \bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}\ \text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}\chi$ Greek, 11th cent., $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \Pi\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, and Latin, 15th cent. based on an early-13th cent. translation, a deo Iesu Christo), and if not, whether the phrase is to be understood as 'God, Jesus Christ, and the bishop and the ordinances of the apostles' or as 'God Jesus Christ, and the bishop and the ordinances of the apostles' is not unequivocally clear.¹¹ Though if the reading with 'God' is to be accepted, the presence of the conjunction (καί) before both τοῦ ἐπισκόπου and τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων would seem to suggest the latter understanding: 'God Jesus Christ'.

It seems as though the difficulties in the translation are rooted not only in the abilities of the translator, but also in the underlying Syriac text. Moreover, though the Armenian version of Ignatius is found in six MSS, no critical edition has yet been produced. This reading is therefore based upon non-contiguous text in a critical apparatus that represents a 'corrected' version of the editio princeps from 1783 (which recorded only three variant readings in the margin) for which the new editor was unable to consult any MSS (J. H. Petermann, *S. Ignatii patris apostolici quae feruntur epistolae una cum ejusdem martyrio* [Leipzig 1849], vi-xxvi, 109).

The Arabic version of Ignatius' letters, extant today in three MSS, was quite clearly made from the Syriac, and presents a much more faithful translation than the Armenian.

- 11 Lightfoot notes that $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (with or without $\Pi\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$) seems to have stood in the text of Trallians used by the interpolator of the 'long recension' of the Ignatian epistles, in that $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ alone appears here in that recension. Lightfoot places $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in his text—in square brackets—and writes that the word should probably be omitted (2.2.168-169).

The entire series at the end of 7.1 is in a different form in the Armenian, which reads $\text{ոչ Հեռանալլէ 'ի Յ=սէ Բ=սէ եւ յառաքելոց 'սորա եւ յեպիսկոպոսէ ձեռքէ}$ ('inseparable from Jesus Christ and from his apostles and from your bishop'). The Arabic includes والمبشرين ('and the priests') after والبishop ('bishop') and formulates the final element as وامرأته . Would it therefore not be warranted to view the first element of the series in the Armenian and Arabic (i.e. 'Jesus Christ', without 'God') with suspicion? While it is also true that the final element in the Coptic version reads $\text{M=NPOUECAHnE =nNEPRECBUTEROc}$ ('and the command of the elder'), does this alone impugn the testimony of this witness to the text of the rest of the verse?

3) In Romans, ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀνδρὲς ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (in the greeting) and ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ... (3.3).

4) In Ignatius's Letter to Polycarp, ἐν θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ (8.3).

Though all but one of these seven passages include a first person plural possessive pronoun (ἡμῶν), they are analogous to the form of the phrase found in the quotations from Polycarp preserved in Syriac; most are syntactically analogous (θεὸς ... Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός // ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܒܝ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, the longer reading in Trallians 7.1 matches the phrase perfectly) and a few also employ this designation of Jesus in close context with 'the Father'.

Though the evidence may not be peremptory, the otherwise unique similarity to a number of Ignatian passages requires that the reading in Timothy and Severus not be summarily refused.

Timothy B. Sailors
Voechtingstr. 31
D- 72076 Tübingen
Germany

A SHORT TREATISE ON THE TRINITY IN SYRIAC ATTRIBUTED TO ST. EPHREM THE SYRIAN

Introduction

In his very useful article surveying the published main editions and translations of the works of Ephrem which appeared in *The Harp*, Sebastian Brock rightly points out that "St Ephrem undoubtedly ranks as one of the greatest of all Syriac creative writers".¹ He further remarks that Ephrem's extensive works have only recently become available in reliable editions. The text which is here edited, republished and translated into English for the first time forms part of this extensive body of seminal works whether attributed to Ephrem or genuine Ephrem. It is a short piece of some modest interest ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306-373)². It has survived in two versions in a few Syriac manuscripts: a longer version and a cut-down or distinct recension. The longer version, which survives in two Syriac manuscripts preserved in Mosul and the British Library (London), was first edited, with a Latin translation, by the Syrian Antiochene Patriarch Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani in his *Studia Syriaca* from a manuscript preserved in Mosul.³ Rahmani's work, however, is very old and is not easily accessible, and does not in any case contain an English translation. Furthermore, his Syriac text is not reliable and is not entirely free from inaccuracy. The shorter recension has survived in three Syriac manuscripts, two of which are preserved in the Mingana Collection of Syriac manuscripts and the third is preserved in the Berlin Königlichen Bibliothek.

I. The Manuscripts

¹ S.P. Brock, "A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations of the Works of St Ephrem" in *The Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies* Vol. III, No. 1 & 2 (June, 1990), p. 7.

² Not 363 as is stated in Brock, *ibid.*, p. 7, which is apparently a misprint. 363 was the year in which St. Ephrem moved from Nisibis to Edessa.

³ Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca: Collectio Documentorum Hactenus ineditarum ex Codicibus Syriacis. Prima publicavit, Latine Vertit Notisque Illustravit. Typis Patriarchalibus in Seminario Scharfensi in Monte Libano MCMIV (1904)*. Syriac text, [IV, 1; P. 1]; Latin translation [Caput IV, N.1], p. 7. We are grateful to Dr Sebastian Brock for kindly drawing our attention to this rare work.

The Syriac text of this piece has survived in the following manuscripts:

(A) Longer Version:

(i) Rahmani's published text in 1904, taken from a manuscript preserved in Mosul [TEXT I below].⁴ Rahmani does not, however, give any details of the source of his published text short of stating that it is taken from a "Mosul manuscript".

(ii) British Museum Library MS Add. 12,170, folio 242. The text of this version in this manuscript was collated with that of the Mosul manuscript by Rahmani.⁵

(B) Cut-down or Distinct Recension:

This version has survived in the following three manuscripts:

(i) MS Mingana Syriac 369 [hereafter = A].⁶ The part of the manuscript which comprises our Syriac text consists of folio 47a. This manuscript contains a number of different works in Syriac and Garshuni, bound together from four different manuscripts, and written by four different hands. It consists of 159 folios. Our piece, which is not dated, is written in a clear West Syrian hand of about 1480.⁷

(ii) MS Mingana Syriac 71 [hereafter = B].⁸ The part of the manuscript which comprises our Syriac text consists of folios 113b – 114a. This manuscript, which is not dated, consists of 154 folios, and is written in a clear West Syrian script by two contemporary hands of about A.D. 1600. It comprises a number of pieces of varying content written in Syriac – Lives of various saints, hagiography, sayings by Fathers of the Desert, a collection of pious stories, etc. It contains, *inter alia*, a short piece in Syriac attributed to St. Ephrem comprising a collection of acrostic admonitions.⁹

⁴ See Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, p. 56.

⁵ Cf. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, p. 56.

⁶ See A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*. Vol. I: Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts. Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons (1933), pp. 669f.

⁷ See Mingana, *Op. cit.*, p. 678.

⁸ For a description of the contents of this manuscript, see Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*. Vol. I, pp. 180f.

⁹ The text of this piece, together with an English translation, is edited separately by the present writers.

(iii) MS Berlin 262 [Sachau 98], fol. 69b [hereafter = C]. This manuscript, which consists of 69 folios, contains a number of different works in Syriac and Garshuni.¹⁰

A comparison of the Syriac texts of our piece contained in these three manuscripts shows that, with the exception of a few insignificant variations such as orthographic variant readings and the omission, addition or abbreviation of a word, they are substantially the same. The text reproduced here is taken from MS Mingana Syriac 369 [A]. The few insignificant variant readings in the other two manuscripts have been noted in the footnotes appended to the text.

II. The Present Piece

The heading of this short piece in all the manuscripts attributes authorship to St. Ephrem, but this is highly unlikely.¹¹ The piece, both in its longer and cut-down versions, deals with some analogies to, or illustrations of, the Trinity derived from the created order: to the supra-natural single Godhead of the triad of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The heading speaks of these analogies as 'used by' Ephrem, or more literally, 'said by' him. The opening line of the text speaks in the first person, apparently Ephrem's. It is, however, quite possible, indeed a great deal more likely, that the author is drawing upon Ephrem, or claiming Ephrem's authority, for standard illustrations which can be found almost ubiquitously in patristic theology whether Eastern or Western. If the expression used of the Spirit [Syriac: ܡܫܚܝܬܐ] and translated as 'consubstantial' represents Greek 'homoousios', then the text implies the theology of the period after 381 and the Council of Constantinople which authorised that term. The Holy Ghost is given a female grammatical gender in our text though not apparently consistently: the 'procession' is of a grammatically masculine Spirit [Syriac: ܡܫܚܝܬܐ ܡܫܚܝܬܐ ܡܫܚܝܬܐ]. That might suggest an earlier, rather than a later, dating of the text were it not for the fact, overlooked in tendentious discussions of the point, that Syriac often treats nouns as epicene, e.g. Syriac: ܕܝܡܐ = 'moon', and note here in our text Syriac: ܕܝܡܐ = 'circle' which is masculine in form but grammatically feminine. Moreover, it is to be observed that though, typically,

¹⁰ For a description of the contents of this manuscript, see Eduard Sachau, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* [Band 23: Verzeichniss der Syrischen Handschriften]. Berlin, 1899, pp. 794f.

¹¹ See below.

later post-5th century Syriac texts construe 'Holy Ghost' as masculine grammatically, the grammatically feminine construction belongs to a time when the Holy Ghost was, typically, thought of as inferior in status to the Son who was likewise inferior in status and substance to the Father.

III. The Authenticity of the Piece

As mentioned above, the authenticity of this piece is dubious. Rahmani does not seem to address the question of its genuineness or otherwise. As Sebastian Brock points out in his *A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations of the Works of St Ephrem*, many of the works attributed to Ephrem are of uncertain authenticity and are unlikely to be genuine Ephrem.¹² The present piece most likely falls into this category of works ascribed to St. Ephrem, in some sense dependent upon him as interpreting him and his tradition, but not from the pen of the great hymnographer and saint.

¹² S.P. Brock, "A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations of the Works of St Ephrem", esp. pp. 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 26 and 27.

ܐܠܗܝ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ
 ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ
 ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ
 ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ
 ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܢܐ

TRANSLATION

*Again, Lucid analogies concerning the all-reverend Trinity, used by Mar Ephrem
 the harp of the Holy Ghost, for the further persuasion of the true minded.*

But as for me, my mind has observed [an] 'one' which though it is one is three
 and again though three it is one. I observed the Sun which was in its circle like
 the Father in his substance and has ever with him an inclining beam which has
 come down to us, as the Son has been sent to us and come down from the
 Father's bosom without leaving his Father's side. And, again, the Sun has [a]
 consubstantial warmth not [itself] called 'Sun' or entitled 'beam': just as the Holy
 Ghost who though being from the Father is not called 'Father' or named 'Son' so
 too is the Sun's warmth not called the beam's daughter or entitled sister or
 named the Sun's daughter nor daughter or granddaughter (as presumptuous
 folk blasphemously assert); but the Sun's circle is simply called ['Sun'] as the
 Father is validly [called simply 'Father'] and the beam is clearly like the Son and
 the Spirit is obviously like the warmth. And the Sun's circle, its warmth and its
 beam, the three, are called by the one name 'Sun' and likewise there never was

nor 'daughter' or 'granddaughter' as the presumptuous blaspheme. But the Sun is, like the Father, validly called simple and 'beam like the Son' plainly and 'warmth' like the Spirit clearly. And the Sun and its beam and its warmth are called, the three of them, one Sun i.e. 'the Sun'.

Professor Rifaat Ebied,
School of Languages and Cultures,
The University of Sydney,
Sydney NSW 2006
Australia.
rifaat.ebied@sydney.edu.au

Dr. Lionel Wickham,
19 Barrowstead,
Skelmanthorpe,
Huddersfield HD8 9UW
England, U.K.
lpatristic@aol.com

St. Ephrem: A Garland of Prayer songs.

Prayer Songs on Paradise, 5

(Continued from page 334)

6. There too did I see
the abodes of the just
dripping with unguents
and fragrant with scents,
garlanded with fruits,
crowned with blossoms.
In accord with a person's deeds
such was his abode;
thus one had few adornments,
while another was resplendent in its beauty;
one was but dim in its colouring,
while another dazzled in its glory.

Translated by : Dr. Sebastian P. Brock

Mary Hansbury

LOVE AS AN EXEGETICAL PRINCIPLE IN JACOB OF SERUG*

Jacob of Serug was born in Kurtam near the Euphrates, ca 451. Little is known of his early life. There is the brief legend which describes how "at three he was presented in the Church by his mother for one of the festivals of Our Lord. At the time of the liturgy, at the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Mysteries, the saint got down from the side of his mother, broke through the crowd, went to the altar and received three handfuls of the Holy Spirit. From that time he began to utter homilies and treatises."¹ One of his first writings was on the Chariot which Ezekiel had seen and it includes a reference to this topic on the power of love as an exegetical tool:

By that choice utterance which was made known in the prophecy, may the wonderful *mimro* of your divinity be spoken by me. By the love (*hubâ*) ²which is the sum of all wisdom, let my discourse extend to the narration of what is incomprehensible.³

1 Ms Vat Syr 37, 16r in J.S. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis I, 286-289.

2 In the selections of Jacob mentioned here, including the ones in the Appendix, all occurrences of love as a substantive are *hubâ* whereas verbal or other usages derive from *rhîm* unless otherwise noted.

3 "On that Chariot which Ezekiel the Prophet Saw," P. Bedjan Vol.IV, #125, 544-47.

Jacob emphasizes love in relation to Scripture. Faith as indicated by Ephrem is never neglected. But there is in Jacob's *Letters* and *mimre* an insistence on the power of love as an exegetical principle. It does not seem to be simply formulaic or even only an aspect of cognition. Rather it is intrinsic to his Soteriology which underlies his understanding of Scripture. According to Boulos Sony, the Christological controversies of his time pushed Jacob deeper into Scripture, where instead of definitions, he found the mystery (*razâ*) of Christ on every page.⁴ According to Jacob, The Scriptures provide the God-experience of the people of God in various forms of human communications. Rather than providing defined truths the Scriptures furnish experiences of divine-human encounter."⁵ Thus Scripture is an ongoing revelation, through its mysteries, of God's love for mankind and the only adequate and effective exegetical response according to Jacob is love.

To begin with a long, beautiful quote:

Scripture enlightens the soul's eyes through study.
Read, discerning one, and fill up with light from it through love (*hubâ*).

The sun shines from divine Scriptural readings
upon the minds of those who encounter them with discernment.
Like lamps of a great light within the darkness
God put Scriptures into the world so that it would be
enlightened by them.

The soul of the one who loves them is enlightened by
scriptural readings
and, possessing them, he walks as if in the great light of day.
Draw near to Scripture, lovingly, and see its beauty,
for without Love (*hubâ*) it does not allow you to see its face.
If you read without Love (*hubâ*) you do not benefit,
for Love (*hubâ*) is the gate through which a man enters into
understanding.

4 B.M. Boulos Sony, "La Methode Exégétique de Jacques de Saroug," *Parole del'Orient* 9 ('79-'80) 67-103, esp. 83-85.

5 T. Kollamparampil, *Jacob of Serug, Select Festal Homilies* (Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 1997), 26.

Thus scripture demands of you, when you have taken it up, not to read it unless you love it more than yourself.⁶ (1-14)

Even if love turned out not to be the most important aspect of Jacob's exegesis, it is stunning to see the amount and specificity of it. In his Letter 16 Jacob speaks of the dynamic quality of love and how it can grow whereas faith, so important to Ephrem, is without change in the heights of the Trinity.⁷ This at least indicates that faith is never excluded according to Jacob. During his time at the school of Edessa, ca 470, Jacob always resisted Antiochean exegesis⁸ and remained closer to Ephrem than to Theodore whose works by this time had been translated into Syriac.⁹ It was the literal quality of Antiochean exegesis that he took issue with, its insistence on the historical or literal sense (*su'rânâ'it*) and its seeming denial of a spiritual sense (*ruhânâ'it*). This is also an important aspect of Jacob's controversy with the Jews. Like Ephrem, Jacob accused the Jews of only looking at the exterior meaning and not understanding the spiritual meaning even of the commands of Moses.¹⁰

For Ephrem of course faith was more important in Christian life and in the understanding of Scripture. R. Murray comments: "As light is the condition for vision, so the condition for a proper recognition of symbolic discourse and of its force, as of the

6 "On Elisha and on the King of Moab" in Jacob of Serug's Homilies on Elisha, tr. and Introd. S.A. Kaufman (Gorgias Press, 2010).

7 G. Olinder ed. *Jacobi Sarugensis Epistulae Quotquot Supersunt* CSCO SS 57,73 ; M. Albert, tr. *Les Lettres de Jacques de Saroug*, (Lebanon: Kaslik, 2004), 112.

8 On this aspect of his exegesis see Boulos Sony, "Methode Exégétique," 85-89.

9 Also the works of Cyril of Alexandria and Athanasius, important to Jacob's synthesis, began to be available in Syriac in 5th cent. Edessa. See L. van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the History of its Interpretation* vol 1, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 612-41.

10 T. Bou Mansour, *La Théologie de Jacques de Saroug*, II (Kaslik, 2000), 389-90. This echoes what S. Brock says of Ephrem, see *The Luminous Eye* (Kalamazoo MI, 1992), 46-51. This of course is not the only aspect of his anti-Judaism. But Jacob does discuss it in his 7th homily, see M. Albert (ed), *Jacques de Saroug, Homélie contre les Juifs*, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1976.

symbolic potentiality of the whole created world, is faith.”¹¹ Even when Ephrem rails against the investigation (*‘ûqâbâ*) and scrutiny (*bṣatâ*) of the Arians, it’s not reason he is rejecting but what interferes with an attitude of wonder before the mysteries (*razê*) of salvation history which for Ephrem could only be accessed by faith.

