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# MÖRĀN 'ETHŌ

10

## DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI: COMMENTARY ON THE EUCHARIST

Translated by

**FR. BABY VARGHESE**



S.T. EPHREM ECUMENICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE [SEERI]

BAKER HILL KOTTAYAM. 686001

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## *Forward*

*We are happy to offer to our readers, a translation into English of the Commentary on the Eucharist of Dionysius Bar Salibi. This translation is the work of Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese, Professor in the Old Seminary of the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church at Kottayam as well as of the St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI). He is a specialist and scholar in Liturgy and is the author of several publications.*

*Where as the Commentary, originally in Syriac of Bar Salibi, was available in translation in Latin it was inaccessible for those who cannot use these languages. Hence this translation into English will make this commentary useful to a much wider readership. It is our earnest and confident hope that subscribers to Môrân 'Eth'ô will heartily welcome this translation and will feel thankful to Rev. Dr. Baby Varghese.*





# PREFACE

The Syriac text of Dionysius Jacob Bar Salibi's Commentary on the Eucharist was published by H. Labourt in 1903 with a latin translation (CSCO. 13-14). The present work is an English translation of this text. This is for the first time that the Commentary of Bar Salibi is published in a European language. My friends Dr. Geevarghese Chediath and George Appassery published a Malayalam translation in 1990 (Vadavathoor, Kottayam).

In 1994-95, I had the privilege to stay in Berlin as an Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow and to study the History of St. James Liturgy as well as history of the Preparation rites and the Pre-anaphora of the West Syrian Eucharistic Liturgy. Dr. Rainier M. Voigt of the Institute für Semitistik und Arabistik supervised my researches.

It was during my stay in Berlin that I felt the need for an English translation of Bar Salibi's Commentary and I got enough time to finish it. In Summer 1995, with the generous assistance of the Humboldt Foundation, I spent three months in Oxford and in London for further researches under the supervision of Dr. Sebastian Brock (Oxford). Dr. Brock read my translation and corrected it. I acknowledge my deepest gratitude to Dr. Brock for his encouragements and valuable suggestions. However, the foot notes, bibliography, introduction and the glossary were prepared after my meeting with Dr. Brock. So I am responsible for any mistakes or omissions.

My sincere thanks to my colleague Dr. Jacob Thekkeparampil (SEERI) who accepted the text for publication in the collection *Môrân 'Ethô*.

For the convenience of reference, I have divided each chapter into sections. The page number of the Syriac text (CSCO. 13) is given in brackets with and asterisk (\*). I have refrained from giving detailed footnotes and comments to limit the size of the book. The biblical references, which are not found in the Syriac text, are given in the text itself to limit the number of footnotes.



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## GLOSSARY

**Annâpûrô** : from Greek *anaphora*, it is used in three different senses in liturgical texts.

1. The eucharistic prayer or canon; originally the prayers from the Trinitarian blessing to the epiklesis came under this title. In the liturgical texts, the sections from the kiss of peace to the final benediction are called *Annâpûrô*.

eg. The Anaphora of Saint James.

2. The veil with which the Chalice and the Paten are covered. Bar Salibi uses the word in this sense (ch.9,§ 3)
3. In the *Ordo Communis*, the eucharistic bread is also called *annâpûrô* (eg. Deacon's exhortation before the Promioun-Sedro).

**ghôntô** : *ghônotô* (pl) : A prayer of inclining, said by the priest with bend head and low voice; Latin : *Oratio secreta*. Opposite is *tlôitô* = a prayer said with uplifted voice.

**gmûrtô** : *gmûrôtô* (pl) : lit. coal or live-coals. The particles of the holy eucharist are so called in Syriac tradition following Isaiah 6:6.

**hâiklô** : The part of a church reserved for the people. English : Nave.

**kôrûzutô** : A proclamation, recitation, bidding prayer, litany.

**mâdbâhô** : is altar as well as the sanctuary, where the altar stands. Bar Salibi uses the word in both senses.

**mârgônîtô** : Gk. *margarites* : a pearl. Metaphorically a particle of the Eucharistic bread.

- mârwâhôtô* : a fan or flabellum.
- nôqûsô* : a sounding board used instead of bell and struck with a mallet; same as Greek *Semantron*.
- Prômiûn* : Gk. Prooimioun : a preface or introduction to a prayer called *Sedrô*.
- qâtûliqî* : Gk. *Katholike* : a general prayer, in the Syriac Anaphora, the prayer said during the fraction.
- qûrbônô* : Oblation, offering, the eucharistic liturgy, the consecrated bread.
- qûrôbô* : Oblation, Offering, the eucharistic liturgy, the anaphora.
- Sedrô* : Lit. a row, order or series. Name of a long prayer in the form of a series of expositions or meditations. *Sedrô* is usually preceded by *Prômiûn*
- tâblîtô* : a tablet (same as greek Antimension) made of wood or stone. The Chalice and the Paten are always placed on the *tâblîtô*.

## INTRODUCTION

Our main source of information about the life of "Mar Dionysius of Amid" or Jacob Bar Salibi is the Chronicles of the patriarch Michel the Syrian and Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (1). In fact Michel wrote a biography of Dionysius which has been lost (2). According to the Chronicle of Michel, Jacob was from Melitène (Malatiah) and was a rhetor by profession (3). "Jacob" might be his baptismal name, and "Salibi" that of his father. Thus he was known as "Jacob Bar Salibi" (Son of Salibi).

Jacob first appears in the Syrian Church History as a deacon who wrote a treatise on Providence, criticising the theological position of John, bishop of Mardin (d. 1165). Bishop John was offended by the criticism of a deacon and complained to the Patriarch Athanasius VIII Bar Qatreh (1138-1166). The patriarch, having wished to honour the bishop wrote a letter condemning the deacon Jacob Bar Salibi. Bar Salibi presented the treatise before the synod and the patriarch carefully read it. The patriarch felicitated the young writer and the condemnation was lifted. Mar Athanasius was so impressed with Jacob, that he decided to consecrate him bishop of Mar'ash (Germanica in Cilicia). At his episcopal consecration in 1154, Bar Salibi took the name Dionysius (4).

Patriarch Mar Athanasius sent the new bishop to John of Mardin and the two were reconciled. Later a synod met in Mardin (1154/5) and Bar Salibi was given the additional charges of Mabboug (5). In 1156, the Armenians attacked the city of Mar'ash

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Michel, *Chronique* III, 300-2; see also p. 269; 310f. 344f. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon*. p.511-16; 537-39; 559-562.

Michel, p. 344-45.

ibid. p. 310: "Jacob, the Rhetor from Melitène".

ibid. p. 310-11.

p. 313.

and pillaged it. Along with its inhabitants, Bar Salibi was captured. However he escaped and retired to the monastery of Kalisura (6). This capture explains why Bar Salibi always used very harsh words whenever he got an opportunity to attack the Armenians. The pain and grief which were caused by this incident were expressed in the three poems which he composed on the capture of Mar'ash.

In 1165, Bar Salibi took an active part in the election and installation of his intimate friend Michel the Syrian as Patriarch of Antioch (7). The discourse of Bar Salibi at the enthronement has been incorporated in the West Syrian Pontifical (8). The new Patriarch made Mardin his diocese, instead of Amid (Diarbekir), and requested Bar Salibi to take over the charge of Amid, which he ruled for five years (9). He restored the church of the Mother of God in Amid and founded a school for the instruction of the young clergy under a teacher called deacon Abraham (10). Bar Salibi died on 2nd November 1171 and was entombed in the church of the Mother of God (11).

Michel the Syrian had a great admiration for our author. Thus often he refers to Bar Salibi as "the venerable Dionysius of Amid". Michel qualifies him as "the eloquent doctor, the star of his generation, lover of work (*philoponos*) like Jacob of Edessa" (12). Michel gives a list of Bar Salibi's works, which covers several branches of knowledge (13). The scholar patriarch quotes the words of Bar Salibi, according to which he had planned to write a universal history, which probably did not materialise (14).

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6. p. 314.

7. p. 330

8. J.B. CHABOT (ed), in *Journal Asiatique*, 10e series, t.XI (1908), 87-115.

9. Michel, III, 331, 327

10. *ibid.* p. 340-41

11. *ibid.* 344-45

12. *ibid.* p. 344.

13. p. 344-45

14. p. 257

On the basis of Vatican Siriaco 32, J.S. Assemani gives a long list of the works of Bar Salibi, and he has dealt with them at great length (15). The most important among his works is the commentary on the whole Bible. He commented on the Old Testament in the following order: the Pentateuch, Job, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor Prophets and Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach) (16). Each book has a literal and a spiritual commentary. Several of the books have two commentaries, one on the Peshitta, and the other on the Hexaplar text. Book of Jeremiah has three: one on the Hexaplar text and two, a shorter and a longer, on the Peshitta. These extensive works are less original. Often our author gives a resumé of the commentaries of the illustrious writers like, Saint Ephrem, Saint John Chrysostom and Moses Bar Kepha.

Assemani has given many extracts from the commentary on the New Testament (17). The order of the books is: the four Gospels, the Revelation of Saint John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Seven catholic epistles and the fourteen epistles of St. Paul. The commentaries on the New Testament, except the Pauline epistles have been edited in CSCO (Louvain). In the seventeenth century, Dudley Loftus translated the extracts of the commentaries on Mathew and Mark in English.

### Theological works:

- (1) A compendium of Theology, of which no manuscript is existing in Europe. Similarly a treatise on the Providence of God, against John of Mardin also seems to have been lost.
- (2) A long treatise against heresies, dealing with the Muslims, the Jews, the Nestorians, the Diophysites and the Armenians (cfr. Bibliography).

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5. J.S. ASSEMANI, *BO*.II, 156-210

6. W.WRIGHT, *Syr. Lit.* p. 246-47

7. *BO*. II, 157,170

- (3) A treatise on the Nicene Creed and a confession of faith.
- (4) Expositions of the Eucharist, Baptism, Myron and Ordination. (Commentary on the eucharist is translated here).
- (5) Canons on Confession and the Absolution.
- (6) At least two Anaphorae.
- (7) Various prayers, proemia and Sedrè
- (8) Homilies : encomium on the Patriarch Michel the Syrian, the Passion of Our Lord, on withholding the Sacrament from those who abstain from communicating for a period of more than forty days.
- (9) Poems : two poems on the fall of Edessa (1144), the fall of Mar'ash (1156) and two on another in 1159 (1159).
- (10) Commentaries on the works of Saint Basil, Gregory of Naziansen, Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysius the Areopagite, Severus of Antioch, Peter of Kallinicus and the Centurion Evagrius. All these works except the commentary on Evagrius, seem to have been lost.

Among the works mentioned by Assemani, the following also are apparently no longer existing (18) : Histories of the Fathers, Saints and the Martyrs and a Collection of the Canons of the Apostles. His philosophical works include a commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyry and Categories, Analytica and Hermeneias of Aristotle.

The Syrian Orthodox baptismal liturgy appears to have been revised by Bar Salibi. Probably he had drawn up a volume of the services for the days of the week. The Patriarch Michel the Syrian stated that he had collected all the hymns of the Syrian Orthodox in a volume. The order of the fraction in the Syrian Orthodox Eucharistic liturgy also is attributed to Bar Salibi.

