

## Sixth-Century Fragments of an East-Syrian Anaphora.

Edited and translated with critical notes by

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The document here re-edited was first made known by Dr. G. Bickell in his *Conspectus Rei Syrorum Literariae* (1871), in which he published a Latin translation of so much of it as he could then read. Accordingly it is sometimes referred to as 'Bickell's Fragment'. The transcript of the Syriac text upon which that translation was based was published by him a couple of years later in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* vol. xxvii pp. 608—613 (1873). In 1879, after a closer examination of the MS, he prepared a revised translation for the Appendix to Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*.<sup>1</sup> But even this revision leaves something to be desired, for in a number of places Bickell did not succeed in making out what was really legible, and in some others he offered conjectures which do not satisfy the conditions of space in the lines, or are based on mistaken ideas (so it appears to me) of what was to be expected in the context. As an example of this last kind of error may be cited lines 21—23 on p. 516 of Brightman's volume (fol. 20 a, col. 2 of the MS), where we read: —

*imprimis [pro virgine]*

*sancta quae NT . . . . . [sine]*

*macula*

The introduction of the Blessed Virgin at this point derives no probability from the context; and Bickell has allowed himself to be led astray by the clearly legible words '*sancta*' and '*macula*'. The letters NT<sup>2</sup> in 1.22 are decisive against his conjecture: they form the beginning of a passive verb with a *masculine*, not a feminine, subject; consequently the prefix *D*, which stands before the *N*, cannot be rendered '*quae*': if it be a relative, it must stand for '*qui*'; but more probably it has here its other meaning '*ut*', introducing the petition for the various orders of clergy who are here prayed for. The '*sancta*', too, almost certainly refers to the Church, in which the clergy minister. For further discussion of the passage see the Notes.

The volume in which the fragments are now bound up is the

<sup>1</sup> This is repeated as Appendix L in Brightman's edition, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> The N is visible, though rather faint.



*British Museum Additional MS 14669*, of which they form fols. 20—21. But the two leaves are bound in the wrong order, and 21 should precede 20. The writing is in a free and beautiful estrangela hand of the sixth century. The leaves are of quarto size, with two columns to the page. Most of the cols. appear to have contained 35 lines; but col. 2 of fol. 21b has only 34, and it is possible that one or two others, now mutilated at the beginning or end, may similarly have fallen short of the regular number.

Much of the writing remains clear, but a good deal also has suffered more or less from wet, or from rubbing and crumpling of the parchment and other hard usage. The most serious lacunae are due to the fact that the original parchment is in places torn away altogether. The remaining portions have been patched with new pieces of parchment, and though this has been skilfully done, the overlapping of the new material has unavoidably obscured or quite hidden a number of letters that might otherwise have been read. A fair idea of these mutilations may be gained from the bracketed spaces in the following print of the text — though the brackets do not always mean that the missing words or letters are actually torn away. Some further particulars will be found in the Notes.

Early in 1908 I examined the MS at the British Museum, and transcribed so much of it as I could read at the time. A few months later I obtained excellent photographs of the four pages, by means of which I was able to recover several readings which I had not been able to make out from the MS itself. In the early summer of 1914 I was allowed by the kindness of Dr Barnett, Keeper of the Oriental MSS, to examine the MS afresh by the help of a re-agent. But at most of the crucial places the surface of the parchment is so perished that the re-agent enabled me to read but a very few letters that I had not been able to discover from the photographs.

In the print of the Syriac text which follows half-brackets [ ] denote that the letters they enclose appear to be represented by the visible traces in the MS, but cannot be identified with full certainty. Words or letters within square brackets [ ] are supplied by conjecture where the MS is, for one cause or another, quite illegible. Naturally such conjectures are not all of equal probability: in some cases the restoration of letters or words is rendered practically certain by their position in relation to others that are clear. The same remark applies to letters in [ ]. An attempt will be made in the Notes to indicate the degree of probability that can be claimed in most instances; if a conjecture is not discussed in the Notes, it is to be understood as offered *valeat quantum*, and its merits left to the reader's judgment. In some of the later columns, where the MS is much mutilated, the



extent to which conjectural restoration has been resorted to may seem excessive and somewhat presumptuous. It must be said therefore that what is attempted in those passages is not to restore the actual words of the original, but only to suggest what seems to have been the general drift of the context. What is here said applies particularly to fol. 20 a, col. 2, ll. 14—16 and 20—21, where Bickell has made suggestions which are at variance with the legible portions of the context.

For the translation I have kept to Latin, which was used by Bickell, and in which the order of the Syriac can be followed more closely than in English. Words in [] are, as in the text, supplied conjecturally where the MS is illegible. Words printed in *italics* are those of which the visible remains render the restoration probable, and in some cases certain.

In Syriac, as in Hebrew, the weak relative particle requires (except when it stands for the subject of the sentence) to be supplemented later on by a 'referring' pronoun or a pronominal suffix. In order to represent more exactly the disposition of the words in the lines I have sometimes kept this idiom in the translation: *e. g.* 'cui iudex non est *ei*' (I 31—32); 'cuius nemo resistit potestati *eius*' (II 1—2). There is precedent for this in the Latin of the O. T.

