

is the exaltation of human nature by union with the divine. But there is no reason to suspect him of a docetic view of our Lord's humanity, or to doubt the sincerity with which he emphasized the Gospel portrait of Christ, and maintained the reality of His human development, and His participation in the experiences of human nature.

This is perhaps his most valuable contribution to the Christology of the Church, and it marks a point of contact between him and another great teacher of the Eastern Church, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

### THE 'NICENE' CREED IN THE SYRIAC PSALTER.

MSS quoted :—

C = Brit. Mus. Add. 17110 (supplementary hand of Cent. ix or x).

D = " " " 14436 (Cent. viii or ix).

E = " " " 17109 (873-4 A. D.) (E<sup>mg</sup> Cent. xii?).

F = Florence Laurent. Orient. 58 (Cent. ix, probably).

J = Brit. Mus. Add. 14433 (Cent. x).

Q = " " " 17125 (Cent. ix or x).

a = " " " 17112 (Cent. x or xi).

δ = " " " 17268 (Cent. xii).

ε = " " " 26552 (Cent. xiv).

g = Camb. Univ. Gg. 6. 30 (probably Cent. xvi).

L = Brit. Mus. Add. 17219 (Nestorian of Cent. xiii).

m = Camb. Univ. Oo. 1. 22 (Nestorian of Cent. xvi or xvii).

c = " " Add. 1966 (Chaldean, 1826 A. D.).

The Syriac Psalter contains, besides the Psalms, certain Canticles and 'the Creed'. This is usually true, whether the MSS are early or late, Nestorian or Jacobite; if the MS is complete, the Creed will hardly ever be absent. Further, this Creed is attributed in the majority of MSS, in headings of varying form, to the Nicene Council. But a single glance suffices to shew that this attribution is a mistake. In the first place the text given in the Jacobite authorities differs from that given in the Nestorian, and both cannot be Nicene. Secondly, both are found on comparison to differ from the 'enlarged Nicene', and still more from the original Creed of the 318. Thirdly, there is reason for supposing that the earlier headings of the Jacobite and the Nestorian forms were respectively, 'The Faith of the Holy Fathers', and 'The Faith of the Church', and that the reference to the Nicene Council was introduced at a later time.

The two forms of the Psalter-Creed are plainly worthy of study, both in relation to one another and in relation to the history of the Creed in the Eastern Church. They are accordingly printed here in parallel columns with their various readings.

NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM		JACOBITE FORM	
[L c m]		[C D E F J Q g a δ ε]	
The Faith	The right Faith m Pr Another [Song] c of the Mysteries	The Faith (ܐܠܗܐܘܘܬܐ)	Omit The Faith F g a <sup>vi</sup>
of the Church	Omit of the Church c	of the Holy Fa- thers. C E a <sup>vi</sup>	The Confession (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ) F The Homologia (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ), i.e. The Confession (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ) g Add True and Or- thodox F
which was made (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ) by the 318 Fathers	which was set forth (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ) m by our Fathers the 318 bishops m Add the bishops c		of the 318 Holy Fa- thers D F J Q δ [g ε omit Holy] Add who were gathered together in Nicaea g ε Add in the days of Constantine the victorious king. ε
who were gathered together in Nicaea the City.	Add of Bithynia in the time of Con- stantine the vic- torious king. And the cause of their assembling was on account of Arius the wicked and accursed. c		
We believe in one God the Father the All- ruler the Maker	Add And it is said at the time of the Mysteries. And it was appointed to be said at this time by Joseph <sup>1</sup> who was deposed from the Patriarchate. m	We believe in one God the Father the All- ruler (ܐܠܗܐܘܘܬܐ) the Maker of Heaven and Earth and of all things visible and invisible	I believe δ in one true God ε
of all things visible and invisible	(Cf. Cassian, <i>crea- torem omnium visi- bilium et invisibi- lium creaturarum</i> )		
And in one Lord Jesus Christ		And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten (ܐܘܨܘܠܐܘܬܐ)	

<sup>1</sup> The name is partly erased.

NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM

JACOBITE FORM

[L c m]  
the Son (ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) of God  
the Only-begotten

the firstborn of all  
creatures

(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)  
Who of His Father  
was begotten

before all worlds  
and was not made

VERY GOD OF VERY  
GOD

THE SON OF THE NA-  
TURE OF HIS FATHER

BY WHOSE HANDS  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)

THE WORLDS WERE  
PREPARED

AND EVERYTHING  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) WAS

created  
WHO FOR US MEN AND  
for our salvation

CAME DOWN FROM  
heaven  
and was incarnate of

the Spirit of Holiness

and became man

and was conceived  
AND WAS BORN OF  
MARY THE VIRGIN

(Cf. Cassian, *primogenitum totius creaturæ*)

(Greek, *ἐγένετο*)

(Greek, *τῆς ἀγίας τῆς [δαι]παρθένου*)

[C D E F J Q g a δ ε]  
the Son (ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) of God

Who of the Father  
was begotten

before all worlds

Light of Light  
Very God of Very  
God  
begotten and not  
made

the Son of the na-  
ture of His Father  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)

by whose hand  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)

everything was  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)

Who for us men and  
for our salvation  
came down from  
heaven

and was incarnate  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) of

the Spirit of Holi-  
ness (ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)  
and of Mary the  
Virgin

and became man  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)

was begotten *after*  
worlds F

[and] equal in *ousia*  
to His Father g δ ε  
[and] equal in the  
*ousia* of His Father  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)  
E m a

ܘܕܢܘܨܐ (for ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) g

*From our salva-  
tion a is defective*

the Holy Spirit  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) δ[ε]  
Add the Mother of  
God g ε  
Add 'So preached  
Theophilus, Atha-  
nasius, and the  
Holy Mar Severus'  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ)  
ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ  
ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ  
(ܘܕܢܘܨܐ ܘܕܢܘܨܐ) ε m a

NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM		JACOBITE FORM	
[L c m and suffered AND WAS CRUCIFIED (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ)]		[C D E F J Q g δ ε and was crucified (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ)]	
IN THE DAYS OF PON- TIUS PILATE and was buried	(Greek, <i>ἐν ἡμέραις Πιλάτου</i> ) Pr. and died c	for us (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) in the days of Pon- tius Pilate and suffered and died and was buried and rose the third day	سليم F J g δ  Omit and died D <sup>ist</sup> F
and rose the third day		according as it is written	according as He willed (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) g δ ε
according as it is written	(Cassian, <i>secun- dum scripturas</i> )	and ascended to Heaven	
and ascended to Heaven and sat on the right hand of His Father and again He is about to come (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ)	(Cassian omit)  (Cassian, <i>et iterum veniet</i> )	and sat on the right hand of His Father and again He com- eth	
to judge the dead and the quick	(Cassian, <i>iudicare vivos et mortuos.</i> Et reliqua)	in His glory C F J to judge the quick and the dead	in Glory DE Q δ ε ; non liq g
And in one Spirit of Holiness the Spirit of Truth		Whose kingdom hath no end And in one Spirit of Holiness	And in one Holy Spirit g δ [ε]
Who from the Father proceedeth	Add and the Son m <sup>ing man roe</sup> c	Who is Lord, Quickener of All (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) Who from the Father proceedeth and with the Father and with the Son is worshipped and glorified	
the Spirit which quickeneth us (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ)	the Spirit the Quickener m c	Who spake by the Prophets and by the Apostles	
[And] in one Church Holy and Apostolic Catholic		And in one Church Apostolic Catholic (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ)	Add Holy D [g] δ ε Catholic, Apostolic D δ [ε] Add and Glorious (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) C E J Q
We confess		We confess	(D is defective from this point)
one (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) baptism		one (ܘܡܘܩܘܠܘܬܐ) baptism	that baptism is one g ε

NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM	JACOBITE FORM
[L c m] unto remission of sins and the resurrection (ܠܚܝܘܬܐ) of our bodies	[C E F] Q g δ ε unto remission of sins and we look for the resurrection of the dead (ܠܩܝܡܐ?)
and the life (ܠܚܝܘܬܐ)	and for the new life from the dead (ܠܩܝܡܐ?) (ܠܚܝܘܬܐ) C Q
which is for ever.	and for the new life of the world (ܠܚܝܘܬܐ) to come. (ܠܚܝܘܬܐ) g δ ε in the world Amen.