Bou Mansour has picked up on this contrast between the place of faith in Ephrem and that of love in Jacob.¹² Actually all of chapter 6 in his 2 vols. on Jacob is dedicated to a fine treatment of his exegesis. And within this chapter are the pages (411-424) where he looks at the role of love in relation to knowledge, according to Jacob. He looks at the conditions which Jacob presents for an understanding of God and of the mysteries (*razê*) of faith: simplicity (*hedyûtûtâ*); discernment (*pûrṣanûtâ* or *bûyanâ*); prayer (*slotâ*); wonder (*tehrâ*); faith (*ḥaymanûtâ*); love (*hubâ*). Simplicity: Jacob has his own issues with vain wisdom and pryers. While Ephrem railed against Arians, P. Bettolo suggests that Jacob was directing his criticism against the Eutychians, Nestorians and Chalcedonians for their immodest scrutiny.¹³ Prayer: Jacob says little specifically about it but if one were to examine his own prayers, direct invocations to God and often occurring at the beginning of a *mimro*, one would find a treasure.¹⁴ Wonder plays an important role in his Letters and the *mimre*. Even a cursory reading reveals this. One whole *mimro* is dedicated to *tehrâ*.¹⁵ Wonder bears an interesting

11 R. Murray, “The Theory of Symbolism in St. Ephrem’s Theology,” *PdO* 6-7 (‘75-’76) 6; see also S.H. Griffith “‘Faith Seeking Understanding’ in the Thought of St. Ephrem the Syrian,” G.C. Berthold (ed), *Faith Seeking Understanding: Learning and the Catholic Tradition* (Manchester NH, 1991) 35-55; and see P. Yousif, “Foi et Raison chez Saint Ephrem,” *PdO* 12 (‘84-’85) 133-51.

12 See Bou Mansour, Jacques II, 424. S. Brock notes the importance of this comparison in his article “Dieu Amour et Amour de Dieu chez Jacques De Serug,” *Actes du Colloque VIII, Patrimoine Syriaque* (Lebanon : CERO, 2003) 175-82.

13 P. Bettolo, “Lineamenti di patrologia siriana,” in A. Quacquarelli, *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1989) 503-603.

14 A small collection of 20 of these is in preparation for publication.

15 See D. Miller trans., *On the Name “Wondrous” that Our Lord Was Called*, (in preparation, Gorgias Press).

rapport with revelation, again very obvious from reading the *mimre* and Letters of Jacob.¹⁶

As to faith, it is never far from his mind. He warns against: dispute (*ḥeryanā*), investigation (*‘ûqâbâ*), examination (*bṣatâ*). But he does not neglect the higher dimensions of faith as the righteous who do not scrutinize Him are seated before His face.¹⁷ Faith has a cognitive ability going beyond the angels precisely because it can go up to the place of the Trinity.¹⁸ And Faith, which Bou Mansour calls “the breath of the new life,” while it is in the height of the Trinity remains without variation because it is bound (*asîrâ*) and limited (*msaykâ*) by the Trinity.¹⁹

As wonderful as this is, Jacob seems to say that love is even better. Love seems to be the only adequate response to God’s love as seen in the divine economy. And this love brought God to the Incarnation. It’s as if love opens the door to doctrine which leads to God. Actually at this point there is little to say except to give textual evidence which in itself is so powerful. To continue from “On Elisha and on the King of Moab”:

And (Scripture) says to you: If you read in me carelessly,
I shall be reluctant to reveal any of my wisdom to you.
Either love me, open, read and see my splendours,
or do not read at all; for if you do not love me, you shall not benefit.
Whatever idea you have of me when you have taken hold of me

16 See my “‘Insight Without Sight’: Wonder as an Aspect of Revelation in the Discourses of Isaac the Syrian,” *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 8 (2008) 60-73. While the article looks at *tehrâ/temhâ* in Isaac it also includes some remarks about usage in Jacob. See also S. Seppälä, ‘In Speechless Ecstasy’. Expression and Interpretation of Mystical Experience in Classical Syriac and Sufi Literature (Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies 2; Helsinki, 2002). In an appendix he gives a “Semantic history of the words *temhâ* and *tahrâ*.”

17 Letter 13 (Olinder 56).

18 Bou Mansour, Jacques II, 416.

19 Letter 16 (Olinder 73). Letters 2 and 3 are dedicated to faith. For further analysis see: J. Obeid, “Deuxième Épître de Jacques de Saroug,” *PdO* 12 (1984/5) 187-99; P. Kruger, Le caractère monophysite de la troisième lettre de Jacques de Saroug,” *Orient Syrien* 6 (1961) 301-08. See also the *mimro* “Faith,” *Bedjan* Vol. III, #94, 581.

is what I make myself into and am for you when I encounter you.
 If you are motivated by Love (*ḥubā*) and the desire to understand me,
 I shall move all my riches to you, so that you may take them.
 If I see that your soul is open to me with Love (*ḥubā*)
 I shall open all my gates for you so you may enter.
 I possess measures, and weights, and portions,
 and I repay my debts to each person with honesty.
 I love the one who loves me when he reads in me,
 and if he asks me, I shall give him all my treasures.
 But when he reads in me without loving, then I in turn, like him,
 shall confront him and confound him with external voices.²⁰
 Whoever holds on to me is able to subdue me with his own Love (*ḥubā*),
 so that I will array all my treasures before him if he loves me.
 Unless he loves he should not bother with me,
 for he will not benefit from me,
 for I will only offer him mere words without meanings.
 Scripture says these words to the one who reads it
 and urges him to acquire Love (*ḥubā*) and only then confront it.
 Thus it is necessary for Love (*ḥubā*) to motivate whoever approaches
 Scriptural readings; then his mind shall have been enriched
 with understanding.²¹ (15-38)

As noted, Bou Mansour has carefully analyzed the conditions of cognition in Jacob, i.e. human understanding of God and of the mysteries (*razē*) of Christ through simplicity, discernment, prayer, wonder, faith and love. Yet he is still left with a question as to whether human love as an aspect of cognition drives exegesis or is it the beauty of the doctrine itself.²²

20 Kaufman suggests for "external voices": i.e. he will read eisegesis instead of exegesis.

21 Verse 42 in this mimro is of interest: I pressed on (in my reading) and came to an understanding through luminous love (*ḥubā shafyā*). Brock notes the exegetical dimension of *shafyā* in Ephrem. In the spiritual writers of the 7th and 8th cent. it became a key term. Its roots are actually in the Palestinian Targum. See S. Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 73-4, 156.

22 Bou Mansour, *Jacques II*, 424.

If there is a connatural link between Scripture/doctrine (*yulpânâ*) and love (*hubâ*), which then is primary in the process?

To answer this I looked at the concept of Divine Mercy (*ḥnanâ*) in Jacob as outlined by T. Kollamparampil in his translations of Jacob and in his commentaries.²³

As noted by S. Brock, Jacob inherits the idea of divine pedagogy characteristic of the Antiochean tradition.²⁴ Divine pedagogy for Jacob is the inner spiritual reality (*ruhânâ'it*). The outer historical truth is as it were the context of this process. Scripture is the story of the divine economy (*mdabbranûtâ*).²⁵ Throughout Scripture God reveals his hidden being (*'îtûtâ*) by means of symbols and types. These are a bridge between the unknowable God and human intelligence.²⁶ As noted: "These are not revelations of divinity but pointers to realities that will one day be revealed in God's progressive self-revelation."²⁷ Divine providence is the guiding factor behind the divine economy and basic to divine providence is divine mercy (*ḥnanâ*). Jacob situates divine mercy within the divine essence (*'îtûtâ*) and Kollamparampil considers the terms which express its various aspects: *ḥnanâ* (mercy, pity); *taybuta* (grace, loving kindness); *rahmê* <pl.> (mercy, compassion, affection); *hubâ* (love).²⁸ Though hidden, *ḥnanâ* makes itself known through its acts and *taybuta*, *rahmê*, *hubâ* are used to speak of interventions of God's love. And so it would seem that all human love participates and responds to the divine mercy which is in the divine essence. So for Jacob the response of love to the reading of Scripture depends on human participation in divine mercy (*ḥnanâ*).

23 See T. Kollamparampil, *Salvation in Christ according to Jacob of Serugh* (Bangalore: Dharmaram, 2001) and his *Select Festal Homilies*.

24 Brock, "Dieu Amour," 177.

25 See Rilliet on the rapport between divine economy (*mdabbranûtâ*) and providence or the way (*'urhâ*) as used in Jacob for whom according to Rilliet, Soteriology is more important in defining his work than Christology. See F. Rilliet, "La métaphore du chemin dans la sotériologie de Jacques de Saroug," *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993) 324-31.

26 Another helpful analysis may be found in Boulos Sony, "Methode Exegetique," 85-89.

27 Kollamparampil, *Salvation*, 79.

28 Kollamparampil, *Salvation*, 195-96.

Divine mercy is always hidden but by God's grace (*taybuta*) the divine mercy overflows into human activities and so also for *rahmê* and *hubâ*. The textual evidence ascribes the same names to human love as it responds to divine initiative. Jacob never uses *ḥnanâ* to express any aspect of human love. But *rahmê* and *hubâ* are used to describe both divine and human love. I have only found *taybuta* used to describe Divinity.²⁹ So it would seem that it is neither Scripture nor human love but divine mercy which prompts a response of love to the text. And it is important to always keep in mind that: "According to Jacob the same Spirit works through the inspired writers of the Scriptures, the interpreters and the readers or hearers of the Scriptures."³⁰ Love is required of all. This is a stunning insight of love as an exegetical principle, provoked by the question of Bou Mansour as to which is more important Scripture/doctrine (*yulpânâ*) or the love (*hubâ*) of the reader.³¹ To repeat, the answer is neither human love nor Scripture itself but divine love which empowers human love in the understanding of Scripture.

To sum up I'd like to mention the theme of love in general in Jacob which here I have tried to restrict to its exegetical dimensions. Jacob situates love not in the divine will which might imply creation out of necessity but in the divine essence (*ʾitûtâ*). And he sees divine mercy, as the source of Creation, Salvation and Incarnation, to be in the divine essence. Adam was created out of this mercy and by free will went astray becoming a 'stranger in the house of the Father,' (Nat. IV.7). By taking on

29 See for example Jacob of Serug's Homilies on the Six Days of Creation: the First Day, ed. and trans. E.G. Mathews (Gorgias Press, 2009) 5, 90, 108, 109, 125.

30 Kollamparampil, Select Festal Homilies, 29.

31 Other dimensions of love in Jacob which merit further study: idolatry which for Jacob is simply a question of 'alien love,' the wrong use of love; free will and how it intervenes with a response of love; the connection between prophecy and divine love; nuptial imagery so pervasive in Jacob's writings but not to be understood as a private devotion, rather as central to Salvation. The wedding feast (*meštutâ*) in Eden was disrupted; Christ seeks to restore it in the Kingdom, his path or way (*ʾurhâ*) of Salvation is towards the eschatological banquet. Two of Jacob's mimre discuss other aspects of love. See: E. Khalifé-Hachem, "Homélie Métrique de Jacques de Saroug," PdO 1:2 (1970) 281-99; P.V. Philip, "The Dimensions of Love According to Jacob of Serug," The Harp viii-ix (1995-96) 185-94.

the body of Adam, out of love, Christ restores him to his true identity: "Your love compelled you on account of us to come to our place," (Nat.III.17-18). Not because God is almighty does he create, which would imply necessity, but his omnipotence (*gabûratâ*) makes it all possible and the only compulsion is love. According to Bou Mansour, the centrality of divine love in Jacob's teaching is understudied and he considers it to be the most profound intuition of Jacob's work.³²

Towards a future study of love in Jacob it is important to situate his work in the context of the Syriac tradition. S. Brock considers the theme of divine love and says that "God's boundless love is a central theme throughout Syriac tradition" from Ephrem to Isaac the Syrian.³³ Various scholars have commented on the insight of Isaac, that the Incarnation did not occur because of sin but only because God loves the world.³⁴ And while Isaac has a sense of the whole arc of *mdabbranûtâ*: Creation, Salvation and Incarnation,³⁵ his comments on the Incarnation in the context of divine love are the most striking:

And why was he stretched out on the Cross for the sake of sinners, handing over his sacred body to suffering on behalf of the world? I myself say that God did all this for no other reason, except to make known to the world the love that he has, his aim being that we, as a result of our increased love resulting from an awareness of this, might be captivated by his love when he provided the occasion of this manifestation of the power of the Kingdom of Heaven - which consists in love- by means of the death of his Son.³⁶

32 T.Bou Mansour, *La Théologie de Jacques de Saroug I* (Lebanon: Kaslik, 1993), 31-33.

33 S.Brock, *Spirituality in Syriac Tradition* (Kottayam, 1989), 84.

34 I. Hausherr, "Un Précurseur de la Théorie Scotiste sur la Fin de l'Incarnation," *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses* 22 (1932) 316-20.

35 See Is II/22,4-6 where he says: "...more important than (reading, kneeling and psalmody) is persisting meditation on God's providence (*mdabbranûtâ*) and hidden prayer. See S.Brock, *Isaac of Nineveh, the Second Part*, CSCO vol. 225.

36 From the *Centuries IV*, 78. Found in Brock, *Spirituality*, 84. For a full translation of the *Centuries*, see P.Bettolo, *Discorsi Spirituali* (Magnano, 1985; 2nd expanded ed. 1990). An English translation is in preparation by S.Brock.

Divine love, from the comments of Jacob of Serug on Creation to those of Isaac the Syrian on the Incarnation, merits further study.³⁷ But perhaps a key to all of this lies with Jacob. His synthesis is in his understanding of divine love but the framework is Scripture and its relation to salvation history. Jacob draws out the insights and indications of the biblical episodes and presents them in an intuitive and creative manner, if not genial. But he inherits most of his exegesis from Ephrem. And according to S. Brock it is Ephrem "who presents us with the most carefully thought out understanding of the nature of Scripture and of the way it ought to be read."³⁸ One does not have the impression that Jacob departs from the vision of Ephrem in its basic tenets. So perhaps it is not inappropriate to look at the conclusion of T. Koonammakkal in one of his fine articles on Ephrem: "There is no limit to God's incarnation in human language. God's footsteps are audible to Adam in paradise. By bringing together the anthropomorphic language of the OT and the human experiences of Jesus, Ephrem seems to allude to the idea of the bodily incarnation as the continuation and culmination of God's incarnation into human language."³⁹ He goes on to note that J. Neusner speaks of the incarnation of God in similar terms: "...that the incarnation of God formed part of the unfolding of the inner logic of Judaism, as it does of any Judaic system spun out of the heritage of the Hebrew Scriptures."⁴⁰ Koonammakkal refers these conclusions to Ephrem but they may also be part of Jacob's methodology and a key to his anthropology. So little has been

37 Others have commented on the theme of divine love in Isaac: H. Alfeyev, *The Spiritual World of Isaac the Syrian* (Kalamazoo MI, 2000), 35-61; P. Bettolo, "Avec la charité comme but: Dieu et création dans la méditation d'Isaac de Ninive," *Irénikon* 3 (1990) 323-45; A. Louf, "Pourquoi Dieu se manifesta selon Isaac le Syrien," *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église* 80 (2000) 37-56.

38 See S. Brock, "Three Syriac Fathers on Reading the Bible," (forthcoming Sobornost). Here Brock gives a detailed analysis of the exegesis of Ephrem, Jacob of Serug and Isaac the Syrian. See also S. Brock, "St. Ephrem the Syrian on reading Scripture," *The Downside Review* 438 (Jan. 2007) 37-50.

39 See T. Koonammakkal, "The Self-Revealing God and Man in Ephrem," *The Harp* 3 (1993) 248.

40 J. Neusner, *The Incarnation of God: The Character of Divinity in Formative Judaism* (Fortress Press, 1988) p.xi.

done on possible connections between Jacob and the rabbis, perhaps further research might show, if not derivations, at least comparisons worthy of note between incarnational language in Jacob and in midrashic material.

Behold, the manifestation of the Son of God
is depicted in the Scriptures,
and whoever fixes his soul's eye upon them
shall perceive it.

From the divine readings, man comes to understand
what the kingdom shall be like when it is revealed.

As He taught, the Shining Son declared to us
how He shall come, and what He shall resemble when He
shall appear to us.

Before He comes, He hath foreshown how He shall come,
and how all generations shall go forth to meet Him
in that great day.

He portrayed that day, and His Kingdom, when it is
revealed,

as a glorious bridegroom and fair virgins. ⁴¹

* This paper was read at the North American Syriac
Symposium at Duke University in June , 2011.

Dr. Mary Hansbury,
208 E. Evergreen Ave
Philadelphia PA 19118,
USA
m.hansbury@att.net

⁴¹ Homily on the Ten Virgins, (The Vine, 1992).

APPENDIX

In the case of all the mystery-filled narratives of the Only-Begotten it is right to listen with great love (*hubā*), O discerning reader, for if love (*hubā*) does not open the gate of your ear then there is no passage to your hearing for the words.

In the case of the story of Tamar, unless a mind that has faith listens to it, the discerning woman will seem worthy of reproach, whereas if an intellect that loves to listen to the mysteries should hear this tale, it will render back praise in return for it. (137-144)

Homily on Tamar, S. Brock
(*Le Muséon*, 2002)

Dear is instruction spoken discreetly,
but dearer still when men hearken with love (*hubā*).
Love (*hubā*) alone possesses an ear that tries every word,
and it grows not weary whenever it inclines to listen.
One must attend to the narratives of the righteous with love (*hubā*),
for it was also through love (*hubā*) that they drew near unto God.
The world is odious to those who love righteousness,
and all other loves are vanquished by love that is God. (1-8)

On Jacob's Revelation at Bethel, D. Miller
(in preparation, Gorgias)

Come, O Grace, and bring with you the discovery
of what was the reason for that Hebrew's veil.
It is right that love (*hubā*) now should stand as a mediary
(*mes'âyā*),
for without love (*hubā*), the hearer has no understanding. (17-20)

On the Veil of Moses, S. Brock
(Gorgias)

In an ear that is full of discernment and faith,
a word grows and grows, increases, and acquires splendors.

But in an ear from which love (*hubā*) is distant a word sows seed but, having been sown, it yields no fruit.