The dots between brackets [ . . . ] in both text and translation, where no restoration has been attempted, indicate only that something is lost: they do not represent any computation of the number of the missing letters. In these fragments, as always in Syriac MSS, the words are divided, and the intervening spaces may vary in extent. Moreover the letters vary considerably in size, and even the same letter may be expanded or compressed, within certain limits, according as the space requires. It would usually be misleading therefore to offer suggestions as to the number of unknown letters which stood in a given space. We can, however, sometimes say that certain letters would, or would not, fit a space of which the limits happen to be determined.



## I.

fol. 21 a, col. 1.

١١ [ . . . . . ]

[..... حلتك] ف

 $\kappa[\cdot \cdot \cdot]$ 

dis[z . . . . .]

• am [ . . . . . ]

κλωτ[ι . . . . .]

κ<sub>0</sub>h<sub>0</sub>l<sub>0</sub>[h]      κ<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>      κ<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>[h]

[مذہب] [لاہی] . ۱۱۱ . محکمہ علم

הכבוד: אשר לך [אשר]

[חם חלום] - חלום חלום - חלום חלום.

ကစားကစား [၁၀၀] [၁၀၀]

កម្ពុជា កំពង់ចាម ក្រុង

· קלע. קע.אם [א קעלע.]

ကစာဝိသုဒ္ဓိ [၁၈၆၂ ခု]

Ydial : ami [חבד חבד]

2. K. d. [h K. d. d.]

מ. פמ"א מ. צ.ו.מ. חכ"ה. מ. [ל] כ.

פסוק [אז כח א]

[۵] کائنات کا سفر

[ד.] לַבְּנֵי חַבְדָּה — מִצֵּי

കുറുപ്പു നമ്പ്ര : നമ്പ്ര

Κόμης Κεραυ . Κόμης

הַכֵּלִי וְהַכֵּלִי וְהַכֵּלִי

.0:0. .000. .יחא יחא

. ॐ . ॐ . ॐ . ॐ .

פ.ד.צ. אהל המצבות. ה"ז

שנה נחמדה לך [כח] אה

סחבתה דכל זלזל [דזלזל].

[. ५३] ॥ ५३ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५३ ॥

[כ] חסד ורחמים

הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ



## I.

fol. 21a, col. 1.

[ . . . . . ] tibi

[ . . . . . ] *propter*

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ? misisti ]

5 [ . . . . . ] *eorum*[ . . . . . ] *spiritalēs*

[et terreni] sanctificationes trinas

[mittunt] tibi, ut dum sanctificant te,

[pater noster] sancte, sanctificentur, et gloriâ tuâ

10 [cum omnibus] *spiritalibus* glorificemur:

[dum] omnes una concordia,

[voce] stuporis et clamore

[timoris et] sanctificatione silentii,

[ab omnibus] locis

15 [domus-]*habitationis* eorum ad te[sanctificationes] *trinas* ex

[uno ore] mittunt, et una voce

[et una] concordia clamant

[simul] et dicunt: ut etiam nos,

20 [quos] gratia tua fecit sanctos

in similitudine eorum, cum eis una

concordia, anima pura

et cogitatione fulgida, sancte

clamemus et dicamus

25 sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.

sanctus es, et gloriosum et magnum

nomen tuum, domine omnium et deus

et factor omnium, rex [regum,]

domine dominorum, iudex iudicum,

30 imperans, cui ab alio [non]

imperatur, iudicans omnes, cui iudex *non est*

110







ei, rex regni, cuius [alius]  
adversus potestatem eius non *praeualet*,  
dominus unicus, cui non est dominatio  
35 alia quae sit *proxima* [ei,]

## II.

fol. 21 a, col. 2.

deus, ens, cuius nemo resistit  
potestati eius. tu es unus solus,  
natura sancta et essentia  
adoranda: tu, qui es sicut  
5 es, et quomodo sis  
nemo novit: tu, cuius stupori est  
nomen tuum, et tremori est recordatio tui,  
et admirationi est argumentum quod de te est,  
et timori est enarratio  
10 essentiae tuae: tu, qui in veritate  
*bonus es*, et non in similitudine  
[est] bonitas tua: non *approximat*  
[similitudo] ad gratiam tuam, quia  
in veritate sine mutatione  
15 est bonitas tua. tu es  
causa gratiae tuae; nam natura tua est  
fons benignitatis tuae: a te ascendit  
et super omnia effunditur scaturigo  
*dives* misericordiae tuae. non  
20 accipis [ab] *aliis* [quod] das  
aliis; quia nemo est *ditior* te,  
ut mutuum det tibi: nec enim indiges  
tu ut mutueris; nam in te et apud te  
congregatae sunt divitiae omnis vitae:  
25 tu, qui benefacere solum nosti,



30  
 35  
 III.  
 fol. 21 b, col. 1.

5  
 10  
 15  
 20

<sup>1</sup> Cod. **יבדו** ('dispergis'); iterumque, ni fallor, infra in l. 14, quia ultima ibi littera eius formae est, quae cum praecedente non coniungitur.