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18. *ibid.* 210-211.

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**Commentary on the Eucharist**

Dionysius Bar Salibi's Commentary on the Eucharist is an important source for the study of the Syriac Anaphora of Saint James, and the *Ordo Communis* of the Syrian Orthodox Eucharistic liturgy. The text was published with a latin translation by H.Labout in 1903 (CSCO. 13-14). But this edition did not get the deserving attention among the liturgists. In fact the Commentary of Bar Salibi could not claim much originality, as the author had made use of the works of his illustrious predecesors. Bar Salibi admits that his treatise is a summary of the opinion of the ancients (ch. 1, §1).

**Sources**

- (1) Among the works of the ancients, the Commentrary of Moses Bar Kepha on the Eucharist, is the main source for Bar Salibi. Thus we find that the Bishop of Amid quotes Bar Kepha almost freely, often without mentioning the latter's name. It was the faithfulness to the tradition which prompted Bar Salibi to depend on Bar Kepha's work. He wanted to be a faithful witness to the tradition, rather than an innovator.



However, he had used other sources as well, adding his own personal reflections and modest comments here and there, which were based on the liturgical practices of his own time. The other possible sources that Bar Salibi might have used are the following.

- 2) A 5th century (?) commentary attributed to Saint John Chrysostom (cfr. BROCK, *Com*; RAHMANI, *I Fasti*, p.x-xiii).
- 3) Dionysius the Areopagite (c.500), *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in a Syriac translation.
- 4) Jacob of Edessa's (c.633-708) Commentaries:
  - (i) Jacob of Edessa's Commentary addressed to George the Stylite of Serugh (cfr. ID., *Com. to Serugh*). [The text as we have in Berlin SACHAU 218. fol. 178-186, is a revised one, with several interpolations which crept into the text later. However, a large part of the materials belongs to the original text].
  - (ii) Jacob of Edessa's letter to the Presbyter Thomas (cfr. ID, *Letter*).
  - (iii) Jacob of Edessa's Commentary on the Eucharist (published by RAHMANI, *I Fasti*, p.xix-xxv = ID, *Commentary*).
- 5) Commentary of George, Bishop of the Arabs (+ 724)
- 6) John of Dara's (9th cent) Commentary on the Eucharist.
- 7) Abu Nasr Yahya Ibn Garir (2nd half of the 11th cent), *Kitab-al Mursid* (19).

9 GRAF, *Eucharistielehre*, pp. 110-115; *Geschichte*, p.259-62

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# **Dionysius Bar Salibi**

## **Commentary on the Eucharist**

Hoping in God  
We write the commentary on *qurobo*  
Which was  
Arranged and expounded by our father  
Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of Amid

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1 These lines might have been added by the copyist.

# Chapter 1

1. O God-fearing brother Mar Ignatius, Metropolitan of the Holy city,<sup>2</sup> you have written to us to send you a commentary of the qurobo which was expounded by the ancients, so that you can prepare an apokrisis (*apugrisis*), that is a response and a reply to the Romans, that is the Franks.<sup>3</sup>

It seemed to me (good to send) not only the work of the ancients and the summary of their opinions so as to please our friend, but also something which we have studied and collected and arranged in a theological book, (that is), the teaching on the

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2 Ignatius, Metropolitan of Jerusalem (1140-1185), was a native of Melitene, like Bar Salibi and Michel the Syrian. His former name was Romanus and later he became a monk in Jerusalem. He took the name Ignatius when he was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem in A.D. 1140 by the Patriarch Athanasius VIII Bar Qatreh (1138-1166). See Michel, *Chronique*, III, 252; cfr. p. 478. We find the name of Ignatius in the accounts of the election of Michel the Syrian to the patriarchate of Antioch. Ignatius was not present in the synod which elected Michel in 1167. But his letter supporting Michel's candidature was decisive. (*Chronique*, III, 330).

It is interesting to note that here the bishop of Jerusalem took the name Ignatius. There is a generally held belief in India that the name 'Gregorios' is traditionally used for the bishop of Jerusalem. This is based on the use of the name in the first diptich of the eucharistic liturgy used in India. Appendix IV of the *Chronicle* of Michel the Syrian gives a list of the bishops of Jerusalem upto 1200. Among the 87 bishops of the list, five were called Ignatius; but nobody was called Gregorios (*Chronicle*, III, 492-93). See also, PALMER, *History*. OC. 75 (1991), 16-43; 76 (1992), 74-94.

3 For the Syrians of the Middle ages, 'Franks' meant the latin christians or simply the Western Europeans or the French.

incarnation, and on the intelligible, visible and sacramental natures of the Church, and to help our faithful friend to share in it. Thus you will be emending to and perfect in the knowledge of the mystery of the eucharist, as you have requested us.

2. (p.2\*) Therefore, O admirable (brother), pray always for my feebleness, seeing that we have not returned your request unfulfilled, as the Lord's word instructs: 'Pray each other for you may be healed' (James 5:16). However I do not shorten the commentary that I give in my book, so that the discussion may not be too brief, and condensed and imperfect. But, as you have requested us, for your pleasure, we have added here and there useful details in sequence, that is following on. Thus you will be delighted with the growth of the spiritual seeds and you (could) instruct the sons of Ketim that is, the above-mentioned 'Romans' from whom the Greeks seized the name of Romans, which comes from Romulus who built Rome. The (Greeks) borrowed that name from them, for they saw that, their own name is not (well) approved. (Formerly) they were called 'Hellene' or 'Greeks', meaning 'pagan'. They abandoned it and stealed the name of Romans. Even though they are usually called 'Romans' among men, the holy scriptures clearly (use) the name 'Greeks' to call them.<sup>4</sup> (They are also called) Melkites, because they abandoned the doctrine of the fathers and followed the opinion of the Emperor Marcian. They are called 'Chalcedonians', because they accepted the new teaching of 'duality and two natures' of the synod or the assembly of the clergy (met) in the city of Chalcedon.<sup>5</sup>

Since our discussion is not on this subject, let us move on, that is let us turn our attention to the goal (*kamptos*) that is to our discourse. It is enough (now).

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4 See also, Bar Salibi, *Treatise against the Melchites*, p. 31-32.

5 In his *Treatise against the Melchites*, Bar Salibi writes: 'They call us heretical Jacobites, and we call them Chalcedonians, Nestorians and heretics' (p. 38).

## Chapter 2

1. Kephalaion, or chapter two of this treatise: This is the eighty sixth (p.3\*) discourse of the treatise (*pragmatia*) that we have written, as we have indicated in the first kephalaion.

Again after the sequence on baptism, with the same divine enthusiasm, that is burning in us for revealing the grace of the Holy Mysteries, we have reached the concealed and hidden meaning of the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood. We attempt to approach the core (of the subject) and to raise the veil little by little before our pious hearers, so that as the mind enjoys the quality hidden therein, it may offer prayer for (me) who arranged and wrote (this commentary) according to the power granted from above. Let us begin as before.

2. As the labourers sow the grains of wheat in the field, the mysteries and the figures of the Son were sown by the husbandmen, that is the prophets, in the rational fields, that is among the Hebrew people. The grains of wheat sprout with rains and showers; ripen with the wind's breezes and reach perfection. Similarly, the mysteries of the Son also reached their goal and were fulfilled through the parables, images and various kinds of prophecies. The wheat is harvested and brought to the storehouse from the field. Similarly the mysteries of the Son were harvested from the people and were brought to the gentiles. In the same way, the Good News of Gabriel was brought from above to our humanity. As the wheat is put in a grindstone and is ground, the words of the scriptures also reach the ears of Christians, and the mysteries in them were expounded. Similarly the Good News reached the ear of the virgin and it was clearly imprinted in her mind.

3. Then, just as the ground wheat is kneaded, and (then) baked in fire (p.4\*) the Son also was united to our feeble flesh without confusion, in the womb of the virgin and by the fire of His divinity, He strengthened our weakness when He was incarnated from the virgin without change, by the Holy Spirit.

4. The chosen bread (*pristo*), that is the stamped bread of the mysteries, is made from (different) elements set apart for the liturgy and the sacramental offering. Similarly, the Son who is from the Godhead was seen with soul and body, in one composite hypostasis and one incarnate nature without confusion and (without) change and he was offered on the cross as a victim in the flesh for our salvation.

5. Again, let us see, by which names is known this communion of the Mystery of the Body and Blood. We say that this action has six names.<sup>1</sup> 1. Assembly; 2. Communion; 3. Nearness (*qurobo*); 4. offering (*qurbono*) 5. Mystery; 6. Perfection of Perfections.<sup>2</sup> It is called assembly, because it brings together our separated lives towards the unity of the One God.

Communion, because we partake in the body of Christ and we become one body with Him, as (it is written): *he who eats my body and drinks my blood* (John 6:56) and *we are members of Christ* (Eph 5:30; 1 Cor 6:15).

It is called 'nearness' because those who are near and far away, heavenly and earthly beings come together, as says Paul: *in Him we have access for both of us, the People and the gentiles* (Eph 2: 18). It is called 'offering' because, on the cross, He became an offering to God the Father for our sins. *He offered himself for our sake* etc (Heb 9:14), as the apostle said. In the (Book of the) Law too, the sacrifices which were offered for the sins were also called 'offerings'.

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1 Bar Kepha, p. 24.

2 This expression was first used by Dionysius the Arcopagite, HE. II-ii, PG. 3, 424C (*teleton telety*)

It is called 'mysteries' because, in the upper-room, Christ entrusted it mystically to His disciples. The 'Perfection of perfections' because (p.5\*) none of the divine mysteries are accomplished without it. The baptised do not become perfect without the reception of the mystery; similarly the ordained are perfected and completed by the mysteries,

6. But there are other names also such as. 7. Eucharist, that is thanksgiving; 8. Sacrifice. 'Sacrifice' is a generic and comprehensive name. It can be divided up into the following kinds or ways.

- 1 That which the ancients used, through the blood of sheep and oxen, is called 'sacrifice' and the Law has prescribed it.
- 2 Again the offering which Christ made himself on the cross is called sacrifice, which was indicated in the figurative sacrifice (of the Law).
- 3 Again the slaying of the martyrs is also called a 'sacrifice'.
- 4 The death of the body vis-a-vis the passions and the abolition of evil thoughts is called 'sacrifice'.
- 5 Again, it is called 'the fruits of the lips which confess God' (Heb. 13:15), also 'sacrifice of praise' something which passes to the world to come.
- 6 Again, the sacramental eucharist is called sacrifice. It is called bloodless sacrifice, to be distinguished from the (sacrifices) of the Law, which were offered with blood.

Therefore, we say that the heavenly bread is truly and indeed the body of the Son of God. It is the same body of the person of the Word which was taken from Mary and which became a sacrifice on the cross for our sake.

7. Again we say, that on the Sunday of the Pentecost the Holy Spirit came upon the apostles; on Monday they consecrated the Myron; on Tuesday they consecrated *tablito* that is the *madbho*; on Wednesday Jacob brother of our Lord offered the



*qurobo* which is said to be his (work and which begins): *God of all and the Lord* etc When he was asked (p.6\*) from where he has received it, he answered. 'As the Lord lives! I have neither added nor omitted (anything) from what I have heard from our Lord.' Therefore this is the oldest and the first *qurobo*.<sup>3</sup> Let us stop these (explanations) here.