An ear in which there is love (*hubā*) is a word's nurse-maid, which takes it in, nurtures it and produces fruit

Just as ground, too, nurtures seeds to make them increase, but if it is not good, it keeps them to itself, engulfs them and holds them back.

Bad ground chokes seed so that it cannot flourish, and in a stubborn ear a word is quenched and its beauty disappears. So there is need then for attention that is full of love (*hubā*) so that the word shall be nurtured by it and its seed be returned multi-fold. (39-50)

VII Homily on Elisha, S. Kaufman
(Gorgias)

For, both word and deed, are easy to be accomplished with love (*hubā*) when the soul possesses it [love], so that it shall speak by it [the love] when it speaks, and by it, shall act when it acts. Because love (*hubā*) is the foundation on which all good things are built and on account of it, it is necessary that it should precede in the soul for the word as well as for the deed.

If love (*hubā*) does not urge the speaker to speak, his word is vain and it labours without reward, even though it might be clothed in beauty; but if love does not arouse the soul to action, abstention is more preferable than its [the soul's] (2 & 3) action.

On the Forty Days Fasting, T Kollamparampil
(Select Festal Homilies /Gorgias)

Concerning that being of yours, no one is able to speak; concerning what you have become, let me speak of you, Lord, while I am wondering.

With respect to you, no one is able to speak, my Lord; with respect to us, grant me that I may speak about you lovingly. With regard to your being God, the discourse about you is beyond (the power of) the speakers, but because you are human, behold, men speak about you every day.

If you had not descended to our earth we would not have been able to speak about you,
for who is succeeding to speak about you in your place that is concealed from all?

About your having come I am seeking, my Lord, to speak, (5-14)
for Your compassion (*rahmīk*) has made you subject to words on the road (*'urhā*) you have set.

On the Nativity of Our Lord (III), T.
Kollamparampil (Select Festal Homilies /Gorgias)

Without love (*hubā*), who draws near to Doctrine?
Or if he does, what does he gain, having no love (*hubā*)?
To its own, therefore, does love (*hubā*) wish to speak its words,
for doctrine has bid to them to its repast.
And although doctrine always requires attention from its listeners,
it has called them today to listen with great wonder.
The beauty of the image of the Son of God has appeared from out of the reading,
and truth has been aroused to speak of it with a great voice. (15-22)
Love (*hubā*) alone is able to proceed with confidence on hidden things,
and by it, all that is too sublime for the mind can be uttered.
Wherever love (*hubā*) is, there is the limit of discoveries,
but in controversy with disputation, then the truth is rendered void.
For him that has not love (*hubā*), the truth itself is falsehood;
let the discourse, then, be enriched by love (*hubā*) among those listening.
The matter of this priest is concealed from the understanding;
except love (*hubā*) give the explanation, it is difficult to be articulated. (163-170)

On Melchizedek, D. Miller (*The Vine*, 1989)

If there is a hearing ear who will welcome me lovingly,
the symbol within the tale I have received to speak is to be wondered at;
if it be that love (*hubā*) does not come close to the sense of hearing,
Moses' symbols are not portrayed in clarity.
If your whole thought is on this world, attached to acquisition,
you are inadequate for me, cannot hear from my mouth the tale

that I set out.

If transient things are loved by you,
the scripture is too difficult to be able to speak to you of things hidden.
If your soul does not pray to God in love (*ḥubā*),
then Moses utters empty sounds into your hearing.
Moses is a stutterer; he will not make plain to you anything that he says.
Let your mind go; enter and stand by what he reveals.
His utterances are simple, although his discernments are rich.
Call on him in love (*ḥubā*), and he will raise you to what he reveals.
Though his speech is not easy, he gives a clear hint if only you will gaze.
He portrays the cross, and gains your mind by what he has done.
Without blood no-one can purify anything,
without our Lord there is no life and no atonement. (25-33)

On the Red Heifer, D. J. Lane
(*The Harp* XV, 2002)

The great Self-Existent One (*'îṯyā*) is exalted by His Existence (*'îṯûtā*),
He dwells in Himself, there is no place that is not full of Him.
And Mercy (*rahmê*), which is natural to Him, rises up in Him
to bring forth creation though He has no need of creatures.
He does not seek to fill any need of his own by means of the
world that He created,
but because He is good He created creatures.
He came down to create all sorts of creatures in their forms,
and it is clear that had He not lowered Himself He would not
have created.
Why would He create if He had no need except because
of that Goodness (*taybuta*) which is beyond words to describe.
For by Goodness the world was built so that it would be
alongside [His] existence, something that came into existence
from nothing. (99-110)

Six Days of Creation: The First Day, E.G. Mathews
(Gorgias)

That loving kindness (*taybuta*) which summoned me to come to birth,
that has again called me to come to baptism too.

The great mercy (*hnanâ*) has drawn me to descend to become a new born babe.

It is that (mercy) which drew me to descend to become baptized.
(213-216)

On Epiphany , T. Kollamparampil
(Select Festal Homilies /Gorgias)

Et cet amour (*hubâ*) qui avait été caché en Dieu
avait mu ces voix du prophète, afin qu'elles
expriment Dieu par ces ressemblances humaines.
Et Il s'était laissé voir et exprimer sous apparence
de notre discours, tandis qu'il considérait ce
qu'il se préparait à accomplir, à la fin,
par la révélation de son Fils...

Letters, 23

John Vattanky

UNDERSTANDING CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE THOUGHT OF EPHREM AND ŚAMKARA

In every age human beings enquired about the source of their ultimate origin. Yet more than the questions about the mystery of their beginnings, the hiddenness of their final stage pre-occupied them. They want to know what is their lot so that they can avoid perdition and embark on the way to salvation. In his confessions, Augustine in his inimitable style described the fleeting moment of experience of what potentially lies in store for all human beings if they walk the true path of genuine holiness. "We (Augustine and his mother) stood leaning against a window which looked out on a garden within the house where we were staying at Ostia on the Tiber, for there, far from the crowds, we were recruiting our strength after the long journey, in preparation for our voyage overseas. We were alone, conferring very intimately. Forgetting what lay in the past, and stretching out to what was ahead, we inquired between ourselves in the light of present truth, the Truth which is yourself, what the eternal life of the saints would be like. Eye has not seen nor ear heard nor human heart conceived it, yet with the mouth of our hearts wide open we panted thirstily for the celestial streams of your fountain, the fount of life which is with you, that

bedewed from it according to our present capacity we might in our little measure think upon a thing so great.

Our colloquy led us to the point where the pleasures of the body's senses, however intense and in however brilliant a material light enjoyed, seemed unworthy not merely of comparison but even of remembrance beside the joy of that life, and we lifted ourselves in longing yet more ardent toward *That Which Is*, and step by step traversed all bodily light upon the earth. Higher still we mounted by inward thought and wondering discourse on your works, and we arrived at the summit of our own minds; and this too we transcended, to touch that land of never-failing plenty where you pasture Israel for ever with the food of truth. Life there is the Wisdom through whom all these things are made, and all others that have been or ever will be; but Wisdom herself is not made: she is as she always has been and will be for ever. Rather should we say that in her there is no "has been" or "will be", but only being, for she is eternal, but past and future do not belong to eternity. And as we talked and panted for it, we just touched the edge of it by the utmost leap of our hearts; then, sighing and unsatisfied, we left the first-fruits of our spirit."¹

For a believer direct experience of God, an immediate vision of God in some way or other, described according to one's own words or symbols seems to be the ultimate goal of life. For the believing Christian this is participation in the very life of the triune God through the redemption which Jesus has brought. And this redemption means that the disciple who walks with Jesus is caught up with him into communion with God. Such a communion with God is a process which begins here on earth, but find its fulfillment in eschatological times. Therefore it is necessary to reflect on the final form of this experience of the Absolute so that knowing what we can expect legitimately, we may not miss it by the influence of wrong perspectives.

1 The Confessions, St. Augustine, translated by Maria Boulding, O.S.B. Hodder and Stoughton, Britain, 1997, pp. 226-228.

Various saints and theologians have offered us different descriptions of this ultimate experience. The fourth century saint and poet theologian Ephrem offered us his version by making use of the symbol of paradise. What does he understand by Paradise? This is indeed not so simple a question as it might look at first. Ephrem the subtle theologian through the medium of poetry filled with myriad scriptural allusions invests the word and the concept paradise with many shades of meaning.

Characteristics of early Syriac Christianity

We must approach Ephrem against the background of early Syriac Christianity which is different from the Latin West and the Greek East. The Christian landscape of early Syriac Christianity is decisively Semitic characterized by a rich array of metaphors and by descriptions of possibly deep spiritual experiences in complex and even enigmatic vocabulary. Discourses making use of the terms of classical Greek philosophy are conspicuous by their absence. Syriac Christianity did not try to make a synthesis between classical mainly Greek thought and Christian beliefs. On the contrary semitic metaphors abound and they shed light on various Christian mysteries. However the most important fact was that Syriac theology was based on liturgy and the setting of Syriac liturgy was not the province only of the educated elite. Yet for all its general basis Syriac theology showed an intellectual sophistication and a refined emotional appeal, which facilitate a real assent as distinguished from a notional grasp of the Christian reality.

Nature of Paradise symbols

One of the important symbols which Syriac Christianity makes use of is that of Paradise. The reason is that "Paradise allegorizes ideals. Paradise imagery may be analysed as the projection of religious ideas onto an éschatological canvas. Visions of Paradise are the stained glass windows of world-views, luxuriant gardens, fountains, flowing streams, succulent fruits, jewels, pearls, illumination ... all of these images can be promoted within a religious community as a master allegory of

all that is ideal. Paradise is demonstrably a reflex of prevailing standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. In the case of Syriac Christianity the path to paradise seems to be sacramental.² The idea of paradise promotes a set of values and behaviour patterns that would enable one to arrive at the final goal. Ephrem informs us that in a vision he was transported to paradise: but his description of paradise is based not so much on his vision but on scripture, supported by poetic imagery. The hymns concentrate on life after death and resurrection yet they also describe Christian life and community here on Earth in its ideal form. In other words paradise was transported to the reader. This means that paradise is a metaphor for the ideal Christian community.

In Hymns on Paradise, 12: 15 Ephrem asserts that the Tree of life and the Tree of wisdom which God placed in the Paradise shows that "human person can become the likeness of God, endowed with immortal life (i.e. theosis) and wisdom that does not err."³ Paradise thus is "the symbol of the reality to which the Christian aspires and in the reality of which he already mystically participates. Here the active principle of mystical experience is divinization at the level of sacrament and good works at the level of actual day to day life. Therefore "these hymns as mirror of the holy, were rites of contemplative passage into paradise, mystic transports to the empyrean realms on high, visions of the celestial to inspire those on Earth treading the spiritual path leading to heaven".⁴ The paradise described in these hymns is also immanent in this world. Ephrem asserts 'the breath that wafts from some blessed corner of paradise gives sweetness to the bitterness of this region, it tempers the curse on this earth of ours.'⁵ Paradise is therefore "a presence that wafts from the realm above to the sanctuary below."⁶

2 Buck, Christopher, *Paradise and Paradigm, Key Symbols in Persian Christianity*, State University of New York, 1999, p. 10.

3 St. Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise*, Introduction and Translation by Sebastian Brock, St. Vladimir Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 1990, p. 166.

4 Buck, op. cit. p. 263.

5 Brock, op. cit. 157.

6 Buck, op. cit. p. 263

Metaphors of paradise should not be taken literally. Ephrem himself warns his audience against this procedure “if someone concentrates his attention solely / on the metaphors used of God’s majesty, he abuses and misrepresents that majesty / and thus errs / by means of those metaphors... / do not let your intellect be disturbed by mere names / for Paradise has simply clothed itself / in terms that are akin to you.”⁷ Ephrem’s idea of God’s putting on metaphors can be considered as a virtual reality, a second form of incarnation. Ephrem uses several technical terms to underline the divine metaphoricity in scripture and in nature as well: symbol (*rāzā*) metaphor (*dmūta*) allegory (*peleta*); type (*tupsa*) etc. Ephrem makes use of the polyvalency of the symbol which enables him to describe paradise in ecclesial as well as in other worldly terms. Once the hymn is intoned there is a sort of engagement with metaphors and realization is achieved through accepting some of Ephrem’s metaphorical correspondences between paradise and congregation. This is possible because life in paradise as an eschatological reality belongs to the sacred time and so it is possible for it to be experienced in varying degrees, by individuals already in historical time on earth.

Paradise is realizable

A question naturally arises whether such a paradise is realizable. Ephrem speaks of Gospel as “a figure” for the beauty of the kingdom of Heaven. Through the Gospel-looking glass this realm is visible to “the luminous eye” i.e. the eye vivified by faith. And paradise is seen as joyous with its flowers. Ephrem repeats these ideas often; according to him the scriptures are placed there like a mirror, and he whose eye is luminous beholds there the image of reality.

If paradise is partly experienced on Earth, how is it experienced in heaven? We can answer this question only on the basis of an understanding of the anthropology of Ephrem. Some hold that Ephrem is typically Antiochene, and so espouses a dichotomous idea of man as the only created being capable of

7 Brock, op. cit. p. 156.

reconciling the dualistic pair, matter and spirit. We cannot easily admit this because it pre-supposes that Ephrem was deeply influenced by Greek philosophy which is not the case. Others on the other hand affirm that Ephrem's anthropological conception is fundamentally trichotomic. Ephrem's triune concept of man is clearly set forth in one of the Hymns on Paradise, 'far more glorious than the body (*gūšā*) is the soul (*nāfsā*) and more glorious still than the soul is the spirit (*tarīfa*) but more hidden than the spirit is the Godhead.'⁸

Ephrem is of opinion that man is perfected as triune: spirit, and soul and body. Ephrem speaks even of the three shapes of man. Technical terms for this trichotomy vary. Ephrem mentions that three names are sown in three ways, in the spirit, the soul and the body mysteriously. Further he states that if the spirit suffers, it is entirely imprinted by the Father, if the soul suffers, it is wholly mingled with the Son and if the body is burnt in martyrdom then its communion with the Holy Spirit is complete. The imprinted spirit means that it is being divinized. It is in the nature of the spirit to be imprinted, and this means that it takes on the nature of that to which it aspires. A total divinization of the complete, triadic person is proposed. But the spirit can incline either way, into wild and worldly ways or into spiritual realms.

The uniquely individual soul exists in both worlds. "Like the Father, one's own 'spirit' transcends the physical world which it is crudely said to inhabit, like the Son, one's 'soul' is spirit incarnate, so to speak. Like the Holy Spirit one's 'body' is the locus on earth of the divinizing effects of the Holy Spirit."⁹ This implies that at some eschatological point, the body must transcend its own physicality in order to live in the spiritual realm of paradise.

Scripture may have determined these categories. St. Paul speaks of the Christian's "spirit, soul and body."¹⁰ And this

8 Brock, Hymns on Paradise, p. 143.

9 Buck, op. cit, p. 266.

10 1 Thess., 5:25.

trichotomic division became the accepted view in the East. It may be noted that Ephrem drew an “explicit analogy between Trinity and the constituent elements in man. The analogy is more than poetic; it is noetic. The spirit links man to God through the Holy Spirit. There is a sympathetic connection between the Holy Spirit and human spirit. This charismatism is crucial to salvation, the transition from feral anarchy to true freedom. The vehicle of the spirit is the soul, just as the vehicle of the soul is the body. Without soul, the body is lifeless; without spirit, the soul is lifeless. As intermediary the soul can incline either way.”¹¹

Freedom of human beings

Before the Fall Adam was the king of paradise, robed in glory. But because of his wish to become a god he lost his robe of glory and became naked. This was Adam’s free choice. Therefore “the key concept in Ephrem’s anthropology is choice. In the interplay between free will and the will of God, Adam’s Fall was the result of his own volition and miscalculation. The serpent is not to blame, but is culpable as an accomplice. Adam mirrors the human predicament. His free will is the highest point of his spiritual capacity. As such, God predetermined neither Adam’s mortality nor immortality, with Adam’s disobedience of God came the loss of godliness, one aspect of which is immortality. Adam was stripped of his radiance, the “Robe of Glory”, less frequently referred to as his “Robe of light.” The Bible intimately links sin to death. It was to be expected that Ephrem understood paradise lost in the very same terms. It is up to every true Christian to reverse the Fall.

“The pre-Fall figure of Adam serves as an inverse eschatological paradigm of what it is possible for the righteous to become. Adam’s investiture as king of Paradise, Priest and Prophet (the so called *tria munera* which becomes the triple office of Christ) heightens the extent of the Fall and sharpens the contrast between saved and unsaved. It was Christ, strictly speaking, as the agent of creation, who fashioned Adam of dust,

¹¹ Buck, op. cit. p. 266.

breathed into Adam his soul (is the soul therefore the breath of God?), and invested him with glory (swbh). The 'glory' of the Robe may have something to do with the charisma of God's presence, the Hebrew notion of *Kabod ha-shem*, the 'glory of God' which Ezekiel beheld ... In any event, Adam was in every respect the 'image of God' and it is this original image relation that Christ restored. The vaunted 'Robe of Glory' invisible to the naked eye may be restored through baptism. Ephrem reminds us in the opening verse of Hymns on Paradise that Paradise itself is invisible to the mortal eye. Thus in scripture, Paradise is described in visibilities, praised for invisibilities."¹²

Ephrem's thought in relation to Śaṅkara's

When we want to relate Ephrem's theology with Śaṅkara's thought it is necessary first of all to discuss what Śaṅkara's real doctrine is. There is an interpretation, both in early and modern times according to which Śaṅkara's thought is presented as a form of acosmism. Brahman (the Absolute) is the only reality and the world is an illusion (*brahma satyam, jagad mithyā*) is an ancient statement which is supposed to summarize Śaṅkara's thought, but in fact it is a caricature of his philosophy. And in modern times Radhakrishnan was much influenced by this approach to Śaṅkara's thought when he approves both apparent transformation (*vivartavāda*) and illusionism (*māyāvāda*).