<sup>2</sup> Cod., ut vid., **יבדו**, ut in l. 1.



et suades operibus tuis  
 ut [suscipiant] gratiam tuam: vocas  
 opera tua [ut] accipiant dona tua.  
 haec est enim [consuetudo] tua, ut des  
 30 aliis, [et] non [negotiaris.]  
 tu *omnibus* gratiam tuam [das,]  
 [quia] *bonus* es [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] quia *omnibus* sufficis  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 35 [ . . . . . ]

## III.

fol. 21 b, col. 1.

[et] secreto dirigis<sup>1</sup>  
 [omnia virtute] tua. brachium tuum fortissimum  
 [sustinet] creaturam tuam, quam vocavit  
 [et] *adduxit* ex nihilo nutus  
 5 voluntatis tuae. tu, deus, qui cum  
 sis solus et alius  
 tecum in essentia tua non sit,  
 nisi filius, qui de essentia tua (est),  
 et spiritus, qui (est) de natura tua, creasti  
 10 opera viva et virtutes  
 spiritûs, et fixisti *saecula*  
 inferorum et ornasti [saecula]  
 superiorum; et mandatum tuum [omnia]  
 saecula secreto dirigit<sup>2</sup>.  
 15 effudisti autem gratiam tuam  
 potissime erga genus  
 debile humanitatis nostrae. de  
 pulvere enim imaginem tuam fecisti nos,  
 et de pulvisculo similitudinem tuam donasti nobis,  
 20 et potestatem [magnam] essentiae tuae  
 posuisti [penes] nos [in] imagine tua

<sup>1</sup> Cod. 'dispergis' (duabus litteris transpositis).<sup>2</sup> Cod., ut vid., 'dispergit', ut in l. 1.







per gratiam [tuam]; ut cuncta oboedirent  
 imagini tuae, et praestarent servitium  
 similitudini tuae. et ecce impositum est super  
 25 omnia, quia voluisti, iugum  
 regni (hominis) mortalis, et oboediunt  
 opera omnia dominationi eius.  
 nam gratiâ tuâ [ipse] prae  
 omnibus positus est ut dominus sit  
 30 *omnium*; et secundum [. .] *tuam* in medio  
 [mundo] ad hoc *nomen* gloriosum  
 [assumptus] est de pulvere, *ut te honoraret*  
 [et similitudini] tuae operaretur *servitium*  
 [et sit] tibi *servus* [ . . . . . ]  
 35 [ . . . . . ]

## IV.

fol. 21 b, col. 2.

[ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 genus nostrum [ . . . . . ]  
 et *mittamus* [tibi gloriam, pater,]  
 5 et fili, [et spiritus sancte,]  
 in saecula [et in saecula saeculorum,]  
 amen [et] *amen*. adoramus  
 te, adorande, et glorificamus  
 te, gloriose, et sanctificamus  
 10 te, sancte natura tua, et *laudamus*,  
 quamquam non sufficimus [laudi tuae,]  
 qui omnibus sufficis. [thesaurus enim es]  
 affluens, qui omnia alis; [quia]  
 super omnem creaturam [gratia tua].  
 15 extensa est. et benignus [es, et super omnia]







effusa est benignitas [misericordiae tuae,  
 et omni tempore omni [modo]  
 fons es [omnium]  
 auxiliorum et repositorium omnium  
 20 divitiarum spiritalium. tua sunt  
 omnia; et nos cum omnibus tuos  
 fecisti nos ut simus; et vocasti nos<sup>1</sup>  
 nomen nomine tuo, et auxisti nos,  
 et honorasti nos, et elevasti nos, et exaltasti nos,  
 25 et purificasti nos, et sanctificasti nos; et in te  
 [malitia] et foeditas voluntatis nostrae  
 exornata est, et amaritudo  
 arbitrii nostri dulcis effecta est fructu  
 [qui] amore tuo missus est ad nos  
 30 ferre insitionem arboris tuae  
 [vivificantis]. de radice enim  
 essentiae tuae fructum vivum  
 misisti in medium regionis nostrae, ut daret nobis  
 vitam, quam voluit voluntas tua ut dares

## V.

fol. 20a, col. 1.

[nobis . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .]  
 5 [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .]

[ad] seipsum assumpsit nos, et [venit et factus est]  
 ex virgine homo. [et cum]  
 10 [esset] deus de deo, *conversatus est*  
 [inter nos,] et visitavit nos omnibus mensuris<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cod. 'me'.<sup>2</sup> Seu 'aetatibus': sc. Christus omnes humanae naturae conditiones vel mensuras suscepit.