## Chapter 3

1. In the second section of the third (chapter) of this treatise, let us show how Saint Jacob of Edessa has taught concerning the order of the offering of the *qurbono*, (in the letter) which he wrote to the presbyter Thomas as (given) below<sup>1</sup>

Our fathers have entrusted us regarding this sacramental service, the rational and bloodless sacrifice, that is regarding the *qurobo* or *qurbono*. After the reading of the holy books of the Old and the New Testaments, there shall be three prayers. When the deacon cries out *Depart ye hearers*<sup>2</sup> and when they pass under the hand of the bishop or presbyter, and receive the laying on of hands, the first prayer on the hearers (shall be said). Then let the prayer over the energumens (be said), as the deacon cries out and they pass under the hand of the bishop or presbyter who has instructed them and (then) leave. Similarly the third prayer over the penitents is said and the deacon dismisses them also and they depart.

But all these things are disappearing from the Church, even though the deacon evokes its memory at various points, proclaiming (the words) after the ancient custom.

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3 John of Dara gives another version of the 'institution' of the Sacraments. See. *De Oblatione*, Introduction, 4 CSCO. 309, p. 2. A similar version is found in the *Book of Life*, published by Connolly and Códington. p. 120-121.

1 Jacob of Edessa, *Letter*, ASSEMANI, BO. I, 479-486; BRIGHTMAN, LEW, p. 490-94.

Hearers: a group of penitents.

After this the deacon cries out to close the doors of the Church. Perhaps some one will ask us why the doors are closed then. We answer them. The reason for closing the doors, and celebrating it mysteriously in silence and in a tradition (handed over) from mouth to mouth, (p 7\*) was primarily because of the fear of the pagans, so that pagans should not hear these words of ours and offer them to their gods, as Hiram, king of Tyre<sup>3</sup> who built a temple imitating that of Jerusalem, and offered the sacrifices of the Law in it. Also. Jullian the pagan, imitating us, instituted prayers and offerings to his gods, and he invented (rituals) for his idols, imitating the sacraments of the Church<sup>4</sup>.

2. During the consecration of the Myron also, once only three prayers were said over it. Similarly, each ordination had only one prayer. In the laying on of hands, it was said silently, that is secretly over him. Later the doctors expanded them.

3 Again, Jacob of Edessa says (of it) in the above mentioned letter to the presbyter Thomas.

After the composition of the creed of the 318 (fathers), it was judged that it also should be added to the ordo of the *qurobo* (so that) the souls, hearts and the bodies, and the voices might be sanctified by it. After this, when the doors are closed there should be the three prayers of the faithful. Later, when different practices and customs were established in the Church, the first of these three prayers of the faithful was prescribed for the sacramental request for peace, and another for the

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3 We were unable to find the source of this comment. Hiram, King of Tyre (c. 969-936 c.) was a contemporary of David and Solomon. On the basis of the Chronicles of Menander of Ephesus, the Jewish historian Josephus records that Hiram demolished a number of temples and built shrines to Heracles (Melkart) and Ashtarte, See. WHITELAM. *Hiram*, p. 203-5.

4 Julian the Pagan or Julian the Apostate (332-362) became Roman Emperor in 361. During his studies in Athens, he was won to Neoplatonism and initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. When he was enthroned, he promoted paganism and sought to re-establish the heathen worship throughout the empire.

position of hands, and the third of them for the lifting up of the anaphora (litt: for the revelation of the table), by which they symbolise, that the doors of the heaven are opened. Then the deacon exhorts: *Let us stand attentive in good order and suitably*, which indicates that the priest is about to begin the sacramental service. When they are attentive, the priest turns (towards them) and gives them the peace saying: *Peace be unto you all*, and makes the sign of the cross over them. They answer him saying: *And with thy spirit*.

(p.8\*) Later, the fathers had (re-) arranged this part. They decided to say that at the time of (sign of) the cross. *The Love of God the Father, grace of the Only-Begotten Son and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all*, and the priest should make three signs over the people, instead of one. (But) in the place of these (prayers), the Alexandrian fathers say *Lord be with you all* before the beginning of the *qurobo*.

4. After this, the priest says to the people. *Let your hearts be above* and the people answer: *Our hearts are towards the Lord*. Again he cries out to them *Let us give thanks to the Lord*, and they answer him. *It is right and just what you have said*.

By these three things which are said, I mean, he gave them the peace and he signed them with the (sign of the) cross and they responded him suitably-and by these last two (things) which he bade them and which they consented to him, and considered his decision to be right-(is shown) that they with him he united them, having become one body and one mind. Then the priest turns towards God, and after the words of the greeting and the agreement of the people—he draws the beginning of his words to God the Father, to whom is being offered the sacrifice of the body and blood of the Only-Begotten Son for the atonement of the souls of the faithful

Since the priest and the people have equally held it right to praise the Lord, they say *it is meet and right to be so*. Immediately, thus the priest begins his prayer, saying: *Truly it is meet and right to glorify Thee*. Then he commemorates in a few

words the entire purpose of the grace of God towards man, the first creation and the final salvation, the economy which Christ has accomplished by suffering in flesh for our sake. The (content) of the whole *qurobo* is to remember and to recount all (things) which Christ has done for us.<sup>5</sup>

5. Then he prays also for the descent of the Holy Spirit. Following this, he makes also the commemorations, (p.9\*) and thus completes the *qurobo*. After the conclusion of the *qurobo* and this ordo, he gives peace to the people and signs them with the cross. Then the mysteries are broken and signed and he ministers them, while the deacon says the *katholiki*.

6. Then the prayer *Our Father who art in heaven* is said. It has been prescribed that after this (prayer), the priest shall give peace to the people and make the prayer of the imposition of hand. After this, it has been instructed to give the grace of the Trinity to the people and sign them three times with cross saying: *Let the Grace of the Trinity* etc. They respond *with your spirit also*. After this they have handed down that the priest shall witness to the people, and instruct and say. *These holy things of the body and blood are given to the holy and pure not to those who are unholy*. He cries out by testifying this. He raises the mysteries and shows them to the whole people as a testimony. Immediately the people cry out and say *One Holy Father* etc. Thus they partake in the mysteries. It has been prescribed that after the reception (of the mysteries) there shall be confession and thanksgiving for being worthy of the communion in the body and blood, and there shall be again the prayer of the imposition of hand and the deacon shall dismiss them in tranquility. This tradition I have received from the fathers: thus, do I also transmit it (to you).

7. It is right to tell you about the variations in the *qurobo*. The service of the *qurobo* consists of two parts (*tekse*): first is the offering (*qurobo*) and the hallowing (*kuhono*) of the mysteries; and the second is the commemorations. Those who

5 Dionysius the Areopagite, EH. III-ii, PG. 3.440 C.  
Jacob of Edessa, *Commentary*. In *I Fasti*, , p. xxiii.

in the imperial city and the Greek provinces offer like us. Thus they first offer and then make the commemorations. Some people make long commemorations, (whereas) others have (only) few (p,10\*) partial ones. That is why the priest says. *Remember Lord those whom we have remembered and not remembered.*

The order of the commemorations begins as we say. *Again we offer you the same awesome and bloodless sacrifice on behalf of Zion, mother of all Churches, that is the first Church of Jerusalem which was established by the Apostles from the people of Israel.*

But the Alexandrian fathers offer in a different way. First they make the commemorations or remembrance. Then follows the order of the holy *qurobo*.<sup>6</sup> There are other differences (also). Among us, at the end of the commemoration, the people say. *As it was and is now, and exists for ever, until the world without end.* In Alexandria, the priest completes the prayer *As it was etc.*, and then the people say only 'Amen'. There is another variation in many churches. Instead of *One Holy Father, One Holy Son* etc, some people say *One Lord One Son, Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father. Amen.*

8. Regarding your question about the number of crosses: listen to what I say to you. Fathers have transmitted to us to make three times (the signs of) the cross over the mysteries, and three (times) over the people. Each time three crosses, so that there shall be nine crosses over the body: and nine crosses over the chalice, and nine crosses over the people.<sup>7</sup>

These are the occasions for the (signing of) crosses over the mysteries. Firstly, when we take the chosen bread (*pristo tahmo*) and show (it) to God the Father as (p. 11\*) the Son

<sup>6</sup> This is the main difference between the Antiochene and the Alexandrine types of liturgies. In the former type, the intercessions follow the epiklesis and in the later they are placed before the Sanctus. cfr. BOTTE, Rites, p. 15-26.

<sup>7</sup> cfr. Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 180b-181a. This section on the number of crosses has been circulated in the west syrian tradition in the form of a separate treatise. See. RAHMANI, SS, p. 21-23 ('Regarding the crosses that the priest makes in the *qurobo*.)

also showed, and we say: *He Gave thanks and blessed etc.* Similarly when we say the same words over the chalice. Secondly, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit when we say: *May the Holy Spirit descend and make this bread...*, we make three (signs of) crosses. Similarly, three crosses (are marked) over the chalice. Thirdly, at the end of the *qurobo*, when we break the bread and sign the chalice.

The first cross over the people (is signed) when we say: *The love of God the Father...*; the second, when we complete the *qurobo* and we prepare for the fraction saying in the direction of the People: *May the mercy of the Great God and our Saviour etc..* And the third, when we complete the whole *qurobo* and say to the people: *May the grace of the Holy Trinity etc.*

9. There are people who, by error, sign the mysteries also, when they sign the cross over the people. The reason is this: it has been prescribed that each time the priest signs cross over the people, (he shall sign cross) first over himself, then over the deacon who (stands) on the east of the Table, then over those who are on the left and then over those who are on the right sides. Then he turns towards the people, that is, towards west, and signs three crosses. Because of ignorance, they think that the cross over the deacons of the east is being signed over the mysteries. You should know that if deacons are standing at any side, crosses shall be signed over them. Otherwise, you shall sign the side where they are (standing).

10. Again you should know that the canons to be said by the deacons need not be said by the priest, if no deacon is present.<sup>8</sup> However, the responses to be said by the people – (such as): *They are towards the Lord; It is meet (p.12\*) and right; One Holy Father etc.* which are to be said by the people in response to the priest shall not be omitted by the presbyter, because they are necessary. They are to be counted as part of the *qurobo*.<sup>9</sup>

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8 Canons, i.e. the prayers of commemorations said by the deacons in the Ordo Communis. Jacob of Edessa's comment suggests that the canons were recently added and therefore they could be omitted if no deacon is present, whereas the intercessions said by the priest are the integral part of the anaphora.

9 Here ends the Letter of Jacob of Edessa.

This is what we have taken according to our ability, from the works of Mar Jacob on the *qurobo*, and its variations, its celebration by each people, and the crosses, placing them in the commentary and explanation of the *qurobo* that we are in the process of making. Let us end here.

## Chapter 4

1. Kephalaion four, which demonstrates the crosses to be signed over the mysteries and their numbers and the mystical content of them.