Śaṅkara himself carefully avoided the term, apparent transformation (*vivarta*) as it belonged to the *śabdādvaita* tradition of *bhedābheda* with which he disagreed strongly. His preferred term was transformation (*pariṇāma*) which he took from the upaniṣadic texts upon which he commented. At the same time he excluded carefully all connotations the word had in the classical philosophical system of Sāṃkhya holding irrevocably to the unchangeability of Brahman. The term apparent transformation (*vivarta*) was later introduced into Śaṅkara Vedānta as a technical term by Padmapāda in the meaning of illusionism. Prakāśātman avoided this term and

¹² Buck, op. cit. p. 273.

stressed rightly that the Absolute is unaffected by the process of its manifestations. But Vimuktātman (around 1050 A.D.) compromised this understanding with trends of *māyāvāda* and made fashionable the term indefinable (*anirvacaniya*) which Śaṅkara however did not use as a technical term for *māyā*. Śaṅkara sedulously avoided the term *māyāvāda* because it was connected with the schools of Buddhist thought which he rejected. He did not define *māyā* as a technical term of his system as he did the term Nescience (*avidyā*). It was the work of later Advaitins to adopt it as a technical but undefinable term.

Thus the wrong interpretation of Śaṅkara which we should reject may be summarized as follows: "Brahman is reality, the world is false, the soul is only Brahman, nothing else" (*Brahma satyam jagad mithyā jīva brahmaiva nāparah*). This statement is from *Bālābodhini*, a later short work falsely ascribed to him. But it is often repeated in the belief that it expresses in a nutshell the whole teaching of Śaṅkara. According to it, the world is *māyā*, i.e., a purely illusory manifestation of Brahman, caused by transcendental Nescience (*avidyā* or *ajñāna*). Hence, *advaita* means strict monism and implies acosmism. As a consequence the statements of identity, such as "Verily, this whole world is Brahman" (*Sarvaṃ khalv-idaṃ Brahma*), or "I am Brahman" (*ahaṃ brahmāsmi*), are understood literally as they stand. And Brahman himself is considered as the material cause of the world; i.e., Brahman becomes modified according to the variety of "names and forms". Such a modification is only apparent (*vivartavāda*). Further *nirguṇa brahman* is characterized as impersonal and so there can be no personal relations with it. The individual soul (*jīvātman*) which, in the state of *avidyā*, appears to itself as a finite principle of consciousness, activity and passivity, is really identical with the ultimate Brahman. Senses and body are mere superimpositions of Nescience. Only revelation is able to free *jīvātman* from the bond of Nescience.

We should reject this facile interpretation of Śaṅkara and present the true teaching of the great philosopher from his own authentic writings. We can summarize his true doctrines from

his own authentic writings according to which Brahman is the highest Lord and highest Ātman of all the beings of the universe because it is their total cause. In the richness of its unspeakable Fullness it exceeds all that we are or can wish to attain because it is Reality-Knowledge-infinite and therefore absolute Bliss. Its effects can add nothing to its infinity, they exist through its causal presence within them, they are inseparable from it and cannot be counted apart from it. As to their reality it is neither Being nor Non-being in the supreme sense of those terms (*sad-asad-vilakṣaṇa*); it is the reality of a totally dependent effect (*sat-kārya*). Hence, their connection with the Brahman is not duality but non-duality (*advaita*) which is not the same as monism (*ekatva*). They are similar to it, its reflections (*ābhāsa*), but cannot be reckoned with it under one common genus, for the Brahman transcends any genus and is therefore “one without a second” (*ekam-eva advitīyam*).

Advaita did not develop the non-Sanskritic conception of “Person” which is generally misunderstood by Hindus, but in its authentic and traditional Christian understanding it is quite congenial to Advaita. A more openminded attention to Śaṅkara’s conception of the self would help us deepen our awareness of our creaturely dependence while his intellectual dynamism toward intuiting the divine Essence would interiorize our faith, vitalize our hope and nourish the hankering of our love. Christ, we believe, is man’s saving Lord, both historical and cosmic: this affirmation holds together the Absolute, nature and history in a way which can illuminate and be illuminated by the Advaita conception provided the latter be grasped in its authenticity.

That is why we could assimilate the doctrine of Śaṅkara about what happens to us in the final liberation in the context of our discussions on the nature of Paradise according to St. Ephrem. Śaṅkara asserts that realizing Brahman-Atman directly (*sāksāt*) satiates our radical desire (*Brahman-jijñāsā*) - because it is fullness - and even every desire; past renunciation becomes enjoyment:

The knower of Brahman enjoys all desires, all delights procured by desirable objects, without exceptions. Does he enjoy sons, paradise, etc. alternately as we do? No, he enjoys all delectable things simultaneously, as amassed together in a single moment, which is eternal... which is non-different from the essence of Brahman, and which we have described as REALITY-KNOWLEDGE INFINITE... He enjoys all things by the Brahman whose nature is omniscience (on TUT 2.1.1). It would be naïve and all too simplistic to interpret this passage from Śaṅkara's commentary on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad as proposing the possibility that in the final stage of life, in Paradise one can enjoy all sorts of material pleasures in their intensity and individuality. What Śaṅkara means is that when one directly experiences the Absolute Brahman one experiences also all the joys since Brahman is the ground of everything. That ultimate experience of Brahman is an experience of fullness which does not lack in anything; it is the experience of everything. And in this sense it is the experience of all joys. May we be found worthy to experience these joys which God promises and which Ephrem and Śaṅkara explain with dazzling brilliance.

Bibliography

St. Augustine, *The Confessions*, translated by Maria Boulding, O.S.B. Hodder and Stoughton, Britain, 1997.

Buck, Christopher, *Paradise and Paradigm*, Key Symbols in Persian Christianity, State University of New York, 1999.

St. Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise*, Introduction and Translation by Sebastian Brock, St. Vladimir Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 1990.

Beck, Edmund, *Ephraems Hymnen uber das Paradies: Uebersetzung und Kommentar*, Studia Anselmiana 26, Rome, 1951.

Lavenant, Ren*, S. J., *Ephrem de Nisibe*, Hymnes sur le Paradis, Traduction du Syriaque, Introduction et notes par Francois Graffin, S. J., Paris, 1968.

Vattanky, John, S. J., *Brahmavidyā and Īśvaravāda: Indian Christian Theological Investigations*, Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection, Vol. 72, No. 7, July 2008, p. 523-537.

Vattanky, John, S. J., *Fr. Richard V. De Smet, S. J.: Friend, Scholar, Man of Dialogue*, Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection, Vol. 71, No. 4, April 2007, p. 245-261.

Rev. Dr. John Vattanky S.J.
De Nobili College,
P.B. No.7, Nagar Road,
Ramwadi, Pune - 411014
India

Behnam Keryo

EPHREM: A COMBATANT AND A MONK IN LOVE!

This paper is based on the homilies of the Baaoutha attributed to Ephrem. We know there is a strong tradition which tells us that these marmiata are Ephrem's(1). This should not affect the findings or the conclusions; this contribution is trying to demonstrate. Indeed! The homilies in question are considered to be a master piece of the Syriac classical literature.

Ephrem throughout his phrases, his words chosen with an utter precaution and precision, his poetical thrust, the ascetic he is, confesses, reveals and sometimes even betrays himself. Texts, they say, are the mirror of their author. Is it possible to read Ephrem, comprehend his inner psyche, his most profound soul, touch intimately his thoughts, share his secrets, and apprehend the *raza* the mystery of his immense faith without getting a little closer to the heart of the Sun of the Syrians which beat like a drum for life, for love, for beauty and which boiled for justice?

In his ܠܚܘܡܝܬܐ homilies of Nineveh, Ephrem reveals many facets of his inner personality. These texts confirm and remind us that Ephrem, the man-immensity was also a human, made of flesh, he felt and experienced passions, had a temper like any body else, enjoyed and rejoiced with life, and above all he was indeed an amorous monk for he was possessed and haunted by beauty. Besides, he was a proud person and had a high esteem of himself. And how on earth he could be something else. He had a bewitching style of writing and had an absolute command of the language. He spoke like a master! He knew very well his society.

Based on the homilies of the ܠܚܘܡܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ Fast of Nineveh, we shall here try to approach some of these various facets of the Harp of the Syrians.

Ephrem was a great observer.

He watched the people through his penetrating eyes and appreciated even more beauty :

ܠܚܘܡܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ

"They contemplated the beauty of the young boys and the tall height of their sons." 457.13s) and again:

ܠܚܘܡܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ

:"Jonah was clad in a great sadness and the Ninivites were dressed in dazzling colours." 459.10s)

ܠܚܘܡܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ

"The beauty of the women was corrupted with the cries and humility." 457.2)

Ephrem was not ashamed of the words, he was not a sort of prude or a timid prim and proper:

ܐܬܬܬܐܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ

"The impertinent severed their eyes to not look at women."
441.15s)

ܐܬܬܬܐܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ

"The fornicators, the real ones, blessed Him with vigour, for they were freed from impurity!" 464.1)

Ephrem was an ardent **polemicist** with a hot and impetuous temper :

ܐܬܬܬܐܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ

ܐܬܬܬܐܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ

"The Ninivites have granted bounties,

Let's cease, and stop complaining.

The Ninivites have set free slaves,

You ! Have mercy on free men." 440.11-14)

Ephrem was a resister and a combatant.

Ephrem was not afraid from saying the truth and never kept his tongue in his pocket. He had a mission to fulfill and a project to achieve. He loathed injustice and fought for it with all his might. He defended his positions vehemently and sometimes never hesitated to destabilize his adversaries:

ܐܠܗ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

"For the courage you showed your bounty and for the City, your cruelty!" 461.16) he howls in Jonah's face!

Ephrem loved his homeland, and refused to collaborate with the pagan fire worshipper Persian invaders, by taking the route of the exile to Edessa. As every invader wants to scrap your identity, the Persian fire worshippers didn't discourage him or stop his project. He established another famous school in Edessa, to replace the school of his beloved Nisibis. Ephrem lived the horrors of the war and echoes his experiences in his texts and good Lord how actual are Ephrem's texts when it comes to what the US occupiers have done to Iraq the Cradle of Civilisation, the Land of Revelation and Christian faith :

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

"The mother stood in the middle and her beloved hanging to her fringes to save them from ravage; by the violence of the torments, the nursling took shelter against their mother's breast, and huddling against his nursing mum, the infant hid from the wrath." 442.10-13)

Yet, despite the disaster and catastrophe, nothing can be impossible for the valiant and the courageous. Miracles can occur and even God can revise His decrees. In the face of an egoistic, temperamental, narrow minded, a killer of hope, a troublemaker, a hearts' and a home' breaker so called prophet, Jonah, this destroyer of dreams, this digger of talents and beauty, but very conscious indeed of his own

image and reputation, the *Ninivites* have resisted from day number one, showing instead, tolerance, maturity, a rare open mindedness and a tranquil force in this battle of another sort, their king, in the front line of the battle giving the example. With what says Ephrem the resisting fighter in the mouth of the king of Assyria, in these verses one could almost hear the drums of the Assyrian legions beating, and see the whirlwinds of dust covering the Assyrian divisions in the plains of Mesopotamia :

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܪ

ܠܝܫܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

"Today, my beloved, it is not a battle,
 that here we are, ready to confront,
 to win as usual and to triumph as we please.
 For even the mighty,
 tremble hearing of the heroic deeds of Assyria
 We, (...) prevailed on multitudes."
 Our voice terrified kings,
 Many forts and citadels have we sapped,
 Nineveh is the matrix of every mighty
 A lioness in her den !

Assyria roared in the universe!" 446.2-8)

"Today ! there is no question to cede;

We shall combat!"

Let's fight like mighty

To not perish like cowards!" 446.9s)

The one who(...) battles and resists

If he dies, let him die like a hero,

and if he lives, he shall live like a victor !

Either a death of good fame,

Or a life of triumph!

Thus, the victor would benefit in return of two advantages :

Victor and courageous he shall be!

Besides, two evils shall inherit the one who cedes ;

for a permanent death, shall be his shame

and throughout his life he'll be damned with an ill fame!

To arms, and let's have courage !

Let's gather our forces and we shall triumph.

Let's use a secret weapon !" 446.23s)

"In battles you prevailed over mighty kings!

Triumph (...) now!

May your legions spring up now to deliver combat (...)

Arm yourselves!

It is nothing the victories you won in the wars !

"Today, if we triumph,

Our victory shall be the mother of all victories.

And me, who always have been present

In the front line of every battle and every combat,

Me, myself, I shall be in the front line of this decisive battle!

So, follow my example, O my beloved armies!" 450.1-9)

Ephrem a tender and an extremely sensitive character :

But on the other hand, Ephrem writings unveil prairies of bounties, breezes of graces, paths of tenderness, letters of love, of joy and of the felicity for living :

ܐܢܬ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܐܝܬ

"Rejoice with us son of Mathai" 460.2)

ܐܢܬ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܐܝܬ

« It is enough for you to have rejoiced the angels. » 460.12)

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"On earth, you should rejoice, for God rejoiced in heavens" 460.12s).

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"The graceful weeping of the toddlers made the whole Citadel weep !" 442.4)

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"Saddened sons, be consoled !" 444.3)

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"Who could face the bitter weeping of the youth " 445.17)

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"Every one kissed his friend, and wept against his bosom!" 457.1s)

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

"They aligned the young boys and the young girls and their cries attained the heights of the skies" 457.13)

Ephrem was a refined aesthete, a fully fledged artist and a musician in the innermost of his being :

Some of Ephrem's astonishing and prodigious verses are only to be equalled with the Arab language wonders of the

Koran. Every letter tinkles and jingles, every word sings, rings, chinks and clings..The verses are haunting, the inner music is ravishing. It is an absolute delectation for the ears. Ephrem describing the Ninivites outstanding affliction :

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

המחבר והמחברת

"During these six weeks, even the dead were resting from their duties, while the Ninivites were living and in their life, they were dead but unburied!" 459.1s)

[illegible]

הנהגתו של השר לא נכונה.

ਸਦਾਕਾ ਤੇ ਸਦਾਕਾ ਸਦਾਕਾ ਸਦਾਕਾ

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಸಹಕಾರದೊಡನೆ

ಎಲ್ಲ ಕಡೆಗಿಂತ ಕೂಡಾ ಅದರ ಕಿರಣವು ಹೆಚ್ಚು

"Even the ear couldn't distinguish

a voice from another voice

Neither the eye could differentiate a face from another face. !

To tenebrous shadows

They resembled because of suffering!

Like consumed burnt iron

They became by this fast intense!

Withered away their bodies were, never slept, awake !

And become skin and debris of cadavers." 459. 4-7)

The words and terms used by Ephrem in his metrical technique are to serve his secret melodies. Hear Ephrem speaking about the repentance of the Ninivites:

ܠܡܢ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܕܢܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Who prayed like this ?

Who besought like this ?

Who humiliated himself like this?

Who, threw himself like this, his face against the dust ?

Who stripped himself down like this, of his vices. Those hidden or apparent?

Who decided and got rid of his pleasures

Like of his limbs?

Who, through hearing only a voice, got his heart torn for his sins ?

Who heard a word uttered by a mouth and sighed in his reason ?

Who, through the voice of a feeble human was haunted by vertigo of death ?

Who saw God with his eyes proper, through repentance?

Who saw the righteous unsheathing his secret sword?

Who saw the Citadel immense, cry and weep entirely?"
445.6-15)

This text of Ephrem is a pure jewel. The gentle outpouring and effusion of his melodies are irresistible. His prosody uses terms in harmony with the sense, the cadence, and the successions of sounds and syllables. He changes the melodies on purpose, to keep you nervous and anxious and not abandon yourself to the ecstasy of the words only. He plunges us in an enchanting environment where the words are born anew, move, hug each other, rain and rush towards the pen of the immense Mesopotamian author.

Assonances, alliteration, translucent and transparent rimes and chimes, what an art and what a fluid

technique of the Harp of the Syrians ? Truly ! Sometime we really believe seeing legions of angels whispering to Ephrem, the precise word for the exact context, inflaming his pen and blowing the wind into the sails of our imagination, cradling us for a peaceful and delicious slumber. Ephrem Syriac language flows like a limpid fountain. Ephrem doesn't search for words, words gush and rush like a torrent in his throat, in secret tunes and harmonies. You just vibrate and jubilate with each word, every letter, every rhythm. The states of your souls, your inner ragas or *maqamat* capsize, staggered and shattered they are.

ܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

"Dense dark clouds and tempests of dust ! Intense and hoarded up pernicious darkness!

Thunders exploded one against the other, and their echo hit and knocked each other resounding! " 458.3-6)

In this very verse ܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ and in its response of 7 metric feet each, Ephrem uses the guttural consonant *Ai'n* ܐ seven times. To declaim it, gives a deliberate impression of suffocation and sighs :

ܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

«More and more ferocious the lightning were; what a terror and torn apart hearts ! Every body stared at the land, believing, ruined, it already was" 458.6) "They lamented and wept on each other, like people vanished out of a sudden." 458.6s)

Ephrem was a great pedagogue.

Ephrem knew how to detach himself and keep his distance in rapport to his emotions when it was necessary to help and give support :

ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

"Parents didn't want to increase the suffering of their children" 442.27) ;

ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

"They reprimanded their tears, they controlled their emotions" 443.1s)

ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

"they were scared to tell the truth to their children" 443.3) ;

ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

"Like us parents, we scold you by love !" 443.20s)

Ephrem knew that the roots of every evil is ignorance and devoted all his life for teaching and instructing:

ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

"Have given Him praise too, their schools, for their premises were deserted." 464.8)

ܐܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"The parents also gave Him praise for a greater hope was granted to their children" 464.9s)

ܐܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"Have given Him praise the children, for they got out to learn and to play." 464. 14)

The accentuated verses with equal length, suffice to each other and can be understood independently from each other. They are easy to learn by heart. Here is where reside the pedagogy of Ephrem. Not only was he willing to convey a message but he wanted to engrave this message in the memory if not in the heart of his listeners. A great orator, he wanted to convince and drag the crowds. Ephrem is eloquent just as some women are beautiful. He excels in this elegant art and drags his listener to boiling secret melodies and caressing rhymes.