[et ut notum faceret nobis] amorem suum  
 [magnum], accessit ad passionem  
 [et mortem, ut] passione sua liberaret nos  
 15 [a passionibus,] et morte sua vitam  
 aeternam daret nobis, et in resurrectione  
 [resuscitaret nos] secum a mortuis,  
 [et per] ascensionem suam gloriosam  
 [ad regnum] supernum elevaret nos  
 20 *gloriose.* et quoniam paratus  
 erat ut ascenderet de loco nostro  
 et exaltaretur ad locum spiritalium,  
 unde descenderat, reliquit  
 inter manus nostras arrhabonem corporis sui  
 25 sancti, ut de propinquo esset  
 apud nos per corpus suum, et omni tempore  
 immisceretur in nobis per virtutem suam. ante  
 enim tempus crucis suae et horam  
 qua paratus erat ut glorificaretur,  
 30 accepit panem et vinum, quod  
 fecerat voluntas eius, sanctificavit illud *benedictione*  
 spiritali. et hoc mysterium *tremendum*<sup>1</sup>  
 reliquit nobis, et similitudinem bonam  
 dimisit nobis, ut sicut (ipse) fecit faciamus  
 35 iugiter et vivamus per *mysteria eius*.

## VI.

fol. 20 a, col. 2.

[ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ]

<sup>1</sup> Fors. '*potentiae* [suae]'.







[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

10 [ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

*pro* [tota ecclesia tua sancta]15 *quae* est [in toto orbe; ut in tranquillitate]

et pace sit [in medio mundo.]

*pro* omnibus [episcopis]

et universo sacerdotio [et diaconatu,]

qui tibi in omni *loco* [ministrant]

20 [et stant coram te in omni]

[sanctitate et puritate in ecclesia tua]

sancta, ut *custodiantur* [sine]

macula [et sine culpa coram te.]

*pro* apostolis *omnibus*25 et martyribus et confessoribus, *patribus* [nostris]rectis et iustis. *pro* regibus

fidelibus, qui triumphare fecerunt in ditione [sua]

veritatem regni tui, ut in pace,

*quae* a te est, custodiantur fines30 potestatis eorum. *pro* corona

anni, ut benedicatur [et veniat]

ad perfectionem [prosperam. *pro*]

omnibus[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

35 [ . . . . . ]







## VII.

fol. 20b, col. 1.

[ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 10 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . faciat] *panem*  
 15 [hunc corpus sanctum] et vinum  
 [hoc sanguinem] *pretiosum* unigeniti tui,  
 [ . . . . . in] *fide*  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 20 [ . . . . . ] accipit et sumit  
 [ex eis,] *fiant* [ei in] sanctificationem  
 [et in purificationem] et in *liberationem* ab  
*omnibus* malis, et in *expiationem*  
*debitorum* et peccatorum; [ut des]  
 25 [nobis ut cum] *sanctis*, qui *sanctificati* sunt  
 [gratiâ] tuâ et digni habiti sunt *expiatione*  
 [quae (fit) per] donum tuum, laudemus et adoremus  
 [et glorificemus] *te patrem*, gloriosum  
 [prae omnibus, et filium,] qui a te est,  
 30 [ . . . . . ] *spiritum* tuum *vivum*  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 35 [ . . . . . ]







## VIII.

fol. 20b, col. 2.

[ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]

et per oblationem suam *fiant* [tibi]10 oblationes *purae* [et sanctae. et da]

nobis omnibus pariter [ut simus et nos]

puri et sancti; [ut omnis qui accipit]

et sumit *mysteria* [haec sancta]sanctificetur *totus et* [ . . . . . ]15 *populus* [ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ]

filii tui sancti [ . . . . . ]

simus *gaudentes* [ . . . . . ]20 in bonis; [ut iugiter] *adoremus*

et glorificemus omnes pariter sanctiorem

omnibus patrem et filium et spiritum

sanctum in saecula. amen.

ORATIO POSTQUAM SUMPSERUNT

25 OBLATIONEM.

*deus*, qui dignos habuisti nos per gratiam tuam

participatione mysterii sancti,

et ut sumamus corpus et sanguinem unigeniti tui,

*da omnibus* [servis] *tuis* ut sint30 [puri et] *sancti* omnes

[corpore et anima;] ut purificati

[a delictis] *nostris* revelata facie[te] laudemus et *adoremus* et glorificemus[deum] *factorem* nostrum propter35 [donum tuum] *ad* nos ineffabile.



## Notes.

## I.

fol. 21 a, col. 1.

The loss of all that is missing from this column is due to the tearing away of the parchment. There are two considerable rents: the first affects the beginnings of ll. 1—20, the second affects the ends of ll. 27—35.

l. 7. '[*et terreni*]'.—This conjecture rests on the supposition that the last word in l. 6 was in the plural, [*r*]ūhāne, 'spiritual beings'. The plural points do not appear, but they would naturally have stood over the initial *r*, which is lost. The phrase '*spiritalis et terreni*' is of common occurrence, and is natural in a context in which angels and men are represented as joining together in singing the *Sanctus*.