Let us discuss the subject and search for the details. As Mar Jacob of Edessa has taught us above, the (number of) crosses over the body and blood are eighteen.<sup>1</sup> Clement, disciple of the apostles also says many things about them. He teaches that there are nine ranks above and nine ranks below.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, (the number of) crosses are eighteen, as Mat Dionysius says on the basis of the tradition of Paul's ascension to heaven.<sup>3</sup> Thus the apostle saw the ranks in each of the companies and taught his disciple Dionysius and permitted him to write them down. Again, as he said, he heard ineffable words. They reveal the eternal generation of the Son from the Father. The bodily organs (*Organon*), that is the tongue cannot utter them. Therefore, as the birth from the virgin Mary is remembered on the earthly altar, the generation from the Father is proclaimed on the heavenly altar, which is not made by hands. (p.13\*). For this reason the apostle said: *partially I Know* (1 Cor 13:12), so that nobody should say to him- *Why did you not grasp them?*

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1 cfr. supra. ch, 3:8; Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 180b-181a.

2 Probably Bar Salibi refers to the Clementine Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, which give a list of nine orders of the angels. cfr. Ap. Const. VIII, 12, 27; SC. 336, p. 193.

3 In fact the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy does not contain any reference to the number of crosses.

2. Since the priesthood came to us from heaven, those who are in heaven and on earth - the nine ranks above and the nine orders below - are united by the (sign of the) eighteen crosses. By the first three crosses over the body, the Father who pleases, and the Son who is pleased and the Holy Spirit who sanctifies are symbolised. By the second (three signs of the cross), the Father who is pleased, and the Son through whom (we receive) the pleasure (of God), and the Holy Spirit who perfects; and by the third (three signs), the Father who pleases, the Son from whom (we receive) the pleasure and the Holy Spirit who completes (are symbolised).

Through (the verses): *The Lord our God is one Lord (Dt 6:4)*; and *May God our God bless us (Ps 66:7)* and *May God bless us*; and *Holy, Holy, Holy ((Is. 6:3)*; and *The Holy Spirit will come, and the power of the most High will overshadow you (Lk. 1:35)*, the three mysteries of the three Persons - (that is) the Most High Father, His power the Son, and the Holy Spirit - are fulfilled by the prophecy, apostolic mission and the teaching.

These three crosses over the mysteries (symbolise) the gifts of the Magis which they offered unknowingly. Again (the crosses symbolise) the shepherds the Magis and the star. The star indicates the divinity of He who is from above. The shepherds (indicate) that He is the Lamb of God, and the Shepherd of Israel. (The crosses symbolise) the Magis because, from our sinful nature, He took flesh without sin. The three crosses over the body and blood signifies (all) these mysteries.

3. Regarding the *semantron*<sup>4</sup> (*noqusho*: sounding board): Before entering into the inner meanings (*te'oryas*) contained in the *qurobo*, we should speak about the *noqusho* which is always sounded at the time of the prayers, and about its meaning. The *noqusho* is sounded at the beginning of a prayer or a service to gather together (p. 14\*) the perfect for prayer and the warriors for combat against the adversary. At its (sound), the christians

4 BAR KEPHA, p. 25; Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 178b. Bar Salibi, Bar Kepha and Jacob of Edessa use the word *noqusho* which means 'sounding board'.



gather together to the church, the haven of salvation. The *noqusho* is sounded, so that when we hear its sound we may understand that, by means of a tree we have transgressed the commandment and we have been expelled from the Paradise, and that by means of the tree of the cross, we had redemption from sin and the transgression of the Law. Therefore, when we hear its sound, we sign ourselves with cross and say glorifying God: *Allow us to glorify You, as well as Lord open my lips* (Ps. 51:17). Again as the trumpet gathers together the army of the king to exalt and to praise him, the *noqusho* gathers us together for the glorification of Christ, our King.

Again, as the trumpet or the herald gathers together the army of the king to give them (some) gifts, the *noqusho* also gathers us together before Christ, our King and He gives us the gifts of remission of sins, and answers to our supplications. As the trumpet or the herald gathers together the armies of the king for a combat and a fight against the enemies, the *noqusho* (is sounded) to gather us together for the combat and the fight against Satan, the enemy of our human race.

4. Mar Jacob of Serugh<sup>5</sup> also witnesses to these things in one of his homilies. He says as follows: 'When you hear the sound of the *noqusho*, receive it eagerly and come immediately to the church for prayer. This sound terrifies Satan (because), on hearing it, the pure assemble to fight against him. This sound sets (them for) the battle in array like an army, to fight against the powers of the adversary. This (sound) drives out the hidden demons from their places, from the choirs of men which sing glory to the Son of God. By the sound of the *noqusho* (p.15\*), the army of the evil trembles and falls. As it sounds, we beseech mercy from God. Take heed not to hate it, so that you may not become a friend of the evil one, who hates very much to hear the sound which is against him. What will the enemies of the cross and those who forbid the *noqusho* in their countries say against the words of the Doctors?

From where have you learned that the *noqusho* shall be sounded in the church? We say that it is written in many histo-

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<sup>5</sup> Jacob of Serugh (451-521). We could not identify the homily. See Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 178b.

ries as follows: When God commanded Noah to construct an ark, (He) also (commanded) to make a *noqusho*. In the morning he sounded it to assemble the workers of the ark and at mid-day for their meals, and in the evening for their rest from work (5b.) Again we say that the *noqusho* is made of wood, because it reaches the hearing faster than the human voice and invites the people for prayer. Similarly, the sound of the brass is more powerful and intensive for preparing the hearers for spiritual warfare than the human voice.

5. **On Holy art Thou O God:**<sup>6</sup> Let us now discuss about *Holy art Thou. O God*, which is placed in all prayers like a seal stone on a ring. In (our) refutation of the Chalcedonians, we have written on this (subject)<sup>7</sup> However, it is meet to discuss it briefly now as well. Somebody may ask us why do we say *Holy art Thou O God* at the beginning and end of all our prayers. Thus we answer to this (question): God is pleased with none of the feasts, more than (the celebration) of His crucifixion in the flesh. This is evident from what is written. *As yet the Spirit.*

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5b This explanation is in vogue in the byzantine tradition. Constantine Cavarinos quotes the explanation given by a monk of Mount Athos: ‘...according to a popular traditon this practice goes back to Noah. It is said that Noah used the *semanthron* to call the animals into the Ark, and thus save them from the Deluge; and that following his example, we employ it to call the monks into the church, which is a spiritual Ark, in order that they might be saved from the deluge of sin’ CAVARNOS, p. 156.

6 BARKEPHA , p. 26-29. ‘Holy art Thou O God’ or Trisagion is an introductory hymn of the Syrian Orthodox Eucharistic Liturgy as well as the daily offices and other liturgical celebrations. The origin of the Trisagion is obscure. According to the Chacedonian tradition, its first definite mention was at the Council of Chalcedon.

The Syrian Orthodox Tradition claims that it originated in Antioch (See Severus of Antioch, PO. 29, p, 246ff). The antiochean origin could be further supported with the fact that the bishops of that region chanted it at the Council of Chalcedon as an ‘anti-monophysite’ acclamation (ACO. II, 1, 195).

For the details of the sources, cfr. HANSSENS, Inst. III, 91-156; MATEOS, *Celebration*, pp. 91-126; TAFT, *Trisagion*, ODB. III, 2121. see the following notes also.

7 *Treatise against the Melchities*, ch. X, pp. 57- 63; see also, p. 41.

had not come, because Jesus was not yet glorified (John 7. 39) His cross is called His glory. If crucifixion is His glory, it is right to say *He who was crucified for us with Holy art Thou, O God* in every prayer and the celebration of the *qurbono* (*qurob qurbono*)-

6. (p. 16\*) Since the doctors heard that Daniel called Christ *Holy among the holy* (Dan. 9: 24), they ordered and taught to say *Holy art Thou, O God* in every service, like a seal and signet in royal documents. They also heard in the Gospel of Mathew the angel saying to the women: *I know that you are seeking Jesus who was crucified; He is not here. He is risen as He has said. Come and see the place where Our Lord was placed* (Math: 28:5). Having seen that the angel calling Jesus *his Lord* and confessed that He was hung on the cross, that is He was crucified, and that he (the angel) was not ashamed, they (the doctors) understood that He is the incarnate Word and the He was crucified in the flesh. Therefore, they added *who was crucified* to the hymn, so that nobody shall think that the crucified Son is one, and Jesus and Lord is another.

7. Whence did *Holy art Thou, O God* originate?<sup>8</sup> Some people say that Joseph the counsellor (*buluti*) that is the advisor of Pilatus<sup>9</sup> as he believed in Christ, asked the body of Christ, and he brought it down from the cross and he was held worthy to see the angels standing in three choirs and one saying *Holy art Thou, O God* another *Holy art Thou, O Almighty*

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8 Here Bar Salibi had made use of more than one source of information, This is evident from the lack of coherence in the arrangement of his comments. However, his main source is Bar Kepha's Commentary. Regarding the origin of the Trisagion, Bar Kepha gives the following arguments: (1), It is taken from Isaiah's vision; (2) the angelic hymn at the time of crucifixion and the addition 'he who was crucified for us..' (3) introduction of Trisagion by Ignatius of Antioch. Bar Salibi repeats these three points and expands the second one (see. [8].

9 Here Bar Salibi probably depends on Jacob of Edessa's Commentary addressed to George the Stylite of Serugh, according to which Joseph was an advisor to Pilate (fol. 186a).

and the third *Holy art Thou, O Immortal*. Then he cried out in the Spirit. *He who was crucified for us have mercy upon us!*<sup>10</sup>

8. Who did teach people to use this prayer? Some people say that Ignatius Nuroño taught it.<sup>11</sup> Others say that it has been taken from *Holy, Holy Holy*, of which Isaiah says, since the prophet saw the Seraphims blessing in the Spirit, the crucified (sitting) on the throne.<sup>12</sup> Therefore the doctors added *He who was crucified* to (this) hymn. Others say that Ignatius wrote as follows: The angels sang this hymn. When they saw Emmanuel was going to be entombed by Joseph and Nicodemus, (p. 17\*)

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10 The Syrian Orthodox addition to the Trisagion caused heated opposition from the Chalcedonians, which is very well expressed in the 81st canon of the Council of Quinisext (692): 'Whoever adds to the hymn Trisagion these words *who was crucified* shall be deemed heterodox' (NPNF. XIV, 400). Bar Salibi and other Syrian Orthodox writers try to demonstrate that the addition existed from the very beginning and has its origin either in Jerusalem or in Antioch. (See the following notes).

11 BAR KEPHA, p. 26-27: 'Others say that by Ignatius the Fiery, the disciple of Paul the Apostle, it was fixed in the Church, both it and the present manner of singing the service in two choirs: for in former times one choir used to sing, like the Jews, with whom this is maintained to the present day: for they say that he was rapt in his mind even to heaven, and saw the choirs of angels, one singing praise and the other answering to it; and he heard this hymn there, and fixed it in the Church. But again it is said that by the shores of the sea there is a bird that is ever singing this song of praise. But however this may be, it was by this holy man (Ignatius) that it was fixed in the Church'.

According to a widely accepted West Syrian Tradition, Trisagion is of Antiochian origin. This may be reason to attribute its introduction in the liturgy to Ignatius of Antioch. In fact the genuine Ignatian letters do not contain any reference to this tradition.