Ephrem could have been a psychiatrist in our days. Considering Jonah's character and analysing the prophet's personality, the King of Assyria discussed Jonah's case with his top advisers :

ܐܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

" The insolence can be mistaken, has (Jonah's) folly been taken into account ?" 447.21s)

Ephrem was a sociologist :

ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ

"The king armed men and women without any exception."
453.6)

ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ

ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ

and : *" Some are seduced by the treasures and others are frightened by the sword. Some are terrified by the punishment and some others are flattered by presents !"* 448. 3s)

Ephrem was fully aware of the constraints and the contingencies of any profession :

ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ

« Although the healer is not afraid, he is dependant on his salary. » 449.4s)

The women in Ephrem texts, have an important role to play in the society and behave in a responsible way :

ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܢܐ

"The Assyrian women didn't want to be detrimental to the public interest." 441.16)

Ephrem was a **diplomat**. Listen to what the Assyria king says to his advisors in the crisis meeting where the nation existence is at great risk :

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

"We must not disdain the voice of Jonah! We should not take his prediction thoughtlessly. We should analyse it with intelligence and scrutinize it from every side!" 447.18-20);

Ephrem was a tactician :

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

"Using seduction and torments, we put Jonah to test !" 448.5);

a strategist :

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

ܐܚܝܡ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܒܝܬ

"Let's forge a new weapon, for the new battle which is awaiting us! It is a secret combat, let's take a secret weapon!" 446.23).

Ephrem : a monk in love !

This is not a superfluous question or a frivolous talk !

Ephrem was an accomplished man and to be accomplished you ought to fall in love at least once in your life ! The texts are eloquent, and speak for themselves! To begin with, Ephrem tells his story of Nineveh with much love, he is fond of the Ninivites and embraces immediately their cause :

ܠܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

"He saw Assyria and despised profoundly that proud Jerusalem !" 456.18)

He is much, far too much embarrassed by Jonah the deserter, the fleeing, the hard heartened prophet and he scolds him bitterly :

ܡܬܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

"This cource' creeper should serve you as a master. Learn from it ! By this contemptible creeper, find out what is the taste of tenderness !" 461.10s)

For Ephrem, those who really love, really chastise :

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

"He had closed the door in their face, to know how many times have they knocked on it!" 440.20.)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

"And even you, you realised that it was by love that we threatened you. Even you, you understood it was by love that you suffered. " 443.13s)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

"By His rod, God shows us His love, by His torment He opens His treasure for us " 443.23s)

ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"If this is true for you , and that it is by love that we have punished you, how can we believe that it is not by love that God punishes !" 443.24s

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"The parents' love is small, compared with the lord's love for us." 444.2) ;

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"And their words ceased by the cries of their beloved (children.)" 442.26)

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"Thus learn beloved children from the experience of your torments." 443.17s)

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"Thus and with such discourses the Ninivites spoke unto their beloved." 444.8)

Practising beauty through playing the harp and devoted to its expression in his writings, and enduring its pressures on a daily basis, Ephrem the Harp of the Holy spirit, the deacon, the aesthete, the sensitive man, the man drunk with the Lord, appears to be also tormented by the beauty of the women :

ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

"The women held in contempt their beauty to not tempt the watchers." 441.16)

ܐܝܬܐ ܠܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"The ravishing Assyrian women didn't want to disturb the repentance of the City surrounded with ramparts. They didn't allow themselves that repentant be tormented." 441.18).

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"Flowers and buds of the marrow you consider more precious than infants and nursling" 461.19)

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"Who could bear the weeping of the brides ?" 445.19) ;

Ephrem uses the word beloved 13 times in his homilies

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"I urge you my beloved armies." 446.10)

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"It is a secret combat my beloved." 446.24)

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

"You have another hidden enemy, my beloved." 449.17)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"Thus get yourselves armed like me, you my beloved armies." 450.9)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"The king guided his armies towards living love, it is a sword which gives victory to the ones who hold it. " 453.4)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"They aligned the brides and the bridegrooms, and their voices were troubled with their tears" 457.12)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"Over there, the pupils couldn't see the shining colours of the face" 455.7,8)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"A fellow man met his friend et couldn't distinguish the features of his face" 459.3)

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

"Every one called his brother to get fully satisfied of his face". 458.9).

ܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܝܬܐ

Every one kissed his friend and cried on his bosom 457.2)

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"Everyone (...) moaned over his beloved 458.7) ;

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

Every one sighed so much over his beloved 458.21)

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"When the days were accomplished, they stood above the threshold of death holding each other !" 458.10s)

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"The brides returned to their bridal chambers." 454.26s)

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"The bridegrooms gave Him grace, for they returned to their bridal chambers and rejoiced." 464.20

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"Also, gave thanks to Him, the midwives for they were blessed by a multitude of nursing" 464.20s)

ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ

"The brides have given thanks to Him, for they returned and rejoiced." 464.20)

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"Even the one who breastfed, blessed Him, for on her breast, her little one looked at her in the eyes." 464.21)

ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"Even the fiancées have praised His grace for their returned to the wedding ceremonies." 464.22)

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"The nursling gave praise to Him for they were celebrated on the shoulders." 464.14s)

ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"She returned back and saw her beloved ones 465.8);

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"The Ninivites ravished with love the preacher !" 462.7)

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"He kissed them with affection 463.14);

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

"Blessed Who loves the righteous !" 465.26)

Ephrem was a public man. His biographer says that he was a harpist. He was most probably a painter too :

ܐܪ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ

"That the Lord is good and delicious, He can't destroy the image He created. The painter who paints an image, safeguards it with attention" 443.5s)

He directed a choir and accompanied the songs with his harp. He must've had a nice voice, he was eloquent and spoke in a high, mighty tone.

A complex being endowed with many contradictions and a great sensitivity, Ephrem was gripped too with a deep anguish :

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܠ ܝܦܐ

"Stupors of all kinds,

struck the inhabitants of the Citadel.

Horrible terrors,

Seized the entire Citadel.

Like a bird perched on thorns,
All the City was seized with torments.
The fort tossed around, trembling,
Like a reed shaken by the wind!" 456.1ss)
At the dawn, they never believed to see the dusk
and at the break of night
they never thought
they would see the rise of the day,
All the people, stood
on the edge of the grave, trembling !

One of the most powerful and most assiduous and constant of the inspirations which marked Ephrem's writings was the immense tenderness of God, permanently associated with the terror of the last Judgement and this door of Paradise. Ephrem, is said to have been disinherited by his father. It was the dread and the terror of this Great Day, so much recalled by the fervent prayers of the faithful, petrified of the idea to be abandoned at the Door : *ܠܝܠܬ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*

«Where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Mt. 22.13)

which Ephrem permanently mixes with his homilies, hymns and prayers :

The examples and references we mentioned in this paper speak for themselves and reveal certain aspects of the personality of this Mesopotamia imperceptible character who is at the same time so far and so close to us and whose writings seem so universal and comprehensible today for they are simply genuine and sprout truly from a heart overflowing with bounties and overwhelmed with humanity, thirsting for love, uncompromising and inflexible when it comes to taking up a challenge. Ephrem in this sense is a modern character for he expresses universal situations.

1) **BEDJAN (M.) *Breviarium Chaldaicum***, in three volumes, Paris, 1886-1887, reprinted in 1938 and reassembled in one volume in 2002 by the Chaldean Patriarcate, pp. 411 ; 438-462

2) Cf. Chaldean Breviary, opus cit. p. 2

3) Ibid. p. 21

4) Ibid p. 101

5) Ibid p. 148

Dr. Behnam Keryo of Nineveh is a musician, a sculptor and a calligrapher. He runs presently the institution **La Maison du Scribe** or **ܐܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ** based in France, promoting, inter alia, syriac language and literature, in cooperation with the French educational institutions and targeting youth and public at large. He translated two episodes of Tintin in syriac : **Tintin in America** and **The Blue Lotus**. Dr Keryo has produced a first cd of Chaldean chanting, **Songs Immortal** sponsored by the French ministry for culture. Two other Cds of **Songs on the Epic of Gilgames**, using oriental modes of music – *maqamat* - and funded by the French government too, are to see the light soon.

SEERI : ONE-DAY SEMINAR

Le chant Syriaque

Excellences, révérends pères, chers frères et sœurs,

Mon intervention sur le chant syriaque n'est qu'une petite introduction, plutôt liturgique qu'historique ou musicale.

Depuis toujours, le chant syriaque était un élément de base de la liturgie syriaque, mais jamais considéré à part, ou en soi. C'est pour cela je tiens à parler du chant syriaque et non de la musique syriaque. Cependant, le "rishgoudo" n'était pas celui qui connaissait la musique, mais celui qui savait les chants...

Un petit aperçu historique s'impose dans cette rapide lecture:

Selon notre tradition, le chant syriaque remonte au II - IIIème siècle à Bardesane (†222) et à St Ephrem (†373). Et à partir du Vème et du VIème siècle, St Jacques de Saroug, St Balai, St Isaac d'Antioche, Raboula, St Sévère d'Antioche et Siméon Qouqoyo, ont enrichi le répertoire hymnologique.

A St Ephrem on attribue surtout les "Mimre" et les "Madroche" ainsi que les "bo'woto" aux sept syllabes propres à lui. A St Jacques de Saroug sont attribuées les "bo'woto" aux 12 syllabes. A St Balai les "bo'woto" aux 5 syllabes. Quant aux Takhchfoto, elles furent introduites par Mar Raboula (†435). Et comme son nom l'indique, le "qolo dqouqoyo" est propre au diacre "Siméon Qouqoyo" (†514), et le "Ma'anito" à St Sévère.

Après ce bref schéma historique, passons aux caractéristiques du chant syriaque, que j'ai classifiées en sept points:

1- Relation entre parole et musique:

L'une des caractéristiques de la liturgie syriaque, c'est qu'elle est toute chantée. Il n'y a pas de parole, ni dans la récitation des psaumes ni dans les lectures, même durant les secrètes dites par le prêtre... qui n'est pas chantée ou accompagnée de chant, ou récitée en recto tono.

De même, comme pas de parole sans musique, pas de musique sans parole. Aujourd'hui on se sert d'instruments qui exécutent un petit morceau du début du chant pour donner l'intonation à la chorale, mais dans le temps, les syriaques se servaient de quelques paroles rythmées: "Moryo rahem 'alain w adarain" comme hirmus. En d'autres termes on se sert de paroles pour ajuster l'intonation musicale.

2- Richesse qualitative et quantitative:

Le chant syriaque est hyper riche de point de vue théologique spirituel et symbolique. Le contenu des chants est tellement condensé et conserve un trésor théologique non épuisé jusqu'à présent. Cette richesse est due aussi à la quantité énorme que nos bibliothèques et nos "beit Gaze" en témoignent. Les textes édités, entre Fanquito, Shimo et rituels, ne forment que le 10/100 du patrimoine inédit et manuscrit.

3- Simplicité:

Soit la mélodie soit les paroles du chant elles mêmes, sont caractérisées par une simplicité indiscutable. D'abord le chant est syllabique, chaque syllabe prend une ou deux notes musicales, avec un intervalle assez restreint et un mouvement conjoint. On ne trouve jamais au-delà de la quarte ou de la quinte. Dans cette parenthèse de la simplicité, notons aussi que le chant syriaque est monodique ou mélodique et n'a jamais été traité en polyphonie.

4- Variation rythmique

Malheureusement, la structure musicale du chant syriaque n'est pas profondément étudiée. Le gigantesque travail du Dom Jeannin

reste à achever par une étude rythmique qui, à mon avis, a des caractéristiques propres et très variées.

5- Rich Qole:

La mélodie du chant syriaque est strophique. Les strophes ont des métriques identiques qui varient d'un "Qolo" à un autre. Les chants sont classifiés selon leurs genres dans des "Qole" dont chacun, c.à.d. chaque "Qolo", a un titre bien défini dans le manuel de chants intitulé "Beit Gazo", pour servir de modèle. Cette technique est à la fois avancée et pratique vue le grand nombre de genres et de paragraphes qui sont choisis pour les heures de prière.

6- L'octoechus:

L'octoechus syriaque bien qu'il soit semblable à l'octoechus grecque, ne lui est pas identique ni en forme ni en contenu. Les syriaques se sont servis de l'octoechus pour classifier et repartir les chants tout au long de l'année liturgique avec une méthode créative qui respecte à la fois la diversité et le changement qui rampent la routine.

Là aussi, la structure des offices syriaques, est tellement variée et évite les répétitions même au niveau de l'exécution des chants. Parfois, quand il y a beaucoup de strophes à réciter, on peut changer de mélodie appartenant au même qolo exécuté, de façon de varier entre le 1 et le 5, 2 et 6, 3 et 7, 4 et 8.

Pour plus de variétés dans les mélodies, les syriaques ont aussi ce que nous appelons "Mshahelfe" c.à.d. changement, qui est une nouvelle mélodie dans la même métrique et le même mode, cela aide à redonner vie et chaleur à la prière loin de la monotonie.

Durant le cycle de l'année liturgique, l'octoechus permet de donner à chaque occasion une intonation et une atmosphère différente, en choisissant pour chaque dimanche ou fête la mélodie appropriée.

7- La variété des genres:

C'est là le grand trésor de la liturgie syriaque qui est fondée sur cette grande diversité de genres ou de types de chants.

a- Les Bo'utho:

Bo'utho signifie supplication. Ce genre très ancien est beaucoup employé et appartient à tous les offices. Il est exécuté d'après les huit modes, et chaque mode contient trois genres de bo'uoto différents: de St Jacques, de St Ephrem et de St Balai.

Avec le bo'utho nous avons 2 ou 3 mélodies secondaires appelées "Mchahelfe".

b- Les "Qole":

Le mot "Qolo" signifie "voix" et désigne une série de mélodies populaires fleuries au temps de Siméon le potier, qui en exerçant son métier il composait des mélodies motivantes et rythmiques. Le mérite revient à St Jacques de Saroug qui a recueilli ces hymnes et les a introduits dans l'usage liturgique.

Notons aussi l'étroite liaison qui lie ce genre de chants à la psalmodie qui précède les "qole". Primitivement, les psaumes composaient la plus grande partie de l'office, et petit à petit, les "Qole" commencent à prendre la place.

Sous ce titre sont regroupées plusieurs variétés de "Qole" divisées en 3 parties:

* Qole shahroye (de la vigile) qui contiennent 16 "Qole" formés chacun de huit modes souvent enrichis par

d'autres mélodies de saisons (surtout pour le carême et la semaine sainte)

* Qole Shhime (de chaque jour) comptent une trentaine de Qole formés eux aussi de huit modes, sont utilisés dans les offices en général, et surtout dans l'office quotidien du "shimo".

* Qole Gnize: ce sont quelques hymnes traitant des fins dernières.

c- Les "Madroche": (de St Ephrem)

Ce type de chant de St Ephrem a comme autre désignation le nom de "Seblotho" ou échelles. Les Madroche sont constitués par une série de strophes séparées par un "Ounitho" ou refrain.

A cote du Madrocho, il faut signaler le "Soughito" qui est un Madrocho dialogué et populaire, et est exécuté de la même façon du Madrocho.

d- Les "Enione"

C'est un élément psalmodique de premier rang. Ce sont des échos directs aux psaumes, ou plus strictement des réponses. L'hymnologie d'Édesse comprenait une série de strophes séparées par un refrain. On appliqua ce système à la récitation de psaumes.

Une des caractéristiques des Enione c'est qu'ils se terminent toujours par une petite acclamation identique: More khoul rahem 'alain".

e- Les Mawrbe:

Ce sont les hymnes qui succèdent au cantique de la Vierge, le Magnificat.

f- Les Qonoune Yawnoye:

Ce sont à leur tour des ornements autour des psaumes comme les Enione. Et comme leur nom l'indique, ils sont traduits du grec du VIII au Xème siècle qui furent la période d'or des mélodes grecques.

Quitte à signaler que ces traductions du grec en syriaque n'ont pas de métrique.

g- Takhchfoto: (attribuées en grande partie à St Raboula)

Ce sont des supplications dont leur rôle est devenu très restreint dans la liturgie syriaque. Un très grand appauvrissement a touché ce genre. De près de cinq cent chants primitifs, nous ne conservons aujourd'hui qu'une quarantaine.

h- Les tawsfotho:

Leur nom signifie "des ajouts". Ils groupent les chants de la Messe, des ordinations et d'autres occasions comme l'accueil de l'évêque...

i- Les autres genres:

Les anciennes collections d'hymnes contiennent d'autres genres de chants que nous n'avons presque plus rien aujourd'hui,

còmme les Shouboho, Ma'nitho droze, Ma'nitho dqourobo, Qatismatis..

Cette petite introduction au chant syriaque, n'est qu'une modeste participation au festival "Mazmour - 2011". J'ai l'honneur d'être avec vous et je suis content que le monde syriaque nous rassemble. Je tiens à remercier l'institut de SEERI, pour son accueil chaleureux, et spécialement au P. Jacob Thekeparampil, son directeur, pour tout ce qu'il accomplit pour l'Eglise Syriaque.

(From the speech made by P. Antoine NASSIF, Director, Patriarchal Major Seminary, Charfet, Lebanon in the 39th One-day Seminar conducted in SEERI on 19th Feb. 2011)

Maronite Sacred Music

The Maronite Sacred chant is one of the church's oldest and richest chants ever to be created. It discusses the history of a people who fought for their faith, despite all the consequences that may have been incurred in the endeavor to maintain their ancestral beliefs and heritage.

Their spirituality is the one of asceticism, repentance and forgiving, even musically throughout repetition to acquire the spiritual trance.

The uniqueness of this chant is that it is common and within the capacity of all the people.

The texts of the chants contained the dogmas of their faith, which was not only kept in books, but in hymns handed down through generations via oral tradition.

The Maronite chant is embedded in the roots of the people and symbolizes its social and cultural development and its spiritual and heritage changes.

This music was developed with the blending of cultures which was in contact with it, but the musical heritage was not altered.

The modern Maronite musical chant was integrated through the hymns in the Mass, and in the new rituals ceremonies, particularly the benedictions (Ziyyahat).