In the same line '*sanctificationes*' (plur.) must be read, for though the plural points have disappeared, they are found over the following adjective. That adj. is without doubt *tēlithāye*, 'threefold', though the initial *t* is torn away and the lower part of the *l*. Bickell's '*terreni*', presupposing *tahtāye*, is not possible. The same expression 'threefold sanctifications' evidently occurred again at l. 16 below.

l. 8. '[*mittunt*]'.—This verb is conjectured from l. 17, where it occurs in a similar context. A feature of this document is the frequency with which the same phraseology recurs.

l. 9. '[*pater*]'.—Some such vocative is required.

l. 10. '[*cum omnibus*] *spiritalibus*'.—The third word may be '*spiritalis*' (sing.), as it lacks the plural points. If so, another vocative would seem to be required—possibly it was '*O Deus noster*' ('ō 'alāhan): the presence of the 'O' would be required to fill the space.

ll. 11—14.—The restorations suggested in these lines are those which appear to arise most naturally out of the context, and I feel that they are not very far from the mark.

l. 15. '[*domus*] *habitationis*'.—The visible letters of the second word suggest in the context *ma'marhōn*, 'their habitation'. But the space requires another word at the beginning of the line. The most obvious to suggest is the noun *bēth*, forming the compound 'house-(or place-) of habitation': one of the many compounds in which the word *bēth* adds merely a vague idea of locality.

l. 16. '*trinas*'.—I have no doubt that the word is, as in l. 7, *tēlithāye*, 'threefold'. The same letters are visible here as there, but the plural points can no longer be read. I believe also that the preceding word was *kuddāše*, and that we have here a repetition of the expression 'send to thee threefold sanctifications'.



l. 17. '[*uno ore*]'—A familiar phrase, and rendered probable here by the following '*una voce*'.

l. 25.—The *Sanctus*, which no doubt was originally rubricated, has been traced over in black ink by a later hand.

ll. 27—32.—The restorations in these lines are all practically certain. They are those of Bickell, except that in l. 32 I read *d* (ⲁ), while he read *r* (ⲓ), at the beginning of the last word of the line. The mark over the *d* which caused him to take it for *r*, is probably the remnant of the back-stroke of the following *alaf*. The word was certainly *dahērēna*.

l. 33. '*praeualet*'.—The verb is almost certainly *methnaṣṣah*, which occurs again (VI 27) in the active form *naṣṣah*, in the causative sense of making the grace of God's kingdom to triumph or prevail.

l. 35. '*proxima*'.—The photograph appears to shew the letters *ḥb*, from which Bickell conjectured *ḥēbharētha*, '*socia*'. But the reagent made it clear that the word was *ḥarrībha*, '*near*'. The sense is that no other lordship can approach to that of God.

## II.

### fol. 21 a, col. 2.

This column has the following defects. There is a hole that has injured the beginnings of ll. 10—13; another small hole which has destroyed most of the first word in l. 19; a third which affects parts of ll. 20—22. There is besides a rent which runs along the outer (left-hand) edge from l. 23 to the end of the column; it has cut in two the last letters of ll. 23—35, has damaged the last word of l. 29, and carried off the ends of ll. 30—35. Another tear cuts in at a sharp angle from the beginning of l. 32 across ll. 33—35. Hence these lines have suffered loss at both ends. Furthermore, ll. 27ff. are spotted with small holes and otherwise defaced by rubbing and crumpling. Of l. 34 only three letters are visible, and of l. 35 nothing at all can be read.

l. 11.—Clearly visible at the beginning is the tall and nearly vertical up-stroke of a *t*: further on there is the remnant of a *t*. The space and the context make *ṭābha 'at*, 'thou art good', highly probable.

l. 13. '[*similitudo*]'.—The last letter of the word is *alaf*. Bickell conjectured from the context *ṣuḥlāpha*, '*mutatio*'; but this noun is masc. in Syriac, whereas the verb, '*appropinquat*', has the fem. form. More probably the noun was *dēmūtha*, '*similitudo*', as in l. 11. The sense will be that no similitude can convey any idea of God's grace or goodness.



l. 19.—Bickell suggests 'plenus', *malya*, for the first word. But the first letter was not *m*; it was one that protruded beyond the beginning of the line—a feature peculiar to *ayn* and *š*. The context speaks of God as the source of all spiritual riches, who needs not to borrow and to whom none can lend. I feel sure therefore from the visible remains that the word was 'attira, 'rich'. The expression *mabbō'a* 'attira, 'rich fountain', occurs twice in the Syriac version of the *Odes of Solomon* (iv 10, xxvi 14).

l. 20.—The preposition *men*, 'from', has disappeared; but there is a vestige of the *m*. All but the initial *alaf* of 'hērāne, 'others', is covered by a hole in the parchment, but the reading is certain from the context.

l. 21.—Bickell rightly conjectured *dē'attir*, 'qui (est) ditior', as the last word but one. The second letter, *ayn*, can be identified from the way in which its right-hand extremity runs under the horizontal stroke of the prefix *d* (ד). This reading tends to confirm that at l. 19.

l. 24.—The plural points have disappeared from the last word, *hayye*, 'life'.

l. 27.—The first Syriac word was a verb, evidently meaning to receive. It was probably not the same as that used in the next line, and would therefore be either *nessēbhūn* or *neškēlūn*.

l. 29. '[consuetudo] tua'.—The word appears to begin with *ayn* and to end with *k* (the possessive suffix 2 sing. masc.). Between these there is room for no more than two letters. I suggest 'ēyādhākh, 'thy custom', in the sense of God's constant attribute.