12 cfr. Is. 6:3. The angelic hymn of Is. 6:3 as the source of the Trisagion is also an ancient eastern tradition. In 511 AD, when the emperor Anastasius added the phrase 'he who was crucified for us..', at the advice of the Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople, the Chalcedonians complained: 'You desire and incite men on earth to go beyond the holy hymn of praise which the angels offer to the Holy Trinity, saying 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Holy, mighty Lord, of whose praises heaven and earth are full..' see, Zachariah of Mitylene, *Chronicle*, Book VII, ch. ix, 177. p.

They carried the body of Christ in three groups. Escorting him' the first group sang in the Spirit: *Holy art Thou, O God; for while being God You became man.* The second group sang: *Holy art Thou, O Almighty; for you are mighty by your nature; You have clothed Yourself in a body for men and been seen as feeble* The third group sang: *Holy art Thou, O immortal; for while being immortal; voluntarily You became mortal in flesh to make the human race alive.* Then Joseph and Nicodemus added and sang. *who was crucified for us have mercy upon us!*<sup>13</sup>

9. Others say that it was the Apostles who taught us this hymn. But (some) others say that it is found written in the Book of (Saint) John the Evangelist on the Virgin<sup>14</sup>. Moses Bar Kepha agrees with the view that it has been handed down from Ignatius Nuroño<sup>15</sup> Patriarch Saint Severus in his homily

<sup>13</sup> The same tradition is attested in a document published by F. Nau 'Nicodeme et Joseph temoignent qu'il en est ainsi: quand ils allerent descendre le corps de Notre Seigneur de la croix, ils virent la les foules et les cohortes des anges qui disaient: 'Dieu saint, saint puissant, saint immortel', et les anges n'ajoutèrent pas: 'qui fut crucifié pour nous', car il ne l'avait pas été pour eux, bien pour nous, eomme il est écrit: qui fut crucifié pour nous autres hommes et pour notre salut'.

David Bar Paulos, 'Controverses entre un syrien et un grec', ed by F. NAU, 'Opuscules maronites,' ROC 4 (1899), p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> Bar Salibi insists on the apostolic origin of the Trisagion probably to produce a counter-argument to the Byzantines, who claimed Constantinople as the place of its origin. Thus an oft-repeated Byzantine legend attributed it to a heavenly vision in the time of the Patriarch Proclus. In his Treatise against the Melchites, Bar Salibi challenges the credibility of this tradition:

'Damascenus, however, indulged in another falsehood in writing that a child rose up to heaven and heard the angels say: 'Holy is the God; Holy is the Almighty, Holy is the Immortal', without the addition 'He who was crucified for us.' Against this we wrote at length (in another book) and we reprovéd him and showed that 'no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven' (Jn. 3:13). We rebuked them that their faith has come down to them from a woman (ie Pulcheria) and that their Trisagion has emanated from a child not yet in his full senses, and not from an angel or a man in his full senses' (Mingana, p, 41). On the story of the child's vision., see, John Damascenus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, ch. ltv

<sup>15</sup> BARKEPHA, p. 27

on the hymn, which is the last of his cathedral homilies, says that *who was crucified for us* was added to *Holy art Thou O God* after the excommunication of Nestorius from the Church, and that it is not very old.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps, Peter who was the Patriarch of Antioch immediately before Saint Severus permitted and introduced it, so that it might not seem that a fourth Person was crucified, and a quaternity may not be confessed instead of a Trinity. The Chalcedonians also say that (the Patriarch) Peter introduced it in the East; but it already existed in the countries of the West, North and South<sup>17</sup>.

10. Some writers say that after the death of Jesus on the cross, the Jews sought (p 18\*) to cremate the body. But when Joseph knew it, he boldly approached Pilatus. He became indignant towards the jealousy of the priests and the audacity of the people towards He who did good for them. He was permitted and authorised to take down the body of Jesus, (and) he embalmed and entombed it against the will of the Jews.

This hymn is addressed only to the Son, not to the three persons as the Chalcedonians say.<sup>18</sup> Otherwise it would mean that a fourth person was crucified.

16 Severus of Antioch, Cathedral Homily 125, PO. 29/1, p. 232-253.

17 The byzantine sources unanimously say that the addition was made by Peter the Fuller, the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch († 488). See, H. VALOIS, *De Patre Antiocheno episcopo qui Fullo cognominatus est* in PG. 86, 2885-86; DTC. XII (1935), 1933-35.

18 cfr. BAR SALIBI, *Against the Melchites* p. 57-63.

This is the traditional understanding of the Trisagion in the Syrian Orthodox Church. Originally different geographical areas understood the Trisagion in different ways. In Jerusalem, Constantinople and in the West, it was taken to be addressed to the Trinity. But in Syria, some regions of Asia and Egypt, it was understood as a hymn addressed to Christ. Thus several chalcedonian texts from Syria and adjacent areas (including Cyprus) follow a christological interpretation.

See. JANERAS, *Trisagion*, pp. 469-499; KLUM-BOHMER, *Trisagion*, LEBON, *Le Monophysisme*, pp. 477-486; BROCK, *Thrice-holy hymn*, pp. 24-34.

LEBRUN, *Explication*, V, 145-154; M. JUGIE, 'Monophysisme' DTC. X, 2237-40; see also the answer of the Syrian Orthodox writer Abou Raïtha of Takrit, in RENAUDOT, LO. I, 210-11.

11 Again, show us whom did Isaiah see on the throne and (whom) did the Seraphims bless? If you say like the Jews that it was the Father, then the three *Holys* are addressed to the Father. But learn from the Evangelist John, as he writes that it was the Son that Isaiah saw on the throne, and that it was him that the Seraphims blessed. Thus it is written: *Isaiah spoke of him as he saw His glory* (John 12:41). While commenting on the vision of Isaiah, Saint Cyril also agrees with the Evangelist, interpreting that it was the Son, who was to be incarnated, that the Seraphims blessed in the vision. We address Him *Holy art Thou, O God*, because when He became man, even though He became poor, He remained rich, without change. By the fact that he became human showed that He is God. By *Holy art Thou. O Almighty*. we understand that the Word was incarnated for us and appeared feeble, while remaining Mighty in two respects: He remained impassible and He won victory over the adversary. *By Holy art Thou, O Immortal*, we glorify the Word, who confronted death in the flesh, and remained immortal as God. *By who was crucified for us* we thank Him, for He came for us, even to the cross and death in the flesh, and had mercy upon us and saved us.<sup>19</sup>

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19 In fact Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch (+488) added the words 'who was crucified for us' in order to enforce a christological interpretation. see also, Zachariah of Mitylene, Chronicle, p. 177-78.

# Chapter 5

## 1. Kephalaion Five: On the Reading of the Scriptures.

Let us now discuss about the reading of the Old and New Testaments in the *qurobo*. The scriptures are read so that they may give nourishment to the soul, as bread and water nourish the body. Secondly, the scriptures contain the teaching of life and the good news of the kingdom of heaven. The old Testament is read first, to testify that the New is true, The New (Testament) is read later to indicate that it is new and that (all) which was said in the old had been fulfilled in it. Again why do we read the Prophets and then the New (Testament Epistles) and at last the Gospel? We answer (as follows): like a king who sends forerunners to a place which he wishes to visit, to announce the news of his arrival, the (books of the prophets are read before the Gospel. After the Prophets, the *Praksis* or the Acts of the Apostles, who were the eye-witnesses and the ministers of the Word of God, (is read): for the prophets sowed and the apostles reaped and souls are nourished from the same sheaf. After that the Epistle of Paul is read, because he became the disciple last (of all). However, immediately he excelled more than the other apostles in the proclamation (of the Gospel, as he says): *I have laboured more than them* (1 Cor 15:10) Finally the Gospel is read, because the Evangelists wrote after the Ascension.<sup>1</sup>

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1 In Bar Salibi's time, the Scriptures were read in the following order: the Prophets, the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of St. Paul and the Gospel. We do not know how many readings were included in 'the Prophets'. On the Syrian Orthodox lectionary system, see, SADER, *Lieu de culte* p. 90-94. Bar Kepha, John of Dara and Bar Salibi make no reference to the censuring during the Gospel reading.



2. After the reading of the Gospel, they go around the nave in a procession:<sup>2</sup> In this procession, the lights go first, symbolising the prophets and John the Baptist who shone like stars before the Sun of justice.

3. (p.20\*) **On the Procession In the nave:** The presbyters and the deacons who go around by singing hymns and psalms symbolise the Evangelists and the Twelve apostles who went out to preach before Christ and who surrounded our Lord, the Fruit of life. With them, the incense symbolises the Apostles who with their pleasant odour, drive out the foul smell of sins from the four quarters of the world. The fans (*marwahoto*) resemble the Seraphims who ministered to the Son in His economy (that is) in His temptation, passion and resurrection.<sup>3</sup> Then comes the cross, for Christ was raised on the cross and He drew all towards Him, after having completed the economy. The procession, that is the going around in the church, symbolises the economy of Christ in the world. The procession begins from the north, because that is a raised place. It symbolises that the Most High humbled Himself and came to the West of our despicable state, and to the South, the lowest part of our human nature<sup>4</sup>.

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2 In the next paragraph Bar Salibi says that some times the procession preceded the reading of the Gospel (4). According to Bar Kephath the procession followed the dismissal of the catechumens. see n. 4 also.

3 On the fans (*marwahoto* see Glossary.

4 A solemn entrance procession is attested by Bar Kephath also. But it took place after the dismissal of the catechumens, energumens and the penitents:

‘Concerning the going forth of the mysteries from the altar and their going about the nave and their return to the altar-That the mysteries go forth from the altar, and go about the nave in seemly order, and return to the altar, makes known that God the Word came down and was made man, and went about in the world and fulfilled the dispensation for us, and then ascended the cross, and afterwards ascended to His Father’ (p. 34).

A similar rite is attested by Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500). According to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, at the beginning of the liturgy, the bishop censures the whole nave (P.G. 3, 426B). Here the procession preceded the dismissal of the various groups.

4. On the Reading of the Gospel and its symbolism: Sometimes, the Gospel is read after the procession.<sup>5</sup> As horns and trumpets are sounded before a king, a hymn (*hulolo*) is sung before the Gospel of Christ.<sup>6</sup> The two lights before the Gospel indicate the Evangelists, whom He sent two by two before Him. Again, the lights in the whole of the church symbolise the lamps of our souls.

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George, bishop of the Arabs, who is largely indebted to Dionysius the Areopagite, placed the censuring of the whole nave after the dismissal. But this censuring of the nave might be one of the sources of origin of the solemn procession attested by Bar Kepha and Bar Salibi. Another source of origin seems to be an entrance procession carrying the bread and wine to the altar by the deacons. Such a procession is attested in the Syro-antiochian tradition by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Eucharist*, p. 85-86), Narsai (*Homily* 17, p. 3-4), and perhaps by Jacob of Serugh (*Homilies*, t. 1, 353-550; see. pp. 537-547).

According to R. F. Taft, the reference to such a procession by Jacob is doubtful. see, TAFT, *Offertory Procession*, pp. 73-107; *Great Entrance*, p. 20-21.

For Bar Kepha and Bar Salibi, the purpose of the procession was to carry the gifts around the nave.

The texts of the pre-anaphoral liturgy anterior to the time of Bar Salibi are silent about such procession carrying the bread and wine. Since various liturgical practices existed in the Syrian Orthodox Church, we could assume that the procession in question was limited to a few places, and gradually it was completely disappeared like some other rites of the pre-anaphora. The present entrance procession around the altar, chanting the *m'anito* (= a hymn) of Severus might be the survival of the original procession with the elements.