Furthermore, with the foundation of the Christian media, this chant was integrated into the world of televisions and radios.

1) The division of the Maronite Sacred Music

The repertoire of chants, used in the Syro-Maronite Church, is very diversified. Close observation reveals six groups which are distinct in origin, nature, and traditional significance.

There are many ways to divide the repertoire of the Maronite Sacred music. It can be distributed according to the language of the chants (i.e., Syriac, Arabic and other languages), or to their music

(i.e., Syriac melody and its development, the foreign melody and its affect, and the personal melody), or to their performance (i.e., melody for common people, solo improvisation melody and written or recorded personal melody).

The following division of the repertoire of the Maronite Sacred chant, which we also follow, works on having all components of this melody:

- 1-The Syro-Maronite Chant
- 2-The Maronite Chant in Arabic (Formal and Dialectal)
- 3-The Maronite Chant in various languages
- 4-The Improvised Melodies
- 5-The Foreign Melodies (or Outsider Melodies)
- 6-The Personal Melodies

1.1- The Syro-Maronite Chant:

It is the original and base of Maronite Chant. It is common as it relies on poetical verses, outstanding musical and prayer sentences.

Its most important characteristics are as follows:

- The texts are always in the Syriac language. The melodies are ancient and date back to the first centuries of Christianity.
- It preserved the initial melodies of the Syriac church without being influenced by Arabic, Turkish or Western music. It still maintains some of the common heritage, with the melodies of other Syriac churches.
- It is a periodic and poetic melody (strophic chant) based on simile rish-qolo (model strophe). The melody is adapted to a large number of verses whose meter is most often uniform.
- It is syllabic chant, with the exception of its ending and some of its sentences which are expressed as two musical notes for each syllable.
- Its musical notes proceed generally by adjacent (graduated) movement.

- The rhythm of the melody is based on the syriac poetic rhythm, which is known for its richness and variable, even in the same melody with different strophic text.

- Its music range is restrained; in general it does not bypass four or five musical notes.

- There is no direct relation between the text and the melody, but there are melodies that reflect the ambience of the occasions, such as Christmas and Passion of Christ. It is a circumstantial chant.

- The syro-maronite chant is monodic, and having no polyphony or harmony.

- The musical scale is not tempered; but the beauty of this chant does not decrease if interpreted on the tempered scale.

- The inappropriate performance of this chant causes disfiguration permitting its transformation from a calm and prayerful melody to a dancing melody.

- The traditional Syro-Maronite Chant is anonymous. The personal Maronite composition appeared at the end of the seventeenth century.

- There is a relationship and similarity especially between it and the ancient chant of Syriac Churches, the Lebanese folklore songs and other neighboring regions.

- It was only used with rhythmic metallic instruments such as double cymbals, the large cymbal, the naqus and the maraweh.

- This Chant seems easy and simple in appearance, but it is difficult to imitate. In spite of its simplicity it is very difficult to imitate or perform without being involved in the ambience of prayer or reverence.

- It is composed according to the centonization (composing melodies from predetermined melodic formulas integrated with each other) and the adaptation either by identical reproduction (application of an existing melody to a new text) or by accommodation (when the application of a melody to a new text requires particular modifications like addition or subtraction of articulated notes).

Syro-Maronite Chant is found in the following liturgical books:

- " The Daily Office (Shhimto)
- " The Festival Office (Fanqito)
- " The Holy Week Office (Haso)
- " The Funeral Offices
- " The Ritual (Book of Benedictions)
- " The Sacramentary
- " The Pontifical
- " The Syriac Mass

1.2- The Maronite Chant in Arabic language

The Maronite Chant in Arabic is diversified in its melody and text. It is composed of:

- The Syro-Maronite-Arabic chant whose poetry has been translated to the dialectal Arabic language,
- The updated Syro-maronite chant that uses the written Arabic language gradually,
- The chant that is influenced by the Arabic songs, the muwashshahat and Turkish music,
- The melody that is influenced by the old and modern western music.

The Syro-Maronite-Arabic is uniquely formed by the procedure of adapting a Syro-Maronite melody to an Arabic text. This adaptation may take one of three possible forms: identical reproduction, accommodation, or refashioning.

1.2.1-The Syro-Maronite-Arabic chant:

It is the Syro-maronite chant that was translated to the dialectal language. Some translations or compositions were sometimes not successful according to the rules of the Arabic language, poetry or the Arabic pronunciation. In terms of its components, it looks more similar to the Syriac Chant and language than to the classic Arabic language.

Aleppo (Syria) had a major role in translating the Syriac prayers and chants to Arabic. The manuscript number 86 in the Library of the monastery of Sts. Peter and Marceline in Rome of the Maronite Mariamite Congregation contains the translated chants of the mass, done by the Bishop Abdallah QARAALI.

The Syro-Maronite-Arabic Chant is found in the Mass, the Benedictions and the Canticles. The texts are in the Maronite dialect of Arabic, but the melodies are Syriac or of Syriac origin.

1.2.2-The Chant that has updated the Syro-Maronite Chant or has been influenced by it

It is a chant that updates musical sentences of a Syro - Maronite melody in a way that maintains its components. This chant came after the use of the formal Arabic language which has many syllables. Because of its progressive evolution towards classical or literary Arabic, Maronite-Arabic necessarily had to increase the number of its vocal signs and consequently the number of its syllables. This brought about certain occasional modifications of the original Syro-Maronite melody, called Accommodation. (i.e. from the melody "Ho qtylo" the melody "Ya sha°by wa sahby" was originated. From the melody "Emar qayso", the melody "Qamat Maryam" was originated, etc). This chant is distinguished from the Syro-Maronite melody by the expansion of its musical range, by the variety and the length of its musical sentences, in addition to its Arabic language.

1.2.3-The Chant that has been influenced by the folk songs:

This chant is similar to the chant influenced by the Syro-Maronite music. Either it integrates with the folk songs in one melody, or it is influenced by one of the common folk melodies, such as "Haykalo" & "In Saadat Azraya", or "Ya Luru hubuki" & "Salatuki maana".

1.2.4-The Chant that has been influenced by the eastern songs (Arabic and Turkish):

It is a spectacular chant by voices and melodies. Its goal is to move out of the traditional melodies and to create new melodies or to take it from the Arabic and Turkish music. As a pretext it is to be

up to date with the art evolution of the Arabic society, and to exhibit the skills and talents of the musicians. This chant requires a specific vocal ability, and sometimes specific vocal technique higher than the vocal ability of the faithful. The characteristics of this chant are as follows:

- Long musical sentences
- Creation and performance according to the rules of Arabic musical maqam-s and their influence.
- The range of the chant reaches all the vocal scale.
- It is melismatic chant and not syllabic.
- There is no direct relation between this chant and the texts.
- Its trance is an attempt to put a base to the ecclesiastical trance, which is based on the beautiful and outstanding melody. The musical sentences are repeated in a manner that may affect the text in order to let the melody flowing.
- The lack of the traditional way to sing psalms in Syriac language encouraged to create new melodies performed by chanters with beautiful voices (or group of deacons or the choir).
- The Maronites of Aleppo were the first to begin this way of composing and chanting, after that, this way was spread through all Maronite churches where many followed their approach in composing and performance.

1.2.5-The chant that has been taken or influenced by western melodies (i.e. from Gregorian and European folk songs):

It is the chant that missionaries brought with them from France and Italy. They translated the original texts to Arabic or created Arabic poems while maintaining the original melodies. These new melodies spread throughout the entire Catholic churches, especially the Maronite Church who accepted in its ritual some new rites.

This chant is known sometimes by its "failing melodies" showing shallow spirituality similar to poetic texts (i.e. Wa habibi). Fr Jean PARISOT has stated that the less qualified European melodies are

the most accepted in the Eastern Catholic Churches. Later, several have attempted to create new melodies for these chants leaving the original versions and keeping the same texts, for example: "Lazza wasfak" (chant for St Joseph), or changing the texts while observing the same metric such as "Ziyyah al-Qurbane" (Saint Sacrament Benediction) etc.

1.2.6-The twentieth century Chant:

The twentieth century Chant branches out into many groups. Some chants are dignified and according to the church style, while others are commercial and have nothing to do with the church. It can be summarized as follows:

1.2.6.1- The chant that has been influenced by eastern music:

This chant expresses the influence of eastern music on the Maronites and their way to sing hymns and to interpret their traditional musical scales. Some of this chant bypasses the church's style to reach the Arabic trance. Sometimes the texts are sacrificed in order to keep the succession of the melody sentences.

This way is acceptable if texts were respected and if it does not exceed the Church's "trance" where music grants the ambience of reverence, meditation and spirituality.

From these hymns, we mention Lakad Shahadna for Youssef KHOURY, Bimarahimi r-rabbi for Jean AOUN, and Hasbi an akoun for Youssef TANNOUS.

1.2.6.2- The chant that has been influenced by popular melodies:

This chant may lack reverence, meditation and the ambience of prayers. It reminds the performer and the audience of its original ambience. The composer (arranger) of this kind of hymns setup texts for melodies that was discovered or heard, such as the hymns Anti sh-shafi'u l-akramu which was originally Ah ya zein, or the hymn Wa habibi taken from the French hymn Lorsqu'un Dieu daigne répandre where it was originated from the love opera La serva padrona for the composer Giovanni Battista PERGOLESI (1710-1736)

1.2.6.3- The chant that has been influenced by the Syriac melodies:

This chant is the best ever. The composer initiates from a Syriac melody and develops it, or adds to it, depending on the musical technique whether western or eastern. The first to initiate these steps was Fr. Youssef KHOURY:

- i.e. the hymn Binurika nara n-nur: he took the melodies of the first and third verses from the Syriac melody Bnuhrokh hozenane, and he added to it the music of the second strophe Ayouha l-qudusu which is a composed melody influenced by the Syriac style.

- The hymn Lil-Masihi Yasouh for Fr. Louis HAGE was built also on the Syriac melody Bnuhrokh hozenan. Furthermore, the hymn Ya raj?'a l-ab?' composed by Fr. Youssef TANNOUS contained the opening of Christmas Maronite melodies (Mariam Sururuki, Arsal Allah, Shubho l-haw qolo).

1.2.6.4- The chant that has been influenced by western melodies:

This trend started especially at the beginning of the 1970s and it was marked by its disorganization and ignorance of the church melody. This feature would have succeeded if it was organized and directed.

Nevertheless, it appeared to have an interest in the church and its melodies. These melodies do not rely on the church's base and do not respect the hymn's texts, but uses modern composing styles and modern musical instruments.

As an example, I quote the trend of jazz, the light and new melodies in the jazz mass of Antelias (Lebanon), or Fr Mansour LABAKI's melodies and others. Even though some of the composers of the light melodies have pointed out that there are spiritual songs, some have used it without merit as church melodies.

There are numerous arbitrariness and composing experiments on these melodies. It skips the mind of its composer and its inserter in the liturgical celebrations that the church is not an experimental field.

1.2.6.5- Polyphonic's chant:

This is another trend that appeared in the 20th century. Some is feasible which respected the Syriac melody, its spirituality and its musical style, such as Shubho l-rahmayk for Fr. Youssef KHOURY; where other chants are used for some special occasions or musical concerts more than for Maronite church hymns, such as Iqoro d-Lebnon (Glory of Lebanon) for Fr. KHOURY.

The purpose of this kind of chant, in general, is to show the musical skills of the composer, it is more like "Mass concert". This trend hit Europe especially in the 18th and 19th centuries.

1.3- The Maronite chant in various languages:

This chant is of two types:

1.3.1- Maronite chant texts translated from Syriac and Arabic or written on Syriac melody metrics to languages used by countries where Maronites exist: For example English with Fr. Joseph KAMAR in the USA, Fr. Geoffrey ABDALLAH in Australia; Greek with Fr. Joseph GEORGIOU in Cyprus; Spanish with Fr. Yaacoub BADWI; etc.

1.3.2- New melodies were taken from the music of the countries of the Maronite widespread or composed in their styles that were incorporated in the Maronite liturgy to suit the language of the countries abroad of the Maronite community and their cultures.

(I mention here Fr. Geoffrey ABDALLAH in Australia and Fr. Joseph GEORGIOU in Cyprus).

1.4- Improvised melody

This chant relies on immediate performance, without any preparation taking into consideration the liturgy ambience and the melody that precede the improvisation. In general we can distinguish two types of the improvised melody:

1.4.1-The Improvisation of a known melody

The basic melody of this improvisation is clear and known. Hence, the improvisation is bound by a fixed or traditional musical

melody's structure, for example Ya um Allah, or it is like an ornament and personal feelings and developments of a rhythmic melody, for example Ana l-umu l-hazinah.

The cantor tries to re-create the melody. This requires an interpretation and vocal and musical ornaments, special for each cantor coming from his vocal and artistic ability.

1.4.2- The Improvisation with maximum liberty

It is based on the musical scale chosen by the cantor who can begin also from previous melody as a base for his performance. However, he has multiple choices for his performance and he is not bound by any melody or tone.

This requires a vocal and artistic skill in choosing the tunes and the musical maqam-s. We mention for this kind of Improvisation Hamunzu l-?ne (psalm 133), Kunu fi l-sukut (Remain silent) and the hussoyo (prayer of forgiveness), etc.

It is an improvised melody inside out; no two people are similar on the base of its interpretation and melodies, in addition the performer himself does not repeat the texts improvised, neither in the same way nor the same melody. This is an indication on the maximum liberty of improvisation similar to the Arabic-Turkish-Persian music.

The lack of the spiritual and liturgical and musical education allows some to imitate singers in their performance and musical texts, which makes prayers as songs with the same music, just exchanging the church's text with another and vice versa.

This chant is one of the most difficult, because it requires a spiritual, musical and lingual preparation by its cantor, especially the priests, as they are involved in this subject more than the deacons.

Improvised melodies are created by the soloists-priest, deacon, or cantor. The texts may be in Syriac or Arabic.

1.5- The foreign melodies or that has been influenced by the West and the East

1.5.1- These melodies are taken from:

1.5.1.1- Western melodies (Latin and European):

The Latin missionaries have brought their melodies to the Eastern churches since the 17th century; the texts were translated from foreign languages, or composed directly in Arabic, to be sung on the original melodies.

The people have accepted these chants, because their hymns were still in Syriac, which no one understands anymore.

1.5.1.2- Eastern melodies (Arabic and Turkish):

The Maronites have taken these melodies from the Arabic and Turkish cultures or influenced by their styles, as they discovered in it a musical movement similar to their Eastern preference, or at least it was spread throughout their society and widely accepted.

On the other hand, the Maronites have created spiritual poetry for some of these known and famous melodies, to be used in religious occasions or in recreational time, to be useful by the listener and the performer. This is what it is called pastiches (al-mu3aradat).

Furthermore, they composed melodies similar to the ones they liked into the Arabs and Turks. The city of Aleppo was known for this style, and had transferred it to Lebanon. The oldest musical heritage printed in musical notes for these melodies are Qustas al-Mazameer dated back to 1901, to which we found an old manuscript in western score in the Maronite Library of Aleppo (#1059).

It is dated back to Emile BOTQ who transcribed Maronite hymns and psalms that were frequently sang in Aleppo.

Bishop Germanos FARHAT is the first Maronite known to start composing psalms and hymns, their use was discussed in both maronite synods of Qannubeen 1755 and Beqaata 1756.

Foreign melodies are found in some Benedictions and among the Canticles. The texts are in classical Arabic.

1.5.2- *Where can we find these chants?*

These chants are found in the mass and in the new Maronite processions and novenas. There are many books and manuscripts which contain these chants, most importantly:

- Spiritual Hymns books printed by the Jesuits, Capuchins, Carmelites and Franciscans, etc. since 1863; .

- Fr. Jean PARISOT's book which contains the scores of the Syro-Maronite melodies and some western melodies, in 1899;

- Qustas al-Mazameer (psalms book) in 1899;

- Kit?b al-ladhdhat al-haqyqiyat fy al-tar?nym al-r?hiyat (the book of true pleasure in spiritual hymns) for Fr. Boulos al-ASHQAR, in 1928.

- In the manuscript of the psalms written in musical notes, manuscript #1059 in Aleppo Maronite library;

- The manuscript of the melodies of the Syro-Maronite Church, for Brother Marie-Andrée ash-SHABTINI, in 1924.

1.6- **Personal melody:**

The personal melodies are composed by known people. It is "new" melodies, monodic or polyphonic. It is not all on the one level of perfection and originality; some of it, is good and liturgically accepted, while other is less perfect and liturgically rejected;

Some of it is a prayer melody while other is an exhibitionist and distracter melody. Furthermore, it neither uses the same style, nor has the dedication to maintain the Maronite Musical identification.

The number of the Personal melodies is constantly growing. Influenced by many kinds of foreign inspiration and technique, they are manifestly varied and heterogeneous.

The original inspiration of these melodies, its written styles and its characteristics are different and numerous. We cannot call it all Maronite melodies, even though it was used in some of the Maronite churches, as many of its composers do not know the heritage and the liturgy.

It exist variable types of personal melody:

- There are composed chants influenced by Syriac, or by classical Arabic music, or by classical western music. In addition, there is the spiritual song which copy (or imitate) the light music, it should not be used in liturgical celebrations.

- The spiritual song is a song with a spiritual subject which is used for radios and televisions or for activities other than the liturgy celebrations; it is neither for church's hymn nor for liturgy celebrations. It does not have a specific identity, nor a known form, and neither restraints on the theology, liturgy and music.

- Many of it was entered into the church because of the ignorance of the people and some parish priests. It is a threat to heritage and identity, and as fast as it spreads, it will disappear.

- Personal or original melodies are especially found in the liturgy of the Mass and in some Benedictions and Canticles. The texts are in classical Arabic. The melodies are of recent composition.

2) Composing techniques

Using an already classical terminology, we can divide the melodies in Maronite music, according to their methods of composition, into four principal categories: adapted melodies, "centonic" [patchwork] melodies, personal melodies, and improvised melodies.

2.1- Identical Reproduction

It is the identical reproduction of a Syriac or western or eastern melody as it is, while adding new text. For example: Bnuhrokh hozenan melody, and the hymn Ya Yassu3u rabbana.