The last word of the line begins with *dt* (not *dn*, as Bickell read); and there are clear remains of a second *t* followed by *l*. So it was the verb *tettel* with the prefix *d*, 'ut', and means 'that thou shouldst give'.

l. 30.—The last word begins with *mtt* (the remainder is torn away). It was therefore a participle in the passive form; and it must, as the space demands, have been followed by the supplementary pronoun 2 sing. masc. (either attached or detached). I have suggested (without much confidence) *mettaggar* 'at, 'negotiaris' (God's gifts are free, they are not His part of a bargain). Other possibilities are *mettēwe* 'at, 'poenitet te', or *mettē'iph* 'at, 'deficis'. Conjectures, of course, must be restricted to the few classes of verbs which admit of a double *t* after the first letter.

ll. 31–33.—The conjectures in these lines arise out of the context and so much of the writing as is legible: they are offered at their face value.



## III

fol. 21b, col. 1.

As this page forms the verso of fol. 21, its col. 1 stands behind col. 2 of the previous page and has suffered correspondingly from loss of the original parchment; its last lines, however, are somewhat better preserved.

l. 1. '*dirigis*'.—As noted under the text, the MS has '*dispergis*', *mēbhaddar*: but this seems almost certainly to be a scribe's mistake for *mēdhabbar*. The same mistake appears to have been made again at l. 14 below.

l. 2. '[*omnia virtute*] tua'.—All that is clear is *lk* at the end of the second word, which I take to have been *bēhailākh*.

l. 3. '[*sustinet*]'.—The word, as the re-agent clearly shewed, ended with *k*, and it must have been a verb. In this context therefore *masmekh*, 'supports, upholds', appears to be the most likely conjecture.

l. 4. '[*et*] adduxit'.—The verb was evidently '*aiti*', 'brought'. The re-agent made clear the letters '*i*', and the last two letters appear to be *ti*.

l. 11. '*saecula*'.—Enough remains of the first three letters to make this reading sure.

l. 12. '[*saecula*]'.—It is probable that this word was repeated here, though its place is quite covered by a hole in the parchment. Bickell's '*et*' (α) at the beginning of the line is wrong: the MS has 'of' (σ) quite clearly.

l. 13. '[*omnia*]'.—This is conjectured from the context: part of the first letter (*k*) is legible.

l. 14. '*secreto dirigis*'.—The expression is almost certainly the same as that in l. 1. And if so, the scribe has again written *mēbhaddar* by mistake for *mēdhabbar*. We can tell this from the fact that the final *r* is of the form that this letter takes when not joined to the preceding. Bickell read the first letter as *s*; but what remains of it would better suit *m*.

l. 21. '[*in*] imagine'.—It is possible that the MS had '*per*', *bēyadh*, rather than '*in*'.

l. 30.—'*et sicut* [...]'.—'*et sicut*' (or '*et secundum*') is clear, though Bickell failed to read it. The next word, which was quite short, ends with *lk*. Possible would be *hailākh*, '(*secundum*) potestatem tuam', or *dilākh*, '(*sicut*) tuus'. The first is the more probable.

l. 33. '*operaretur servitium*'.—There can be little doubt about the second word. For the Syriac expression cf. Acts vii 7 and Lk. xv 29; compare also '*praestaret servitium*' in l. 23 above.



## IV.

fol. 21 b, col. 2.

This column stands behind fol. 21a col. 1, and it is affected (but in the reverse direction) by the rents and holes described above under I. More or less of the latter part of ll. 1—20 is torn away, as is also the initial part of ll. 25—34. The column has only 34 lines.

ll. 7—10.—The separate pronoun *hēnan*, 'nos', supplementing the participles, has been torn off at the end of each of these lines. It was unnecessary to indicate its loss in the translation.

l. 15. '*benignus*'.—The word must be read as the adjective *hannāna*, not as the noun *hēnāna* (Bickell); but the noun is required in the next line.

l. 17. '[*modo*]'.—We require an adverbial expression corresponding to '*omni tempore*' just before. The fairly common phrase *men kul pērōs* (πρόπος), 'every way', 'by all means', would suit very well.

l. 22. '*vocasti nos*'.—The scribe has carelessly written the singular suffix '*me*', instead of the plural '*nos*'.

l. 27.—'*exornata est*'.—The first two letters of this verb are torn away, but it was certainly '*eṣṭabbēthath*'.

l. 30. '*ferre insitionem*'.—The verb, I think, must have been *lēmet'an*, 'to bear'; there is not room for *lēmettal lan*, 'to give us'. Consequently the noun is to be understood in its sense of '*insitio*', not in its other sense of '*gustus*'.—The following words '*arboris tuae*' confirm this.

## V.

fol. 20 a, col. 1.

This leaf as a whole is badly torn; but cols. 20a 1 and b 2 have suffered less than 20a 2 and b 1. The two latter have not a single line that is complete, and of only 20 lines is there any portion left. The present column has the first five lines completely torn away, as also the latter part of ll. 6—10 and the beginnings of ll. 6—20.