5 This tradition is different from that which is attested by Bar Kepha. However, the purpose of the procession is to carry the elements around the altar. Bar Salibi's comments give the impression that both the traditions (procession before and after the Gospel) existed in his time. But in the next paragraph he makes a confusing statement, according to which the custom of making the procession after the Gospel reading is a tradition of the ancients. Such inconsistencies could be explained as follows: Bar Salibi had incorporated materials from different sources without editing them properly. He was more interested in commenting on the rites on the basis of the opinion of the 'ancients' rather than giving a systematic exposition of the rites in the order in which they are celebrated.

6 cfr. BAR KEPHA, p. 29

5. Then the deacon says: *With calm and awe* etc. that is, be silent and hear, before the Gospel. He exhorts the people for three things: to stand well to be still and not to speak, (and finally), to hear with attention the things that are read and not to allow their thoughts to wander. Then the priest says: *Peace be unto you all*. This indicates that this Gospel which I read is (the message) of the peace of Christ, which unites those who are on earth with those who are in heaven (p.21\*) and the people with the gentiles, as said the angel to the shepherds: *Behold I bring you good news of (great) joy* (Lk. 2:10) and *How beautiful are the feet of those who preach good news of peace* (Rom. 10:15).<sup>7</sup>

Again Gospel is interpreted 'good news' and Evangelist, 'proclaimer of good news'. Immediately after the Gospel, the deacon reads the *koruzuto*.<sup>8</sup> urging the people to offer supplication to God the Word who fulfilled the economy for us. The ancients used to begin the *ma'nyoto* of the mysteries after the litany and the *koruzuto*.<sup>9</sup> Priests carried the discos or Paten (*pyale/pinko*) and the chalice of the blood and went around in procession.

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7. Ibid. p. 29-30.

8 Here Bar Salibi follows the commentary of Bar Kepha. George, bishop of the Arabs also knew a *koruzuto* after the Gospel (p. 16). According to Connolly, the *koruzuto* in question is rather a 'proclamation' than a 'litany' as it is found in Greek St. James (p. 30-31, n. 2). He writes: '...such litanies are not met within the text of the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites'. Vatican Syriac 68 (AD. 1567) contains a *Liber Diaconalis* which gives a series of *koruzute* added in the margin by a later hand (fol 211b-213b). They are destined to be read before and after the Gospel reading. Probably three of them were read after the Gospel. However, they do not have the form of a litany.

Another version of such *koruzuto* (before the Gospel) is found in Paris Syriac 152 (AD. 1452), fol. 3b-4b. Both Vat Syr. 68 and Paris Syr. 152 give a series of proclamations in prose, followed by hymns in the 'tune of Mar Jacob'. These hymns could be very well considered as *koruzute*, because *koruzuto* in the form of a hymn is still used in the ordination liturgy.

9 The litanies after the Gospel reading are not completely unknown in the Syrian Orthodox tradition. In fact, the liturgies of the Consecration of Myron, Pentecost and the funeral have litanies immediately after the Gospel reading. Therefore, Bar Salibi's statement could very

One should know that whatever the deacon says during the *qurobo* is addressed to the people to instruct them, and whatever the priest says is principally addressed to the Father.<sup>10</sup>

6. Regarding the five ranks of people who leave the church during the mysteries: Then the deacon cries out: *go out, those who are dismissed*.<sup>11</sup> Who are they that go out of the church at that time? And we say that in ancient times, five groups of people left the church. As the deacon cries out, *go out, those who are dismissed!* the catechumens, the energumens and the (other group of) energumens, those who make severe penitence and light penitence used to go out.<sup>12</sup>

7. The catechumens are those who have not yet been baptised. But they are engaged in a specific time of preparation before baptism. The energumens are those who are possessed by demons; the other (group of) energumens are those who were possessed by the evil lusts of sin. These two groups of possessed had been possessed after their baptism (p.22\*) and communion in the (divine) mysteries. Major penitents are making penitence for long time and have reached its end. But minor penitents are those who make penitence after having been baptised and received communion of the divine mysteries. They are permitted to hear the reading of the scriptures in the church, (so that) they may be

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well imply the existence of a litany in the pre-anaphora (after the Gospel reading).

But none of the texts of the pre-anaphoral liturgy, which I have consulted mention such a litany.

- 10 Bar Salibi's comment is of great significance. The priest as the head and mouth of the eucharistic assembly says the prayers of the Church addressed to God the Father. The deacon leads and directs the people for a meaningful and active participation in the liturgy. In this regard, his exhortations are directed to the people.
- 11 BAR KEPHA, p. 31-34. In Bar Salibi's time, the actual rite of dismissal had been disappeared. But apparently the deacon's exhortation 'go out..' was continued to be used as in the Maronite and East Syrian Anaphora. In the Syrian Orthodox tradition, the dismissal has been retained in the consecration of Myron.
- 12 BAR KEPHA, p. 31 ff. Apostolic Constitutions also speak of five groups: Hearers, Catechumens, Energumens, Illuminated and the Penitents.  
(CA. VIII, 5-12, SC. 336; pp. 151-167).

purified by the living words that they hear. After the reading of the scriptures, which purifies them, they leave. Following each instruction (of the deacon), each of the five groups depart.

8. By saying *go out: those who are dismissed*, and not *those of us who are dismissed*, to those five groups in common who are about to leave, he addresses them individually with a single phrase. When (the deacon says) *let none of the catechumens*, he tells those who were not baptised to leave. When he says *let none of the energumens*, he sends out those who are possessed by demons and evil lusts. Again, when he says *let none of those who cannot pray with us*, he dismisses the two groups of penitents. Again in another (exhortation) he says *Recognize each other and be diligent, lest any of the five ranks are among you, for they are not worthy to remain for the vision and communion of the hidden mysteries* By saying *close the doors and stand well*, the deacon gives instruction to his fellow deacons to be watchful at the doors, so that nobody from the five groups shall enter, for they used to stand outside the door. By (the words) *Stand well*, he asks the people to stand well before the divine mysteries.

9. Why did they send these five groups out? Why did they not participate in the mysteries? We say: the catechumens were sent out, because they had not yet (p.23\*) received baptism. In the case of not yet baptized and whose sins had not yet been forgiven in baptism and (who had not yet) been made holy, it was not fitting that he partake of the mysteries. For it is not safe that for someone who is unclean to touch what is pure. God only knows, why the energumens are possessed by demons. But the adults are possessed, firstly because of their sins, as it is written: *I have delivered them to Satan that they may not learn to blaspheme* (1 Tim 1:20). Secondly, or it is because of their feebleness and laxity. Or thirdly, because they obeyed demons, and because they compelled them and left them, they were tried by them, as happened to Saint Cyprian for a short time. But the children are possessed, either, because of the sins of their parents, or because God, having regard for what was going to happen, devises healing before they become sick, or (because) of some other reasons.

10. These energumens were sent out from the church, firstly, so that the demons may not mock at the mysteries with contempt and blasphemy. Secondly, as Christ the King is angry with them, nothing from the mysteries of the Kingdom shall be given to them. Thirdly, because, it is not meet that the Holy Spirit and the evil spirit live together. The two groups of the penitents are sent out from the church because they have sinned after having participated in the mysteries, like the servants who acted foolishly against the king from from who they received gifts, by going out and giving it to his enemies. When the king (came to) know it, he took the gifts back from them.

11. **On the Church:** Our visible church depicts the heavenly church and the heavenly assemblies, and the souls of saints. This *madbaho* is for our complete renewal after the resurrection (p.24\*) for we will be sanctified by Him who sanctifies all.<sup>13</sup> The *qurbono* symbolises that we will be offered perfectly and we shall offer eloquent sacrifices, when we approach the blessed end. The priest symbolises the priestly minds of the perfect who are hallowed in the coming world by Him who hallows all.

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<sup>13</sup> *Madbaho* here means the altar, cfr. ch. 6, , 6.

## Chapter 6

1 Regarding the number of breads to be offered: Let us (now) speak of other things. One stamped bread is offered to be consecrated, so that it may symbolise that the incarnate Word is one. Two stamped breads are brought to the altar, teaching that we know one Son and Christ from divinity and humanity. Three or similar odd numbers (of breads) are offered indicating that the Trinity is of one nature and three hypostases.<sup>1</sup> As the fire is the cause of the effects light and heat, (so) the Son and the Spirit are from the Father, as the effects are from the cause. For fire does not come from light, but light and heat derive from fire.

2. Again, it is not permitted to take away any of the breads brought (to the altar). (But), during the Anaphora, more bread(s) can be added if it is necessary. But as we have said, odd numbers shall be offered; not even numbers, except two. For, when Christ was in the tomb, and its door (was closed with) stone, it was counted as first day, second day and third day.

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<sup>1</sup> Bar Salibi is probably the earliest writer to insist that the number of breads should be odd. The custom of offering more than one bread is attested in the *Testament of Our Lord*: 'On the Sabbath day let him (= the bishop) offer three breads for the fulness of the Trinity. On Sunday let him offer four breads for the fulness of the Gospel' (1, 23), I. E. RAHMANI, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesus Christi* (1899), p. 36-37.

also VOEOEBUS. *Synodicon*, CSCO. 368, p. 39.

According to Jacob of Edessa, the celebrant has the freedom to decide the number of breads to be offered. Thus when a certain presbyter Addai asked him, he answered:

'Addai: Is it right that two loaves shall be brought together to the altar?

Ja'qob: Corresponding (to the number of) the people who bring so shall they receive according to the need' (VOEOEBUS, *Synodicon*, CSCO. 368, p. 237)

In the next paragraph, Bar Salibi insists that the number of bread shall be either one, two, three or an odd number.

After He was risen, and the stone (p. 25\*) was removed, the days were no longer counted. During the Anaphora, it is not right to add bread, for the veil is the figure of the stone.<sup>2</sup> But after the *anaphora* (=veil) has been lifted up, it is not permitted to increase the (number of) breads.

3. In the beginning, the priest places the bread, which is in the Paten, on his left, outside the *tablito*;<sup>3</sup> the Chalice, then (is placed) on the right, outside the *tablito*. The Chalice, which was placed in the beginning, on the right side of the priest, symbolises the source of the blood on the right side of (Christ).

4. On the arrangement of the bread and wine on the altar: Then the priest takes and places the body on the western side and the Chalice on the eastern side. This indicates that our Lord assumed a humble body, and brought together our race – which was lying down in the acts of the left – from the four quarters, and that He who was throned in the east was revealed in the west of our low estate. Again the blood is placed in front of the bread, as the blood, of the victim flows in front of him.

5. As we have written above, before the beginning of the *qurobo*, a procession leaves the *madbho* with the mysteries, and it goes out, that is it goes around the *hayklo*. In the procession, the priests carry the mysteries orderly and suitably and then return to the *madbaho*. It symbolises that God the Word descended to the world and became man and went around Judea and completed the economy for us and then ascended on the cross and from the cross to His Father.