The Nestorian Form was published in Syriac by Caspari in his *Quellen* i 113 ff (Christiania 1866) under the title *Das Taufbekenntnis der Nestorianer* from a Munich MS of the Psalter, 'Orient. 147'. The heading of the Creed in Caspari's MS runs: 'The Faith of the 318 Fathers the Bishops, who were assembled in Nicaea the city of Bithynia, in the time of Constantine the victorious king. The cause of their assembling was on account of Arius the wicked.'

The same Form (without any heading) appears as the liturgical Creed in the Nestorian *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, published at Urmi in 1890 by the Missionaries of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The only variation worthy of mention is the fuller ending in the Urmi edition, *for ever and ever. Amen.* The Psalters give only, *for ever.* A translation into English is given in F. E. Brightman's *Liturgies* pp. 270-271. Cf. Hort *Two Dissertations* pp. 128 ff; Kattenbusch *Apost. Symbol* i 246-247.

Now since this Creed is neither the original nor the 'enlarged' Nicene, what is it? Caspari (*ibid.* pp. 125 ff) has compared the Nestorian Creed with the Antiochene, and shewn that the former contains Antiochene elements. The likeness is certainly striking; the portion of the Nestorian Creed printed above in small capitals corresponds as to order and contents and wording with the surviving Greek fragment of the Antiochene Creed, and several other clauses correspond with the Latin translation of the same Creed given by John Cassian in his work against Nestorius (Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole* 141-143 3rd ed.). The Creed of the Nestorian Psalter, unlike that of the Jacobite Psalter, has very few points of likeness with the 'enlarged' Nicene<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene was published by B. H. Cowper in 1857 from Brit. Mus. Add. 14528 (501 A. D.), and by Caspari in 1866 from Brit. Mus. Add. 12156 (562 A. D.). Cowper's MS omits the clause *Light of Light* and also the words *from heaven* after *came down*. The two MSS also use different synonyms in rendering *σπουδαίοντα*.

The following table of difference illustrates the relative isolation of the Nestorian Form.

TABLE I.

Text of the 'enlarged' Nicene and of the Jacobite Psalter.	Text of the Nestorian Psalter.
1. Maker [of heaven and earth]	<i>omit bracketed words</i>
2. Only-begotten <i>without addition</i>	add the first-born of all creatures (Col. i 15, Pesh. <i>not</i> Harkl.)
3. Light of Light	<i>omit</i>
4. by whose hand everything was (John i 3, Pesh.)	by whose hands the worlds were prepared ( <i>cf.</i> Heb. xi 3, Pesh.), and every thing was created
5. incarnate of the Spirit of Holiness [and of Mary the Virgin]	<i>omit bracketed words in this place</i>
6. <i>No clause</i>	and was conceived (ܐܠܗܐ, Luke ii 21, Pesh.), and was born of Mary the Virgin
7. was crucified, ܐܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ, the term always used in the Harkl.	was crucified ܐܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ, the term which preponderates in the Pesh. and in Syr <sup>an</sup> Pr suffered and
8. and again He cometh in glory ( <i>v. l.</i> in His glory) to judge the quick and the dead	and again He is about to come to judge the dead and the quick
9. Whose kingdom hath no end	<i>omit</i>
10. The Spirit of Holiness <i>without addition</i>	add the Spirit of Truth (John xv 26, Pesh. Harkl. and Syr <sup>an</sup> )
11. who (and) with the Father and [with] the Son is worshipped and glorified	<i>omit</i>
12. The resurrection of (from) the dead	the resurrection of our bodies
13. The [new] life of the world to come.	the life for ever (John iii 16, Pesh.)

But side by side with these variations between the two Forms of Creed preserved in the Syriac Psalter, there are a few striking points of agreement between the two Psalter texts against the text of the 'enlarged' Nicene.

TABLE II.