The restorations offered in ll. 8—19 are dictated by the context, and I venture to think that in the main they will commend themselves.

l. 8.—'[*et factus est*]' at the end of the line is pretty certain from the context; but there must have been another verb before it to account for the space, and hence I have supplied *w'ethā*, '*et venit*'.

l. 10. '*conversatus est*'.—For this Bickell proposed '*venit*', '*ethā*'. But the third letter is almost certainly *d*, and certainly it is not *alaf*, which would be required for Bickell's suggestion. After the *d* there appear to be traces of a *b*: hence I read '*ethdabbar*' (pronounced '*eddabbar*').



l. 12. '[*et ut notum faceret nobis*].—The '*et ut*' is entirely conjectural. The first visible letter is an *ayn* at the end of a word, before which there are traces of what may be a *d*. This seems to justify the conjecture *dēnauda*, '*ut notum faceret*'. The next word, which was quite a short one, is covered by a blot. I have supplied *lan*, 'to us'; but the word may have been '*al*, 'concerning'; and indeed there is the suggestion of an initial *ayn*.

All the restorations in ll. 13—19 are very probable, and some of them almost certain from the context—as '*aeternam*' in l. 16, '[*resuscitaret*]' in l. 17, and '[*ad regnum*]' in l. 19.

l. 19. '*supernum*', lit. '*altitudinis*'.—The word is quite clear, and it begins with the genitive prefix *d*. There is therefore no foundation for Bickell's '*in altitudinem*'.

l. 20.—The first word is clearly the adverb [šē]bhāhā'īth, 'glorioso'. Only the first letter is wanting, and there is room for no more than this at the beginning of the line. Bickell's '... gloriosam' is therefore misleading.

l. 31. '*benedictione*'.—I am confident that the last word in the line is *bēbhurkath*. It is a noun beginning with the instrumental prefix *b*, which is followed by another *b* as the first letter of the root; and it ends with *t*, before which there appears to be a *k*, though this is very faint. There is no room for any other letter at the end of the line after the *t*. We have therefore a feminine noun in the construct state. This much is true whether my identification of the word be right or not. But the first word on the next line is *dērūh*, 'of spirit' (equivalent to an adj. 'spiritalis'), i. e. it is the noun *rūh* (absolute state) with the genitive prefix *d*. But Nöldeke (*Gram.* 205) declares that a construct state can never stand before a genitive with *d*; and he says in a note that any instances of this construction that appear in our printed editions 'rest on textual errors'. Whether this be true or not, we have such an instance in the present passage. The phrase *bēbhurkath dērūh* is probably a reminiscence of Eph. i 3 *bēkhul burkān dērūh*, 'with all blessings of spirit'; but there the noun before the genitive with *d* is in the absolute, not the construct state.

l. 32. '*tremendum*'.—The Syriac word was either *dahīla*, 'terrible', or *dēhāileh*, 'potestatis eius'. The last letter is gone, so that we cannot decide the point with certainty.

l. 34.—There is no room at the end for Bickell's '*nos quoque*'; the verb *ne'bedh*, '*faciamus*', ends the line.

l. 35. '*mysteria eius*'.—The plural, with suffix, is required to complete the line. The passage is reminiscent of John xiii 15 ὑπόδειγμα γὰρ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν ἵνα καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιῇτε. This liturgy,



though it refers to the Institution, seems not to have contained our Lord's words.

## VI.

fol. 20a, col. 2.

In this column everything is torn away except the beginnings of ll. 14—19 and those parts of ll. 21—33 which are not printed within square brackets [ ]. The context is concerned with the Intercession.

ll. 14—16.—The reconstruction here is purely conjectural, and its only purpose is to indicate what I conceive to have been the general run of the passage.

If the second word in l. 16 begins with *t*, as I read it, it was doubtless a verb fem., and so the subject was probably 'the Church'. For the general ideas of the passage we may compare the liturgy of Theodore: 'for all the holy catholic Church, that thou mayest cause thy peace and tranquillity to dwell in the midst of her all the days of the world'.<sup>1</sup>

l. 18.—'*sacerdotio*' is certain. The word begins with *kh*, and that it was a noun fem. is shewn by the anticipatory suffix at the end of the previous word *kullah*, 'all of her'. There are only two fem. nouns which begin with *kh*, *kāhnūtha* ('priesthood') and *kahinūtha* ('prosperity'), and the former alone is possible here. It is thus pretty certain that the word after 'omnibus' in the previous line was '*episcopis*'. We may compare again the liturgy of Theodore: 'And for all our fathers the bishops and periodontae and priests and deacons who are in this ministry of truth, that they may stand and minister before thee purely and piously and holily'.<sup>2</sup>

l. 22.—The first word is *ḥaddishta*, 'holy' (fem.). There is a point after it indicating some sort of pause; then the next word begins with *dnt*, that is with '*ut*' (*d*) prefixed and the preformative letters of a verb fut. (or subj.) pass. *masculine*. It is therefore impossible that Bickell's '[*pro virgine*]' in the previous line can be right, or that in the present line the verb has any reference to the Blessed Virgin: it no doubt refers to the clergy already mentioned, and asks that they 'may be kept(?) without spot'.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the line '*sine*' must have preceded the '*macula*' of the next line.