2.2- Adaptation

The adapted melodies are formed when the composer, having to put a melody to a new text, uses an extant traditional melody which he adapts, with such modifications as are necessary, to the new text.

This operation requires sometimes minor changes in the melody, and some others large modifications.

2.2.1- Application

The application is doing minor changes to the melody to suit a text which originally does not fit. For example: the melody of Firme dkhayo and the hymn Iqbal ya wadda t-ta'ibeen, or the melody of Dahto lo nehte and the hymn Hubuki ya Mariam.

2.2.2- Accomodation

The accommodation takes place when there is a large change in a melody to suit a text. For example: the melody of Emar qayso and the hymn Qamat Mariam, or the melody of Ho qtylo b-mesrene and the hymn Ya shaabi w sahbi.

2.2.3- Modification

The modification relies on the changes in the musical scale (maqam) and the way of performance: changes such as from "major" to rast, with the addition of various kinds of Arabic ornamentations in singing, or changes in the musical sentences.

The modification can be a shortening of the long musical sentences similar to what Fathers Boulos Ashqar and Youssef Ashqar accomplished in the melodies of Qustas al-Mazameer (for example qalbi musta°edun, bisirri qiyamat, etc).

a- 1st example, melodic sentence modification: "Anti ch-chafee°u l-akramu" and "Ah ya Zein"

b- 2nd example, scale modification: "Lazza wasfak"

c- 3rd example, shortening of the melody: "Majdu Mariam"

2.3- Centonization

The centonization is a technique where new melodies are composed throughout using, choosing and reorganizing existing musical sentences. It is like an assemblage.

The 'centonic' melodies are formed by an eclectic procedure. The composer does not take an existing melody from the fund of traditional music, but takes little melodic formulas which he arranges or adjusts or juxtaposes, according to special rules, in order to make a new melody.

It is possible for one sentence to be in many melodies and with different musical sentences and in many orders. This is a basic point in the composing techniques of the Syro-Maronite chant.

2.4- The Improvisation

The improvisation in the chant is based on the instantaneous composition of the musical melodies while singing a specific text. It is a kind of musical composition which is equally important as the already written composition or those previously prepared.

The improvised melodies are formed by a special procedure using traditional guidelines, which takes into account personal creation and, in varying degrees, adaptation or centonization.

Its free singing, rely on the vocal and artistic ability of the performer, and remembering few musical sentences in his memory, without a specific rhythm, except the text one.

2.5- Innovation

It is based on the creation of new melodies. Those melodies can be in a specific way or style chosen by the composer, according to his inspiration, his art and his knowledge.

The personal melodies are formed by free and personal procedures which are the product of the composer's talent.

3) Characteristics of the Modern Maronite Chant

3.1- Relationship between the text and the music

There is no direct relation between the text and the music, but it is possible for some composers to reveal the text ambience throughout their music or the chosen music style.

Some composers tend to reveal a word by using a technique that ties an important word by a specific musical sentence (leitmotiv), which accompanies it whenever it is mentioned in the chant (i.e. "Wa akhla zataho" for Fr. Youssef KHOURY).

3.2- Melodies of liturgical periods

There is no direct relation between the text and the melody, but

there are melodies which belong to specific occasions and performed only during it. There are melodies for Christmas, others for the Passion of Christ, etc., providing the specific ambience.

The melody "Arsal Allah" for example, is only used during the Christmas period, the melody "Ya Shaabi w Sahbi" is only used during the Passion of Christ period and every Friday in the procession of the cross during the lent period.

3.3- Monodic and melodic chant

This chant is mostly monodic, even though there are some polyphonic musical chants, personal or copied from the western music, but its use is restricted to professional choirs, and not for parish choir nor for public.

3.4- Popular melody

It is a popular chant available for everybody, except some of it that is only used for professional choirs and which it is from personal melodies style.

3.5- Syllabic and melismatic chant

The Maronite chant became melismatic with the personal melodies since the time of Bishop FARHAT, after being syllabic with Syro-Maronite melodies.

3.6- Adopting both the Arabic and the western scales

This chant adopts the both Arabic and western scales according to the composer style, and getting far away from the old Syro-Maronite scale, which does not obey the rules of both of these scales. Maronite melody is diatonic and not chromatic.

3.7- Large ambitus

The ambitus of this chant is large, especially in the personal melodies. The influence of the Arabic and Western musical is clear in the developed melodies compared with the Syro-Maronite melodies.

In the elongated melodies which they could not perform as it is, the faithful found a way to sing it. They decreased the high scales, and divided the melodies into two parts; the becoming lower part

was performed as is, and the becoming lowest was lifted one octave (i.e. Ya khaliqa l-akwane).

3.8- The church's trance

The Maronite hymns have transferred from the austere melodies into the musical spreading and vocal ornaments affected by the Arabic songs, which were spread first by the Maronites of Aleppo in their solo performance.

3.9. Texts

The old texts for the Arabic Maronite melodies were closer to the dialectal language, joined elements from both the Syriac and the Arabic languages. As for the new texts, they are in the formal Arabic, even though few new composers did not respect its rules in their compositions.

3.10- Faithful doctrine in the hymns

The Maronite hymns carried the Maronite faithful. It was at the same time glorification for God and educational for people. For example: the strophe Numajjidak... of Arsal Allah:

"We glorify You, who appeared, through His Mother, remaining man

In the union of two natures and two wills in one person.

To You, Your Father and the Holy Spirit inevitable thanks

Three persons, One God not divided"

3.11- The singing between two choirs

The Maronite chants are generally performed in between two choirs in order to rest the voices of chanters and the audio of listeners by changing the tone of vocal performance and to allow meditation while respecting the silence.

3.12- The choirs

The choirs replaced the solo performer (i.e. deacons) who marked a phase in the Maronite hymn's history. The number of choirs has increased during the ending of the 20th century, some were only for the parish service and some were professionals.

Their role aimed to guide and help people in praying and sharing more in celebration (and not replacing them), adding festivity to the liturgical prayers, according to what is mentioned in the Maronite Office: "In harmony raise your voices".

4) The musical instruments in the Maronite chant

The traditional Maronite chant was accompanied only by rhythmic metallic instruments during the solemnity celebrations: double cymbals, the large cymbal, the naqus and the maraweh:

- The double cymbals, which have long been in use, can be of different sizes.
- The large cymbal consists of one suspended disc which is struck with a drumstick.
- The naqus can be single or double. The latter is formed of two metallic hemispheres connected to a stem which serves as a handle. It is played with a metallic drumstick. Its tone reminds one of the triangles.
- The maraweh, plural for marwaha, is a metallic disc having at its periphery some small pieces of metal. The disc is fixed to a wooden handle, about one-meter in length. To the handle is sometimes fixed a colorful flag.

Fr. Vincenzo VANNUTELLI confirmed that in 1884, these instruments alone were used to accompany the Maronite chant in the Lebanese Mountain area.

The western influence in the instrumental accompanying of the chant started at Aleppo in March 30, 1631, when the Carmelites organized the 40 hours prayer for St. Joseph and they ended it by a procession where French musicians played.

The first organ in the Maronite Church was brought from Paris to Aleppo in 1869, ordering by Bishop Youssef MATAR, it was STOLTZ make, and it cost forty thousand French francs other than the cost of its assembly.

Since that time little by little, the tradition of using the harmonium and organ had spread in the Maronite churches, without clearly knowing till now, the exact date of its first use in the Maronite churches of Lebanon.

The usage of the Arabic musical instruments started with the solo singers such as, Fathers Jerges AZIZ al-Jezzini, Boutros KAHWAJEE and Boulos EL-HAGE BOUTROS, first in their recordings then in their ritual celebrations.

Currently, the usage of the electrical keyboard is widely spread, as it is possible to use all musical instruments according to the artistic style of the parish priest and to the leaders of the choirs, as well as according to the human and economical availability, as there are no general laws that dictate or organize the use of these instruments.

Conclusion

The Maronite chants in the 20th century and the beginning of 21st century were distinguished by the personal melodies. All these melodies are not on the same level from the perspective of the liturgy and the music.

It has numerous enlightening sources; some of it follows the heritage style, while others leave the Maronite identity, the same goes for its composing styles.

The modern Maronite hymns, thereby the modern composed or the imitated, are spread through three types: the Syriac Maronite chant in the Arabic language, the personal chant and the improvised chant.

The multimedia, which helped in spreading the Maronite hymns at first, participates now, whether or not it knows due to the ignorance of its leaders, in the canceling of the musical identity of churches and to spread the foreign melodies, by diffusing all kinds of chants which are not suitable for public songs, how much more the liturgical sacred chants.

Furthermore, most priests and musicians do not know about religious music and liturgical melody and their role in the ritual

celebrations and the preservation of the identity of the Churches heritage.

The largest part of these modern chants reveal the vitality and the dynamism of the Church, as well the interest of the faithful in hymns and allocating hard work for it, even though the goal of few is the fame or using it as an alteration for the failure in entering the world of public music.

Therefore, it is the church's duty to respect the hard work of some groups and to speed the process of forming a Maronite musical committee to guide, teach and specify their work.

Youssef A. Tannous

(Dean, Faculty of Musicology,

Holy Spirit Univ. Lebanon)

(From the 39th One-day Seminar on 19.02.2011 conducted in SEERI)

Syriac Musical Tradition of the Antiochean Church

Introduction

The Syriac music as well as our liturgy began with our great Fathers like St. Ephrem, St. Rabula, St. Balai and St. Isaac. St. Ephrem instituted choirs for girls and boys in the Church for singing in the various offices. People were always invited to share daily prayers with the priests and deacons. The monks in their monasteries were praying constantly and so preserving the melodies

Syriac music was spread in the Middle East, especially Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Holy Land - and so there were different traditions till now. Because of the diversity of countries, Syriac music was influenced surely by Turkish and Arab music, because of the neighbourhood (proximity) and close relation.

In spite of that, our Syriac music has its proper style and taste. It is lyric & sentimental. It aids to pray and express all feelings.

We lost a lot of our precious melodies, because there were no recording systems in the past, nor a special means to write Syriac music, and because of the death of priests, deacons, sub deacons and singers who knew well Syriac and Syriac songs. The loss of Syriac language caused the gradual loss of Syriac melodies. There is a renewal in Charfet because of the presence of the Ephremite Order near the patriarchal seminary where the Syriac offices are sung every day. In Iraq, especially in Kara Kosh the Syriac offices are still sung in many parishes, but according to local music.

Now I like to speak about our great treasure, the musical book named "Beith Gazo" (treasure) which contains all our melodies - about thousand, or more. This book is a precious gift offered to our Syriac community by the Benedictine Order. It took many efforts and long time to be written in occidental music notes.

When, at the end of the 19th century, the Benedictine monks came from Europe to Jerusalem to educate our seminarians in St. Benoît and ST. Ephrem convent, three of them gifted in music, took charge of putting in music notation all our Syriac melodies. They started from the seminary in Jerusalem, and visited all important

Syriac centres where they could find the best singers in the churches: Aleppo, Mardine, and Mossoul. Their round ended in the Seminary of Charfet, Lebanon, where the Syriac melodies were well recited.

In Lebanon, Dom Jules Jeannin who accomplished the most important work, edited his first volume "Musical Scientific Introduction" (300 pages). After that he was obliged by various reasons to go back to Europe. His two companions Dom Anselme Chibbas Lassalle and Dom Julien Puyade came from Jerusalem to Lebanon in 1909 to accomplish the editing of the second volume the Beith Gazo. But the declaration of the 1st World War stopped the work. All monks were recruited in the army. Dom Puyade died in the battle field. When all the monks came back to the monastery, Dom Anselme went to Lebanon and stayed there three years more to complete the editing of the Beith Gazo, from 1924 to 1927, in the "Imprimerie Catholique des Pères Jésuites".

IX main chapters in the Beith Gazo

The Beith Gazo is the great collection of our Syriac melodies, the great rich-qolo, because each one is different by its words and music. All texts are written in poetry, and in infinity of forms. We may distribute the melodies under 9 chapters

1. Bo'wotho: The Bo'wotho has 3 metrics only, named by three great authors: St. James of Sarug - 12+12 syllables, St Ephrem - 7+7 syllables & St. Balai 5+5 syllables. All our liturgical offices end with one of the three Bo'wotho.

2. Qolé: Simon Qouqoyo is the founder of these series of Qolé. We have three divisions: Qolé chahroyé - 16, Qolé sh-hîmé - 30, Qolé Gnizé - 1. Each one of Qolé, like the bo'wotho, has ten melodies according to the eight modes; and usually some others for particular circumstances.

3. Madroshé: the main author of Madroshé is St. Ephrem. By this way he fought against Bardaysane and his disciples for their heresies. With the Madroshé we have some Séblotho with eight modes like Qolé. We are lacking in Soughiotho. All modes are used in Lilio

4. Enioné: The Enioné as responses follows the psalms in each religious service. All are gathered under the eight modes.

5. Mawrbé: As the melodies which follow the hymn of our Lady "The Magnificent", all are gathered under the eight modes.

6. Qonouné Yawnoyé: The Qonouné Yawnoyé is some melodies adapted to the prayers translated in Syriac from Greek and written without metric.

7. Takheshfotho: They are the hymns of long breath and free performance, usually sung by soloists. Even they were attributed to Mar Raboula (†435). However, some are surely from St. Ephrem. From about 500, only 40 remained, and are used at the Mass or at the end of Lilio - night prayer

8. Tawsfotho: Melodies for the solemn Mass (20) Ordinations (10) etc. and others for special occasions and according to necessity.

9. Qinotho of Mossoul: 25 melodies in total, especially Takheshfotho

Second Edition of the Beith Gazo

During my studies in the seminary, I was soon appointed as rich-goudo - responsible for the liturgical music in the Church and the teacher of the Syriac melodies every day for the seminarians, except on Saturdays and Sundays. In this way of my teaching, I continued to teach without resorting to the printed notes, except when necessary. Later as priest and bishop, I noticed that more and more we neglected the Beith Gazo, and most of our seminarians and priests know only a small part of our musical heritage. The most worrying matter was the disappearance of the copies, because there were only a limited number of copies of the books, and the time passed. I thought myself: The most important thing now is definitely not to lose our treasure. After that, we may learn what we forgot and neglected.

So, when I was transferred to Aleppo as Archbishop of the diocese, as soon as possible, I found a benefactor and edited the Beth Gazo by photocopying without changing anything. I wrote a

supplement and added by hand lightly some variants according to the oral tradition, picked up by a Benedictine monk named Dom Gabriel Lerchundi

Some remarks

1. After 100 years, we do not sing exactly as it was written in the Beith Gazo, and that will continue because the melodies are not taught with a music instrument. I made the acquaintance of two Directors of Choir ignoring the solfeggio, and playing the organ by heart.

2. Really we have some gaps in our collection, and we lost a big lot of our musical heritage by the death of Priests, Deacons, Sub deacons, who were knowing very well the Syriac and the melodies. No one tried to gather more melodies after the edition of Beith Gazo

3. A third edition of the Beith Gazo is necessary, but after scientific studies, to recover the lost ones and correct some rhythms according to the oriental tradition

4. We may compose new melodies to fill the gap. Why not?

Our Most Rd. Patriarch Moran Mor Ignatius Josef III who is aware of all that and willing to give our Church musical expansion, appointed four priests and one ephremite monk to lead the Liturgical Music Committee. All have attended music courses and some are still continuing. They give us a great hope for the future. We hope so.

Conclusion

"Who sings, prays twice", this well known saying holds true and more than twice, especially in our Syriac Church. We sing with the writings and songs of our spiritual Fathers, the Doctors of the Church: St. Ephrem, St. James of Seroug, Narsai, Is'hak ...

St. Ephrem sang the dogmas and all truths of our faith, without trying to fathom them out. He is a great poet and a clever singer. He likes to contemplate the mysteries and glorifies the Lord by his melodious songs & tunes.

Churches and parishes. It is our great responsibility towards our young people, the youth, to teach them the divine truths by singing, and to sow in their tender hearts the love of Christ as well as the love of our Lady and the Church, the liturgy, the hymns, even the Syriac language, briefly our spiritual heritage. They are the future of the Church

We have to thank God for the flourishing of Choirs in all our. May they be always a promising future for God's glory.

Simple comparison

between our 8 modes and the Arabic or Oriental modes

1. It looks like the BAYAT mode
2. It may be like NAHAWAND mode
3. We may compare it with the SEGAIH and HOUZAM.
4. It is like JAHARKA mode, Major mode
5. It is variable between the third and the fourth
6. It is similar to the first one, but it ends stopping at the fifth degree
7. It may be compared easily to the SABA mode
8. It is between HIJAZ mode and JAHARKA

The eight modes of **فُنُون** show the riches and diversity of the music and melodies.

Our fathers, make a means to introduce in every mode easily this phrase: **ربنا ٱرحمنا وٱصلح ٱمرنا** Lord have pity on us and help us ?

[From the presentation made by Raboula Antoine Beylouni (Former Archbishop of Aleppo) Patriarchal Auxiliary, Lebanon, in the One-day Seminar held in SEERI on 19.02.2011]

SEERI CHRONICLE 2010

09.01.2010: SEERI celebrated the death anniversary of Rev. Dr. David Lane with special functions in the Church and at the tomb.

18.02.2010: SEERI conducted the **37th one-day Seminar**. **Dr. Sophia Vashalomidze** from Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany led the Seminar. The following topics were dealt with:

- (i). St. Ephrem the Syrian in Georgian Narratives.
- (ii). Assyrian minority in present-day Georgia.

04 - 06.03.2010: An exhibition was arranged in SEERI Auditorium from 4-6 March 2010 regarding the techniques of preservation of Manuscripts and books. This was followed by the 38th one-day Seminar on the subject on 6th March 2010. Librarians and others connected with the subject were invited. Mr. Cunjie Cheng (Charles) from Guangzhou, China led the Seminar.