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2 The veil as the figure of the stone, cfr. BAR KEPHA, p. 45. In fact this symbolism is much older. We find it already in the short commentary attributed to St. John Chrysostom, which according to S. Brock, probably belongs to the early fifth century:

‘The veil above the cup and the paten (is) a sign of the stone which was placed above the sepulchre of our Saviour’. BROCK, *Com. R.* 25 (=p. 391).

cfr. *ibid.* D. 45 (=p. 393: BM. Add. 14538 fol. 68a-b – 10th cent).

3 On the *tablito*, see Glossary; SADER, *Lieu de culte*, p. 53-56.



6. Regarding the altar (*madbho*): Somebody may ask, what does the altar symbolise? Saint Dionysius of Athens says that the altar indicates Emmanuel who is the tree of life.<sup>4</sup> Others say that the altar stands for the cross on which (our) Lord, who is the *qurbono*, was offered and sacrificed.<sup>5</sup> The derivation of the word *madbho*, that is its meaning is comes from *sacrifice*. Similarly, the word *altar* ('*loto*') (p 26\*) (means) something which is raised and installed above. Mar Ivanios says that the altar stands for the tomb of Christ. Bishop Moses (Bar Kepha) agrees with (Mar) Ivanios and says: we know that the altar is called *meshiho*; it is called the tree of life, and again it is called the cross and other names).<sup>6</sup> But here, if the altar indicates Emmanuel, and (since) the body and blood are the *qnumo* of Emmanuel, it would seem here (that (there are) two 'Emmanuel.' If the altar indicates the cross, as others say, (when) we offer His body and blood on it and make the memory of His crucifixion and sacrifice, we will be like the crucifiers. *He has been offered once*, says Saint Paul (Heb. 9:28). Then the altar stands for the tomb in which our Lord was placed when He was entombed, as says Saint Ivanios and Moses Bar Kepha. Therefore when we construct an altar we should make it long in a north-south direction, like the tomb in which our Lord was placed, according to the custom of the Hebrews.

7. Again, spiritually, by the visible altar we understand that which is invisible; by the priest who stands (before it), the Great High Priest, and by the *qurbono* which is offered, He who became *qurbono* for us. What does the bread and wine on the altar signify? We say that the bread is the body of God the Word and the wine is His blood.

8. Concerning the leavened bread (*hami'o*): Why do we offer leavened bread and not unleavened bread (*patiro*) like the ignorant and foolish Armenians do? We call it bread (*lahmo*), (because)

4 BAR KEPHA, p. 34: Dionysius, EH. IV, iii, 12, PG. 3, 484 D.

This symbolism has been widely accepted by most of the Syrian Orthodox Commentators eg. GEORGE, p. 17; BROCK, *Com. D.* 38.

5 BAR KEPHA, p. 34.

6 *ibid.* Bar Kepha here quotes from the Commentary attributed to St. John Chrysostom cfr. BROCK, *Com. R.* 23; D. 38.

it is made from leaven, (that is) life. (But) *patiro* is from dead things, that is from the flour and water alone. (p. 27\*) Whenever the scriptures speak of bread (*lahmo*), it means leavened bread (*hamiro*), not unleavened bread (*patiro*) In the place of bread (*lahmo*), Moses used *patiro* in his offerings, because he ministered it figuratively. Christ did not say: *I am the patiro which descended from heaven*, but *lahmo of life*. Paul called the body *lahmo*, not *patiro* (cfr. 1 Cor. 10:16–17; 11:23). *The Kingdom of heaven is like leaven hmiro) which a woman took and hid in three seahs* (Math. 13:33; Lk. 13:21). (This) *hmiro* is the Word (of God) who placed (lit: kneaded) Himself in the three families of Noah and enleavened them with true faith. Moses also offered leavened bread (*lahmo hmi'o*) at the feast of Pentecost: *Two (cakes) of barley shall be baked with leaven* (Lev. 23:17). (6b)

9. The bread of the Mysteries is made from flour, symbolising the element of the earth; from water, symbolising the element of water; from leaven, symbolising the air and from salt, symbolising fire. Bread, that is the body, is made from these four elements. Olive oil symbolises the soul that our Lord united to Him. Again leaven (*hmiro*) indicates Christ, faith and the soul.<sup>7</sup> Since we have fully discussed these things in (our) book of the refutation of the heresies current today, now here we have (only) indicated briefly about bread and wine.<sup>8</sup>

10. Regarding mixed wine: Why do we mix wine and water in the Chalice, and not (offer) wine alone? We say, because blood and water flowed-and not blood alone—from Our Lord's side, when it was pierced with a lance.<sup>9</sup> The Armenians say that water flowed, and baptized Adam who was buried there. We say against them, if water flowed down towards Adam, then blood also (came out). Baptism is never perfected with blood and water, but with fire and Spirit. If water alone flowed towards Adam, (p. 28\*) who showed you that blood remained above? But

6b. cfr. JACOB OF EDESSA, *Com to Serugh*, fol. 185b.

7 *ibid*; JOHN X, *Letter*, iii, pp. 180–82 ('On the leaven, salt and oil that we put in the eucharistic bread')

8 BAR SALIBI, *Treatise against the Armenians*

9 BAR KEPHA; p. 35; cfr. BROCK, *Com. D.* 40; GEORGE, p. 17.

We say that when the Word was born in the flesh, He generated us spiritually. When He (was) baptised (for) us, He baptised Adam also; when He was risen, He raised Adam (also). If He baptised (Adam) by His baptism in the flesh, on the cross Adam was again baptised. Thus Adam was baptised twice: this is against the truth. <sup>9b</sup>

11. About the priest who offers: Again somebody may ask: whose figure is the priest in the *qurobo*? We say that the priest stands in the place of Christ. As in the upperroom, He broke His body before His Father and divided it among his disciples, the priest says: *This is my body which is for you* etc. Secondly, the priest is the tongue in the head of the body of the whole people. He beseeches God for the whole Church. Again, he is a painter who paints spiritual things in the mysteries<sup>10</sup>, Again, he is the mediator between God and men. After the (reading of the) Gospel, when the deacon says: *Before the mysteries* etc,<sup>11</sup> and when the presbyter is about to begin the *Sedro*, and places incense, the deacon says: *Barek Mor*. Moses Bar Kepha says that it is not right that the priest also says *Barek Mor*.<sup>12</sup> For, firstly, the deacon has (already) said *Barek Mor*; secondly, by saying *Barek Mor*, the deacon requests the priest to bless and to pray. If the priest says in response *Barek Mor*, it would seem that he requests the deacon.

12. About the *Sedro*, Censor and Incense: Following this, the priest reads the *Sedro* of entrance <sup>13</sup> *Sedro* is like an edict, written by the viceroy of the king, who is the priest. The censor

9b. JACOB OF EDESSA, *Com. Srugh*, fol. 186a.

10 BAR KEPHA, p. 35: Bar Kepha's source is the 'Commentary of St. John Chrysostom', *cfr.* BROCK, *Com. R.* 27

11 Deacon's exhortation before the Promiounn Sedro.

12 BAR KEPHA, p. 36-37.

13 *Sedro* literally means a row, line, rank, order. series. It refers to a typical west syrian prayer, a series of meditations and supplications, often preceded by an introduction known as *Promioun*. Tradition attributed the authorship of *Sedre* to St. Ephrem (+373), Jacob Baradaeus (+578) and other prominent Syrian Orthodox figures. But a great number of *Sedre* are the work John I, Patriarch of Antioch (631-648); known as 'John of Sedre'

is the figure of John the Baptist. Again, censor is the (figure of the) upright heart which does not alienate itself (p. 29\*) from God. The censor of Aaron, which did not alienate itself from God and held back the plague from the people, witnesses to it. Again, censor is the figure of Emmanuel, for the censor leaves the sanctuary (*madbho*) which symbolises Emmanuel, and goes around the whole nave (*haiklo*) and gets the consent and good will of the faithful towards Him, and returns to the holy of holies with their consent.<sup>14</sup> Again, the censor indicates the Virgin and the fire God the Word, for she bore the fire of the divinity in her womb.<sup>15</sup> The perfume of the censor which leaves the sanctuary (*madbho*) and goes around indicates the blessedness of the Holy Trinity. Even though, that blessedness is spread by providence on all saints, its firmness is neither changed, altered nor diminished. The perfumes symbolise the offerings of our intelligence. Again the incense indicates God the Word who came down from heaven, and became sweet adour and incense of reconciliation. He offered Himself to God the Father for us. He made atonement and perfumed the whole

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See. MATEOS, *Sedre*, p. 283; KHOURI-SARKIS, *Sedro* p. 88-96; SADER, *Lieu de culte*, p. 83-89. According to Mateos, following Noledecke, the name *sedro* might have been introduced by the Patriarch John (ibid. p. 283). The first use of *Sedre* seems to be in the Pre-anaphora, as an entrance prayer, accompanied by a censuring. Thus in the oldest collection of *Sedre* they are called *Sedro d-besme* (Sedro of aromates/incense)

see. MATEOS, p. 250; SADER, p. 83-89.

For detailed studies see: MELAPARAMPIL, and THEKEPARAMPIL *Sedre*.

- 14 BAR KEPHA, p. 37; also in Dionysius the Areopagite and George of the Arabs. This censuring corresponds to the present blessing of the censor and the censuring which follows. This might be different from the procession in the nave with the elements.
- 15 This idea is already found in a work of the Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (+733), entitled 'History of the Church and Contemplation of the Mysteries', see. SCHULZ. *Byzantine Liturgy*, p. 69. This does not mean that Bar Salibi had read the work of Germanus. He might be quoting from an oral catechetical tradition, also known in the Syrian Church.

world. He returned to His Father, without change or without losing His divinity.<sup>16</sup>

13. The Creed, that is, *We believe in One God*... that the faithful recite after the *Sedro* is their consent. The deacon receives their consent and brings it to the Son and the King, who is going to be sacrificed.

14. Again, the censor which enters the holy of holies and comes to the people and again returns, symbolises the mystery of Christ, who brought to us great riches from His Father, came down) and offered Himself as a sacrifice for us. He received our consent and returned and reconciled those who are in heaven and on earth. Again, the censor which enters the holy of holies and comes to the people and again returns, symbolises Christ' who, by His sacrifice pleased (p.30\*) His Father, and then pardoned the world and after that returned to His Father. Again, censor is (the symbol of) Christ, who became a censor of reconciliation for us when He was risen, and distributed gifts to men when He was taken up to His Father.<sup>17</sup>

15. Saint Severus says: 'Incenses or perfumes are the figure of pure and fragrant prayer.' Jacob of Edessa says: 'We are offering the incense not to God, but (for) people, (so that they) may get fragrance from them'. Eventhough the saint wrote pointing to their bodily aspect, he did not assert that they do not contain any mystery, nor was he against the doctors on this point. But he forbade the *ihidoeye* and the *dayroye* from it, so that their nostrils may not be overcome by the fragrance.

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16 BAR KEPHA, p. 37. In the west syrian tradition, the offering of the incense has a christological dimension, see. THEKEPARMPIL, *Weihrauchsymbolik*.

On the use of the incense in Christian liturgy,

ATCHLEY *Incense*; DIX, *Shape*, p. 425-430; DACL. 5-1, 2-21; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p: 149-162; ODB, II, 991; Real Encyclopaedie. Suppl. 15 (1978), 761-64. HANSSENS. *Inst III*, n. 832-864.