l. 23.—Compare Coloss. i 23, and Narsai (ed. Mingana) p. 273 l. 8.

ll. 24—25.—'*apostolis*' and '*martyribus*' are certain from the context and from the letters that remain.—In l. 25 the last word began

<sup>1</sup> Urmi edition (1890) p. 37 l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid l. 14

<sup>3</sup> See also what has been said at p. 99 above.



with *alaf*, and it was no doubt 'abhāhain, 'our fathers': for the phrase 'patribus nostris rectis et iustis' cf. the liturgy of Addai and Mari (Brightman *L. E. W.* p. 286 ll. 12—13).

l. 32. [*prosperam*].—The first letter appears to be a *k*. I suggest *kahīna*, 'prosperous', for which compare Narsai (ed. Mingana p. 287 l. 14): 'and he asks that the crown of the year may be prosperous (*kahīna*) and blessed'.

## VII.

fol. 20b, col. 1.

This column, standing at the back of fol. 20a col. 2, is correspondingly mutilated. The ends of ll. 14—17 are visible, and a good deal of ll. 20—29; but the latter are much rubbed. The subject-matter is clearly the Epiklesis.

l. 14.—All that is legible is an *m* followed by an *alaf* at the end of the line; but we may be practically sure that the word was *lēlahma*, 'the bread' (accus.), for at the end of the next line we have quite clear *walēhamra*, 'and the wine' (accus.). There was therefore a petition for some action on the bread and wine.

ll. 16.—Clear at the end is '*unigeniti tui*'. The last letter of the word before is an *alaf*, and its form shews that it was not joined to the preceding letter. This would suit the characteristic epithet *yaklūra*, 'precious'. I have not much doubt that ll. 14—16 ran somewhat as follows: '*ut faciat panem hunc corpus sanctum et vinum hoc sanguinem pretiosum unigeniti tui*'.

l. 17.—The last word is *haimānūtha*, 'faith'. After l. 16 the text would seem to have gone on: '*ut omnis qui in fide*'.

ll. 18 and 19 are completely torn away.

As regards ll. 20—31, all that is not contained in square brackets may be regarded as certain or very probable, and a few of the bracketed words are nearly certain from the context. The whole passage should be compared with the corresponding portions of the other three East-Syrian liturgies. In contrast with the liturgy of Addai and Mari our text appears to have contained an advanced form of Epiklesis.

ll. 24—25.—The remains of the last word on l. 24 suggest to me the verb *tettel*, 'thou shouldst give'. The last letter but one is almost certainly a *t*, and the letter before it appears to be another *t*. Before this there are traces which may be the remains of either *d* or *w*; and there is room at the end of the line for an *l*. I suggest therefore '*ut des*' or '*et des*'. We should then expect the next line to begin '[*nobis ut cum*] *sanctis*'. There seems to be room for no more than that.



ll. 27—28.—For the three verbs '*laudemus et adoremus [et glorificemus]*' compare VIII l. 33.

l. 28.—There is no *alaf* at the end of the final adj. '*gloriosum*', which is therefore either in the absolute or the construct state. I supply accordingly at the beginning of the next line *men kul*, which gives the sense '*gloriosum [prae omnibus]*' or '*gloriosiorem [quam omnes]*'. Compare *kaddiš men kul*, '*sanctiorem omnibus*', at VIII 21—22; and for the idiom see Nöldeke *Gram.* § 206.

### VIII.

fol. 20b, col. 2.

This column stands behind fol. 20a1 and is mutilated as described under V above. Where the parchment is not actually torn away it has suffered in many places from wear and exposure.

l. 12. '*[ut omnis qui accipit]*'.—See for '*accipit et sumit*' VII l. 20 above.

l. 20. '*[ut iugiter]*'.—This is a pure conjecture, but it would fit the space, and there are traces (but uncertain traces) of two of the letters (see the printed text).

l. 21. '*pariter*'.—This adverb is clearly legible (see also l. 11 of this col.). It is followed at the end of the line by the letters *lk̄d*, i. e. the beginning of *lēkaddiš*, 'the holy', which with the *men kul* ('than all') of the next line forms the comparative '*sanctiorem omnibus*' (cf. VII 28—29 above).

ll. 24—25.—The original rubric here has been traced over with black ink.

l. 26.—'*deus*' is certain from the visible remains, and might in any case have safely been conjectured from the context. The final *alaf* and the top of the *l* of '*alāha*' can be made out.

l. 27. '*mysterii sancti*'.—These words were possibly in the plural, but if so the plural points have disappeared.

l. 29.—'*da omnibus*' is practically certain.

l. 30. '*[puri et] sancti*'.—Cf. ll. 10 and 12 above.

l. 35 '*[donum tuum] ad nos ineffabile*'.—There is little doubt that '*donum*' was the first word of the line: cf. the liturgy of Addai and Mari (Brightman *L. E. W.* 301 ll. 34—35): 'Glory be to him for his unspeakable gift; and Narsai ed. Mingana p. 297 l. 12. The expression comes from 2 Cor. ix 15 *Χάρις τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ*.