06.03.2010: SEERI conducted its 38th One-day Seminar on "Preservation of Books and Manuscripts". The following papers were presented in the Seminar:

- (i). The Librarian and Preservation of Books: - Mrs. A. V. Rahelamma (University Librarian), University of Kerala, Trivandrum)
- (ii). The Preservation of Documents in China: - Mr. Cheng Cunjie (Director, Canton Museum, China)
- (iii). CCL, the CHINDEU Project, and SEERI: - Dr. Jacob Thekeparampil (Director, SEERI, Kottayam)

08 - 16th September 2010: SEERI conducted 7th World Syriac Conference from 8-16 th Sept. 2010. SEERI also celebrated its Silver Jubilee on 14th September. Our venerable guest for the Jubilee celebrations was His Beatitude Ignatius Youssef III Younan, Patriarch of Antioch.

NEWS

(i). The Malphono Rabo D'idotho Suryoyotho *

Praise to you, Jesus our Lord, from all our company
On this glorious Feast of the Cross of Light, the sign of our salvation.
Also today we have the occasion to give thanks to Your name
For causing to shine out in our generation a man of vision
In whose heart there burns the fire of love of Syriac;
When he perceived the need, he made it his life's task
To renew for us the teaching of this sacred tongue.
Our Lord prospered him, and he was able to found, with God's help,
This Institute, dedicated to St. Ephrem.
And now today we felicitate our Father Jacob,
But how to describe him we really don't know;
We might call him here a great tower and pillar,
The reviver of all that belongs to the dear Syriac language
In this country of India where the Apostle Thomas preached.
We can name him, too, as the bright star
Who has illumined the Church with the fair beauty
Of the teaching of the Mesopotamian Fathers.
And now we beg, at the prayers of great Saint Ephrem,

That great Teacher of the Universal Church.

That You, O Lord preserve our Father Jacob in health of body and radiance of soul all his life, and that You bless him greatly.

(* Words of felicitation from His Beatitude Moran Mor Baselios Cleemis, Major Archbishop-Catholicos, while conferring the title "The Malphono Rabo D'idotho Suryoyotho" to Rev.Dr. Jacob Thekeparampil during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of SEERI on 14th Sept. 2010).

(ii). Malphono Musicoro

As the Archbishop of Tiruvalla and the President of SEERI, I have the privilege to preside over this convocation ceremony. This is a day totally dedicated to the cause of Syriac liturgical music. In the morning session you have listened to the eminent experts in the field of Syriac music. In the afternoon session we would like to honour our dear Fr. M.P. George who embodies Syriac musical heritage in our midst. Nearly three decades of dedicated service to the Churches through music ministry is a commendable achievement, culminating in his doctoral dissertation, a standing monument to his God-given talents and hard work. We understand that it is a unique and universally important work. For the first time the treasury of Beth Gazo is made accessible through musical notations. Now musicians all over the world can utilize the fruits of Fr. M.P. George's hard work in order to enter into the musical mysticism of Beth Gazo.

Since the inception of SEERI in 1985, Syriac studies have been revitalized in this part of the world. Academic activities, publications and conferences of SEERI during the past 25 years have been appreciated as yeomen service on an ecumenical level.

One of the services of SEERI has been the promotion of Syriac liturgical music. In collaboration with Fr. M.P. George, SEERI could produce so far 4 cassettes containing the various hymns of the Syro-Malankara catholic liturgical services. I am happy to know that SEERI was able to inspire Fr. M.P. George to carry on with real scientific research in Syriac musicology in the West Syriac tradition as it exists and is used today in India.

There are musicians and musicians. But only a few have expertise in notation. Without notation the music remains fluid individualistic and varying. It is necessary to have a standardized version of music in our Church. Otherwise independent and individual variations will produce only "cacophony". Fr. M.P. George, a specialist in Syriac, Karnatic and classical music traditions has achieved real harmony through his research. An international Committee of scholars has examined his research work and recommended positively for conferring on him the degree of Malphono Musicoro. I congratulate SEERI for promoting this important research work of Fr. M.P. George. Fr. M. P. George can really take pride in the successful completion of long years of research. I hope and pray that he will carry on doing a second volume or even a third one to complete the notations of the entire musical corpus of our Churches.

(From the speech delivered by His Grace Dr. Thomas Mar Koorilos, Archbishop of Tiruvalla in the convocation ceremony of Rev. Fr. M.P. George)

(iii). Fr. M.P. George - a profile

Fr. M.P. George was born on 11th September 1954 from late M.K. Paily and Saramma Paily, Mammoottil in the parish of Pampakuda, the nerve centre of West Syriac tradition in India. After his school education, he joined the Orthodox Seminary for theological formation. He got ordained on 18th May 1989. He is married to Soosy George. Their children are: Paul George and Saira Mariam George. At present he is Professor in the Orthodox Seminary on Liturgical Music. He is also a Director of Sruthi (School of Liturgical Music). He serves also as Music Director in the Orthodox Seminary. He is performing Syriac, Western and Indian Classical music. He holds M.A., B.D., GST and Diploma in Music. He has also certificate in Liturgical music from England. He specializes in Harmony and counter-point harmony and Choir conduction. He specialized in Karnatic music in Kalakshetram school at Kottayam. He has published : An Introduction to Western Music, Paschatya Sangeetha Pravesika, Suriyani Sangeetham, Holy Qurbana with Syriac Notations, Holy Matrimony with Syriac Notations, besides some

articles on Syriac Music, Orthodox Liturgy, Sacrament, Oral Singing etc. He has recorded songs and chants on Cassettes and CDs. He presents papers on Syriac music and Octoechoes in the Syriac conferences and International Seminars.

When Fr. George was a boy of 12 years, the famous Syriac scholar and the parish priest of Pampakuda viz. Fr. Abraham Konatt (Malankara Malpan) invited him to learn Syriac language and Syriac music. Later this call led him to Orthodox Seminary for priestly formation. Fr. Abraham taught him the basics of Syriac language along with Syriac music. During his four years in the seminary, Fr. M.P. George learned Church Music of the West Syrian tradition. He took great interest to learn Octoechoes. The renowned musician Fr. N.K. Koruthu Malpan taught him West Syriac Hymnology in music. Fr. George was able to study also under Fr. T.J. Abraham Malpan of Mulanthuruthy who was an eminent Syriac linguist. Fr. George admits gratefully the influence of both these Malpans in his musical and liturgical formation. Both these great Malpans were disciples of Abdul Ahad Ramban, the late Patriarch His Holiness Moran Mor Ignatius Yaqoob III. It was a great blessing for Fr. George to master the Octoechoes system under Fr. Koruthu Malpan.

Fr. T.J. Abraham Malpan and Fr. Dr. V.C. Samuel were instrumental in teaching Fr. George classical music during his seminary days. Then principal of the orthodox seminary, the late Metropolitan Dr. Paulose Mar Gregorios prompted George to learn Indian classical music. He arranged for him further musical studies in Leningrad Music Academy, St. Petersburg. There he learned Western Classical Music and Byzantine chants. During his four years of study there, he developed the notation and Harmony for most of the Syriac liturgical Hymns. At the music Academy, he was able to study under the famous musician Tatchiana Panteleimonovna, a specialist in Harmony. Then Fr. George proceeded to England to learn counter-point harmony at St. Alban's Abbey with the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There he got an opportunity to study under the famous organist Andrew Parnell and specialized in counter-point harmony.

After the successful completion of his musical studies abroad, Fr. George returned to India. The visionary Metropolitan Dr. Paulose

Mar Gregorios made an effort to start a liturgical music school near the Seminary. Thus Sruthi, the School of Liturgical Music was born. One of the goals was to unify the Orthodox Liturgical Music a long cherished dream of Dr. Paulose Mar Gregorios. Over the last two decades, Fr. M.P. George was trying to notate the Syriac system of Octoechoes. The present book is the realization of his efforts. It is based on the existing music of the West Syriac tradition as it exists today in India. Regional musical influences have contributed to the development of this music. Local musical and cultural variations and the influence of Malayalam have led to some changes. A gradual evolution is seen in this musical system. The Tur Abdin tradition represented by Pampakuda and the Mosul tradition which came through Manjanikkara Dayra combined to form the present musical tradition of Indian Orthodox Church represented by Fr. M.P. George. Absence of notation has led to the tragic loss as well as various changes of both the East and West Syriac music in India today. In this context we remember the East Syriac notations published by A. Saldanha in 1937 (Suriyani Malayala Keerthana Malika, Kannur pp 181) and Fr. Mathew Vadakel in 1954 (Kerala Kaldaya Suriyani Reethile Thirukarama Geethangal, Alwaye pp227). This is the first time that the whole Beth Gazo - a treasure of the West Syriac liturgical music - as sung in India is being notated. Preservation of melodies for the next generation has been made easy now because of this work. It would have been a plus point if the Kunnampulam tradition had also been incorporated along with other traditions. This is all the more important since that tradition goes back to 1772.

Syriac liturgical music goes back to Jewish Synagogue chants, which in turn has roots in Mesopotamian, Babylonian and Sumerian music represented by the music of the Epics of Gilgamesh. Hellenistic and Byzantine traditions represent another strand of influence over Syriac music. Syriac liturgy is impossible without music and sacred chants. Alternative chants and choral singing contribute essentially to the celebration of liturgy. The traditional transmission of the Syriac sacred songs is oral. The absence of musical notations, creeping up of individual variations and local influences contributed to the living dynamism and development of Syriac liturgical music.

Sacred music is the guarantor for liturgical spirituality and liturgical mysticism. Notations of orally transmitted melodies serve for their protection and promotion. Distortions and deviations endanger the conservation of oral traditions of music. Evolutions and variations should not devastate the roots of a particular musical patrimony which otherwise would eliminate a unique cultural heritage and identity. Modern fashions and ephemeral taste should not root out our spiritual identity transmitted through sacred music. Notation attempts at a kind of standardization and stabilization. But it does not necessarily arrest the life and dynamism of sacred music. Biblical and patristic over tones of Syriac liturgical music cannot be neglected.

In view of all these, Fr. M.P. George has attempted to stabilize the sacred singing in West Syriac Tradition in India for generations to come. He deserves our sincere appreciation and heart-felt congratulations!

(From the speech delivered by Rev. Dr. Thomas Koonammakkal in the convocation ceremony conducted in SEERI on 19th Feb. 2011)

(iv). Mazmur 2011

SEERI organized a music festival called Mazmur 2011 on 20.02.2011 in collaboration with Rev. Fr. M.P. George and his Musical group (Sruthi). 13 Choir groups presented Syriac melodies. It was largely attended by all Syriac music lovers. In this festival, SEERI released its 31st publication in the Moran Etho series with the title: "The West Syriac Musical Tradition of the Beth Gazo in India: with Musical Notation" authored by Rev. Fr. M.P. George.

SEERI - LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

I. THE HARP (English): A review of Syriac, Ecumenical and Oriental Studies (contains articles of renowned writers from all over the world).

The HARP Volumes

I (Out of stock), II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII & IX (Out of stock), X [1,2 & 3] (1 & 2 Out of stock), XI & XII (Out of stock), XIII (Out of stock), XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX (Part - I), XX (Part - II), XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI (Index volume :to be released), XXVII.

II. 'MORAN ETHO' (English): Monograph Series

Vol.	Author	Name of book	Remarks.
I.	Prof. Wolfgang Hage	Syriac Christianity in the East.	
II	Prof. Sebastian Brock	Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition.	
III	J.P.M. van der Ploeg	The Book of Judith, Syriac Text and English Translation.	
IV	Prof. Sebastian Brock	Burial service for Nuns (West Syrian Liturgy), Syriac Text with translation.	
V	Paul S. Russel (USA)	St. Ephraim the Syrian and St. Gregory the Theologian Confront the Arians.	
VI	Prof. S. Brock, UK	Bride of Light.	
VII	Sidney H. Griffith, USA	Syr. Writers on Muslims & the Religious Challenge of Islam.	
VIII	Dr. Alison Salvesen, Oxford, UK	The Exodus Commentary of St. Ephrem.	
IX	Prof. Sebastian Brock	A brief Outline of Syriac Literature.	
X	Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese	Dionysius Bar Salibi: Commentary on the Eucharist.	
XI	Rev. Dr. Curien Kaniamparambil	The Gospel of St. Matthew (Syriac)	

XII	Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese	John of Dara- Commentary on the Eucharist.
XIII	Francis Acharya	The Ritual of the Clothing of Monks. (Out of stock)
XIV	Rev. Dr. Curien Kaniamparampil	Syriac in Six Months. (Out of stock)
XV	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Chediath	Mar Babai the Great-Some Useful Counsels on the Ascetical Life.
XVI	Prof. O.M. Mathew	Church and Sacraments: Reflections of a Layman
XVII	Prof. Dr. John Madey	The Hierarchy of the Churches of East & West Syriac Traditions.
XVIII	His Grace Dr. Mar Aprem	The Assyrian Church of the East in the Twentieth Century (Out of stock)
XIX	Rev. Dr. Curien Kaniamparampil	A Concise Syriac-English Dictionary. (Out of stock)
XX	Dr. Jean-Paul Deschler	Christliche Ikonographie(German)
XXI	Sr. Hatune Dogan	Hymns of the Syriac Church.
XXII	Rev. Dr. Philip Vysaneth	Musicality Makes the Malankara Liturgy Mystical
XXIII	Dr. Kuriakose Valavanolickal	Aphrahat Demonstrations I
XXIV	Dr. Kuriakose Valavanolickal	Aphrahat Demonstrations II
XXV	Rev. Dr. James Puthuparampil	Mariological Thought of Mar Jacob of Serugh (451-521)
XXVI	Dr. Wilhelm Baum	Shirin-Christian Queen: Myth of Love.
XXVII	Prof. Dr. John Madey	Die Bestellung Eines Bischofssitzes "Sede Vacante" Nach Dem Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (CCE)) (German)
XXVIII	Dr. W. Baum	The Christian Minorities in Turkey
XXIX	Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese	Dionysius Bar Salibi: Commentaries on Myron and Baptism
XXX.	Dr. Stephen Plathottathil OIC	Themes of Incarnation in the Sedre for the period of Suboro-Yaldo according to the Mosul Fenqitho

III. SEERI Correspondence Course

Vol.1	Dr. Sebastian Brock	The Bible in the Syriac Tradition
Vol. 2	Dr. Sebastian Brock	Spirituality in Syriac Tradition
Vol. 3	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Panicker	An Historical Introduction to the Syriac Liturgy (Out of stock)
Vol. 3	Rev. Dr. Jacob Vellian	(Supplement): An Historical Introduction to the Syriac Liturgy (Out of stock)

Vol. 4	Samuel Thykoottam	The Mother of God in the Syriac Tradition (Out of stock)
Vol. 5	Dr. Mar Aprem	Mar Aprem Theologian & Poet (Out of stock)
Vol. 6	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Panicker	The Church in the Syriac Tradition (Out of stock)
Vol. 7	Georg Günter Blum	Mysticism in the Syriac Tradition (Out of stock)
Vol. 8	Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese	Baptism and Chrismation in the Syriac Tradition (Out of stock)
Vol. 9	Dr. Sebastian Brock	Philoxenus of Mabbug (Out of stock)

IV. German Series

Dr. Johannes Madey	TEKSO D-ZUWOGO
Dr. Johannes Madey	TEKSO D-'UFOYO D-ANÑIDE
Dr. Johannes Madey	SHIMO
Dr. Johannes Madey	TEKSO D-MADEDONO
Dr. Johannes Madey	ANAPHORA
Andreas Heinz	TEKSO D' AMODO

V. Madroso (Malayalam)

Vol. 1	Prof. Mathew Ulakamthara	<i>Marthommayude Bharatha Prasthanam</i>
Vol. 2	Prof. Mathew Ulakamthara	<i>Suriyani Samvada Ganangal</i>
Vol. 3	Prof. Mathew Ulakamthara	<i>Mar Apreminte Mariya Geethangal</i>
Vol. 4	Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese	<i>Yakobinte Anaphora</i>
Vol. 5	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Chediath	<i>Yohannante Suvishesam -Theodorinte Bhashyam.</i>
Vol. 6	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Chediath	<i>Prachina Sanyasaniyamangal</i>
Vol. 7	Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Chediath	<i>Sairasile Thodorinte Christusastram</i>
Vol. 8	Fr. G.T. Unnukallil	<i>Manushyavathara Geethangal</i>
Vol. 9	Fr. G.T. Unnukallil	<i>Parudeesa Geethangal</i>

VI. Nuhro - Malayalam.

Vol.1	SEERI	<i>Rekhakalum Patanangalum</i>
Vol.2	SEERI	<i>Rekhakalum Patanangalum</i>
Vol.3	SEERI	<i>Rekhakalum Patanangalum</i>
Vol.4	Rev. Dr. G Chediath	<i>Mar Babai Christusastram</i>

VII. AWSĀR SLAWŌT'O

No.1	SEERI	Book of common Prayer (Syriac-English)
------	-------	--



MALANKARA
LIBRARY

SEERI Offers

- Course of initiation into Syriac literature for students going to universities abroad for higher studies and to the M. Th. students in India.
- Regular classes in Syriac language for interested candidates.
- Syriac intensive course, held yearly for 7 weeks during the summer vacation.
- Lecture series on the history and patrimony of Syriac Churches and on other selected themes by eminent scholars.
- Seminars and classes on various aspects of Syriac theology.
- An introductory course on spirituality based on Syriac liturgy.
- Training course with one full day class every week for talented students for translating Syriac poetical works into Malayalam poetry.
- Full-time, part time and distance degree programmes.
- One year certificate course in theology.
- In collaboration with Universities.
 - As an officially sanctioned "Regional and Research Centre" of the Mahatma Gandhi University at Kottayam, Kerala, India, SEERI offers:
- Master's Degree Course in Syriac Language and Literature.
- Research Programmes leading to Ph. D in Syriac Language and Literature.
- A single semester Certificate course in Syriac Language. (The successful completion of this Course is a prior requirement for graduates to initiate the M.A Syriac course, unless they had done Syriac as second language for B.A).

St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI)
Baker Hill, Kottayam, Kerala - 686 001, India
E-mail: seeri@bsnl.in, maeri@dataone.in
Website: www.seeri.org