'Enlarged' Nicene.	Psalter, Jacobite and Nestorian.
1. Son of the being (ܐܠܗܐ) <sup>1</sup> of the Father	Son of the nature (ܘܫܐ) of His Father.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heb. i 3 ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ (Pesh.), τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 2. and was made man (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ)                              | and became man (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ)         |
| 3. as the Scriptures say (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ) | as it is written (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ)       |
| 4. The Holy Spirit (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ)                       | One Spirit of Holiness (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ) |

The agreement of the Jacobite and Nestorian Forms in the first two points is all the more striking, since neither ܐܘܢܘܢܐ 'nature', nor ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ 'and became man', is found in the Peshiṭta. The former, in its theological application, is found in Ephraim, e.g. *De Domino Nostro* § 2 (ed. Lamy i 150), 'He was born of Deity in accordance with His nature, and of humanity contrary to His nature'. For the second phrase the Peshiṭta uses ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ 'became flesh', John i 14. The phrase used in the Psalter Creed seems to be modelled on this. The third phrase ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ 'as it is written', on the contrary, comes straight from the Peshiṭta rendering of 1 Cor. xv 4, where the Harkleian gives ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ 'according to the Scriptures'. The fourth expression ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܘܢܐ 'Spirit of Holiness', again comes from the Peshiṭta; the 'enlarged' Nicene on the contrary agrees with the Harkleian, 'Holy Spirit'. The origin of the ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ('One') prefixed is perhaps to be sought in Creeds earlier than the Nicene. The Creed offered by Eusebius of Caesarea to the Nicene Council has *ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίον*, and the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem reads *ἐν ἁγίον πνεύμα*.

Whether the points of agreement between the two Creeds of the Syriac Psalter point back to a common ancestor cannot perhaps be decided. Perhaps it is enough for the present to trace the Nestorian Creed to Antioch, and the Jacobite, through the 'enlarged' Nicene, to Jerusalem. But two characteristics of the Nestorian Form deserve notice. The first is its lack of arrangement in its statement of the Incarnation. The Antiochene basis follows a logical order, but the additional clauses have the effect of duplicating the statement, and disturbing the sequence. The other characteristic of the Nestorian Form is its close adherence to the language of the Peshiṭta. Under this head I have reckoned the use of ܐܘܢܘܢܐ for 'was crucified', while the Jacobite Creed has ܐܘܢܘܢܐ. It is true that the use of the root ܐܘܢܘܢܐ for *σταυροῦν* is found in the Peshiṭta; see Luke xxiii 39 (= Old Syriac), xxiv 7 (= Old Syriac); John xix 6 (ܐܘܢܘܢܐ also in the same verse); 15; Gal. iii 1; [Apoc. xi 8, also in Gwynn's Version]. The verb is used also in Addai (in the Protonice narrative which is perhaps an interpolation), in Aphrahat, and in Ephraim. In the Harkleian version, as far as I can discover, it is used invariably. On the other hand, ܐܘܢܘܢܐ greatly predominates in the Peshiṭta, and (cf. Prof. Burkitt, *Evangelion* vol. ii p. 305) in Syriac also. It predominates also in

Adai, occurring at least thirteen times, together with ܐܘܨܬܐ 'cross' (sixteen times), and ܐܘܨܩܠܐ 'crucifiers' (three times). It occurs in Aphrahat, and if we may judge from the *Sermo de Domino Nostro*<sup>1</sup> it predominates with its derivatives in Ephraim. The Nestorian form of the Creed thus keeps the more usual term ܐܘܨܩܠܐ for 'was crucified', while the Jacobite form chooses the rarer form ܐܘܨܩܠܐ in company with the Harkleian Version and the Syriac translation of the 'enlarged' Nicene.

Two variations of reading are worthy of notice in the Nestorian Creed. The oldest MS (thirteenth century) reads, *The Spirit our Quickener* (or *our Saviour*, the same word as in 1 Tim. i 1, Pesh.). This reading is perhaps correct, for it is parallel with the established reading *our bodies*, in a later clause. The two later MSS read *the Quickener* in agreement with the 'enlarged' Nicene.

The other variation touches a great controversy. The Chaldean MS 'c' gives the Western addition *et Filio* to the article of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. It shews no other trace of Latin influence. The truly Nestorian Malabar MS 'm' fell, it appears, in quite modern times into Western hands. A recent correction between the lines marks the same addition of *et Filio*.

It has been shewn already that the Creed of the Jacobite Psalter agrees very closely with the Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene. It differs chiefly in points of translation and in a few small additions. These last are as follows:—(1) *and died* (not in all MSS) after *suffered*; (2) *One* before *Spirit of Holiness*; (3) *and by the apostles* after *prophets*; (4) *new life* for *life* in the last clause. The remaining differences are only differences of translation.

These differences, however, as far as they go, suggest that the Psalter Text is probably as a whole earlier in date than the Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene. The ܐܘܨܩܠܐ for *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*, a phrase based in form on John i 14, is surely older than the more technical ܐܘܨܩܠܐ of the 'Nicene'. Certainly ܐܘܨܩܠܐ for *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* is earlier than the ܐܘܨܩܠܐ in which the feminine substantive is construed with a masculine adjective. This latter term is usually or always employed in the Harkleian. In the Peshitta (Old Testament and New Testament) I know of two instances only of its occurrence, both doubtful. It is the common reading in Ps. li 13, but the true reading there has the feminine adjective ܐܘܨܩܠܐ. Similarly in Eph. iv 30 ܐܘܨܩܠܐ is read in Brit. Mus. Add. 14480, a sixth-century MS of the Pauline Epistles. Both these passages are cited with the

<sup>1</sup> Lamy, vol. i 145 ff.



feminine adjective by Aphrahat. The phrase ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ occurs, moreover, in the Old Syriac Gospels (Syr<sup>old</sup>) in Mark xiii 11; Luke ii 25, 26; John xx 22; and Prof. Burkitt cites it in *Evangelion* i 172 from a sixth-century MS of the Acts of Thomas. But the phrase ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ, with the masculine adjective, is almost certainly later than the phrase ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ which prevails not only in the Peshiṭta, but also in the Old Syriac Gospels, in Aphrahat and in Addai<sup>1</sup>.

The later history of the text of the Jacobite Form of the Psalter Creed is illustrated by the various readings given above. There was a tendency to make it more definite by alterations and additions. The Greek word *οὐσία* is introduced in five MSS in a transliterated form to help to translate *δμοούσιον*. Two MSS introduce, and one defends, the epithet *Mother of God*<sup>2</sup>, the very watchword against the Nestorians. Three MSS at the end of the description of the *οικονομία* of the Incarnation boldly substitute the note *as he willed* for the time-honoured appeal *according as it is written*, the former being a characteristic Monophysite watchword<sup>3</sup>. Three MSS assimilate the language of the Jacobite Creed to the 'enlarged' Nicene by reading ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ, *the Holy Spirit* (with the adjective in the masculine) for ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ *the Spirit of Holiness* (a feminine, though often treated as masculine in the Peshiṭta)<sup>4</sup>. Lastly, four of the earlier MSS add (in the definite form) St Paul's epithet ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ *ἐνδοξον*, *glorious* (Eph. v 27), to the description of the Church. The Jacobite, unlike the Nestorian, dealt somewhat freely with the text of his Creed.

W. EMERY BARNES.

### THE *MAGNIFICAT* IN NICETA OF REMESIANA AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

NICETA witnesses to the traditions of the old Latin Church of the Danube when in his treatise *de Psalmodyae Bono* he ascribes the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth: 'Nec Elisabeth, diu sterilis, edito de re promissione filio Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessavit' c. 9, 'Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat' c. 11. Mr Burkitt has stated that 'the reading is already well known to textual critics, being found in *a, b, l*, and also in Irenaeus 235'<sup>5</sup>. The reading in the Codex Vercellensis,

<sup>1</sup> The only form besides ܘܢܝܢܐ used absolutely which I have noticed in Ephraim is ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ.

<sup>2</sup> Also in the Creed of the Jacobite Liturgy published by Brightman (p. 82).

<sup>3</sup> The Creed of Severus of Antioch (Brit. Mus. Add. 17109, fol. 147 a) confesses, 'He died for sinners *according as He willed* and because He willed'.

<sup>4</sup> Feminine, Acts x 44; xi 15; Heb. iii 7.

<sup>5</sup> Burn *Niceta* p. cliii.