17 Incense as symbol of Christ, see, THEKEPARAMPIL

16. Again we say that the deacon is messenger and the presbyter is steward; censor is the letter written by the presbyter; incense and the (signs of the) crosses over it are the sign and seal of the ring. Again by the crosses, he symbolises that he agrees with everything which is written. It is right that when the deacon enters the *madbho* he should take the censor, and offer the censor three times, at the centre of the table of life, which is the figure of the Father. He shall move to the north, that is to the corner of the altar (*madbho*), that is the table- the figure of the Son- and offer three times. (Then) he shall move to the south, that is the other corner of the table, which is the symbol of the Holy Spirit, and offer the censor three times. Then he shall come to the bishop or presbyter and censures him. The deacon shall bend his head and do reverence by saying: 'I have read before the king whatever you have written and have received confirmation'. Then he turns towards the people and (p.31\*) censures them. They say 'we accept' by bending their heads. Then he returns to the priest, as in the beginning and says: 'I have read your letter before the people and they have accepted (it).' Then the priest turns to the deacon and says: 'Return to God and offer Him the preparation of the mind and consent of us all.'<sup>18</sup>

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18 Here Bar Salibi follows Jacob of Edessa, *Com to Serugh*, fol. 180a-b. Originally this censuring was done by the celebrant himself. eg. Dionysius and George.

By Bar Salibi's time, it has become the task of the deacon,

## Chapter 7

1. About the bread of the mysteries and its figures: In this chapter, we shall see other things of the same arrangement (*sunt-  
is*) or order. The apostles have ordered by writing in the  
cons (as follows): The bread of the *qurbono* shall be brought  
to the altar on the same day in which it was baked, not on the  
next day, which is not permitted.<sup>1</sup> But someone may ask: Why  
should the bread or the mysteries be made newly (everytime). We  
say, because manna was received fresh every day for food and that  
which was kept for the next day went bad. Again new bread is  
brought everyday, so that we may become new in our deeds, and  
remove the old habits of sin from us.

2. Why do we offer only once a day (p 32\*) on a table,  
if it is *m idbho*? We say, because altar (*madbho*) indicates the tomb;<sup>2</sup>  
Christ was entombed only once in the flesh, not many times.  
Therefore, it is meet to offer only once a day on an altar.

3. Why do we fast before receiving the communion?  
We say, because of avidity and food, we fell away from the tree  
of life. Through fasting, we subdue gluttony and then we receive  
the fruit of life, which is the body of Christ.

4. Before the (beginning of the) *qurobo*, the bread and wine  
are placed on the altar (*madbho*), and are covered with the *annapuro*  
with the veil, as the Son was placed in the manger and was covered  
with swadiing clothes.

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See *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, 27: 'Again the Apostles appointed,  
that the bread of the oblation should be placed upon the altar  
on the day that it is baked, and not some day after, which is not lawful'  
CURETON, ASW, p. 30.

Commentary attributed to St John Chrysostom, BROCK, *Com. R.* 23.

5. About the *tablito*: Again the *tablito* is (in fact) the altar. It is called *tablito* because it is rectangular (in shape)<sup>3</sup>. Usually, it is made of wood (*qaiso*), since our Saviour is called 'wood (*qaiso*)' and 'tree of life.' The Paten and Chalice, made of gold, silver, lead or glass, are placed on it. It should be made of lasting and solid wood.

6. About the faith of the 318 (fathers) and its brief Commentary:<sup>4</sup> After the *Sedro* of entrance, the priest begins, saying: *We believe in one God*. One should know that from the time of the apostles till the Emperor Constantine, nothing was recited after the censing and the *Sedro*. But the priest (straight away) began the *qurobo*. The synod of the 318 (fathers) formulated this Creed and ordered that it shall be said before the beginning of the *qurobo*, and also that the faithful shall recite it, (for two reasons: first, they might recognize that they believe and confess rightly,

3 *tablito* corresponds to the Antimension used by the Byzantines. On the use of *tablito*, see, RAHMANI, *Liturgies*, p. 47-49; RAES, *Antimension*, pp. 59-70 (here, 66-67).

The earliest witnesses to the use of *tablito* go back to the 6th century. eg. The canons of John Tella (Canon 14;16; 48 and 48). See LAMY, *Dissertatio*.

PETRIDES, *Antimension*, DACL. 1:2, 2319-26; DTC. 1, 1389-91; ODB. 1. 112; SADER, *Lieu de culte*, p. 55-56; IZZO, *Antimension*.

4. Theodore the Reader (or Lector) writes that the Patriarch Peter the Fuller (+488) introduced the custom of reciting the creed in the eucharistic liturgy (Theodore the Reader, *Ecl. hist*, 2, frag. 48, PG 86, 208f). According to Dom. B. Capelle, the text which attributes the introduction of the Creed to Peter, is an isolated, anonymous sentence, which was incorporated into the collected Fragments of Theodore. (see, CAPELLE, pp. 60-81). Dom Capelle argues that the custom of reciting the Creed in the eucharist, although of non-chalcedonian origin, did not originate in Antioch, but rather in Constantinople under the initiative of the Patriarch Timothy (511-518) (see, pp. 60-63). However, as Henri de Volois suggested, Timothy might have simply followed a custom already introduced in Antioch by Peter the Fuller (PG. 86, 210. n. 7).

Eventhough Dom Capelle rejected this possibility, in a recent article Louis Weil envisages it. (see, WEIL, *Proclamation*, pp. 279-90 (here 282-87). see also, KELLY, ECC, 349-51; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. 398-400. Both Kelly and Taft hold Constantinople as the place of origin. cfr SABER, *Lieu de culte*, p. 100-103.



and secondly, they might recognize that their faith is one and consequently), their minds, (p.33\*) hearts and mouths shall be sanctified. It is meet that he who offers shall begin it, because he is the tongue of the whole body of Christ.

7. The Synod formulated *I believe*, not *we believe*, because this is not a prayer, or a petition to be prayed for each other, and with others, but a Creed. It is not commanded, or it is not justifiable that we believe or confess for others. But everybody shall confess for himself. Therefore, everyone ought to say *I believe* for himself. Others say that each believer shall say *I believe*. It is meet that the bishop or the presbyter—who is the head and tongue of the body of the Church—says *we believe*, as he represents all his flock.

8. This Creed has been divided into five parts: one, theology or the discourse on the divinity; two, the incarnation; three, on baptism; four, on the general resurrection; (and) five, on the coming judgement. The fathers of Nicea did not write down the whole faith; but only what we have recorded below:

*I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Creator of the heaven and the earth, and of all things visible and invisible.*

*and in the one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who was born from the Father, who is from the substance of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, True God from True God; begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through Him all things in heaven and earth came to be, who on behalf of us human beings and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate and became man, and suffered, rose (again) on the third day, and ascended to heaven, and he will come (again) to judge the living and the dead.*

*and in One Holy Spirit. (p.34\*)<sup>5</sup>*

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This version given by Bar Salibi is almost identical with the 'original' Creed of Nicea. But Bar Salibi's version omits the anathemas found in the 'original' version.

cfr. KELLY, ECC, p. 215–16. However, from Bar Salibi's comments, it is clear that the Creed used in the liturgy was not this simple version, but a text which is almost same as the one now used in the Syrian Orthodox Church. see. para 17–20. cfr. BAR KEPHA, p. 38.

9. The fathers of Nicea have written these things. Later, other parts were introduced. The 150 fathers of Constantinople, who assembled against Macedonius, added the rest to declare that the Holy Spirit is Lord and God. They formulated the Creed by the power of the Holy Spirit and then confirmed it.

10. It is meet to comment briefly on the Creed.

*I believe in One God:*— By this (phrase), they drove out the polytheism of the pagans and they confirmed the (words) of Moses: *The Lord your God is One Lord* (Dt. 6:4). *Father Almighty:* They called (Him) 'Father' to indicate the Son who was born from Him, and to reject the monarchianism of the Jews who say that the divinity is limited to one Person. By the (phrase) 'Almighty', they cast out the evil and dark principle of Mani: Even though there is no evil (principle), to be found at all, (nevertheless) those (who followed) his opinion attributed to it (evil) an essence and personhood, from which (they say all) evils proceed. *Maker of the heaven* etc: Again, by these (words), they cast away the vain Sophists who say that matter is pre-existing and the first forms were ingenerate. They (the fathers) stood up and demonstrated that God alone is the Creator of all visible and invisible things.

11. *And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the (Only) Begotten:* By this (phrase), they hindered beforehand the teaching which was about to come up, (which) divides natures and hypostases, like (the teaching of) the Nestorians and Chalcedonians. The fathers attributed the terminology of the incarnation to his eternity. The (names 'Christ' and 'Jesus' are part of the economy in the flesh. Thus teaches the theologian also: as the natures are united, (p. 35\*) the titles or the names are also (united). In fact, he says in his letter to Cledonius<sup>6</sup>: 'as the natures are joined together, the names also'. By this, he taught that with the unity of the natures, the titles or names also are united with them. The natures are not counted, and the given names also (are not counted) as the Chalcedonians (do).

<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus (+390): Letters 101 and 102 are addressed to Cledonius.

Here Bar Salibi quotes from letter 101, ch. PG. 37, 181.

*Begotten, not made:* Here they remind (us) that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. And they avoided the Jewish confusion of Sebellius, which speaks of one person (*qnumo*) like the Jews and the Arabs. How can one person give birth to himself or beget? But, it is clear that the begotten is born from He who begets. By the (expression) *not made*, they (the fathers) silenced Arius who taught that the Son is a creature and that He is made. They taught that 'true God is born from true God', impassibly and undividedly like the rays (proceed) from the light. *through Him all things came to be:* Again they taught that (all) creatures were made by Him because He is the power and the wisdom of God. But they did not divide the natures and Persons into 'twos, or 'ones'.

*He came down for us human beings and for our salvation:* See and understand, how they taught! When He, who is the Light and God from God, saw that we have darkened and spoiled the royal image by the sin, lowered the heaven and descended, without leaving the bosom of the Father.

12. *Took body from the Holy Spirit and from Mary:* He took flesh from the virgin. That means, God the Word united with the flesh and became man, without any change and illusion. For our salvation, He tasted death in the flesh. By the (phrase) *He took flesh*, they showed that he took (p. 36\*) body from us. They silenced the docetics (*hagoge*) who taught that (the humanity of Christ) was an illusion and a shadow. This was also against those who said that He brought body from heaven, as Valentinus falsely taught.

By the (words) *He took flesh*, they silenced those who said that the Word passed through the Virgin, as if through a channel (*siluno*), without taking flesh from her, as Eutyches thought. By writing *He became man*, they rejected (the teaching of) Apollinarius, who said that the Son did not take the soul, but only the flesh. By (the words) *He became embodied from the Holy Spirit* they showed that the Holy Spirit formed the body in the womb and at the same time, the Word united it to Himself. The Father willed that the Son should take flesh. The Spirit and the

Word formed that body, At the very moment when the flesh (was taken), it became the ensouled flesh of God the Word.

13. We say this also: it is written in the Greek and Latin manuscripts of the creed *took flesh and became man*. But now, because of the heresies of those who say that our Lord took body only or that He brought a body from heaven, or (because of the heresies of) Mani and Eutyches which think (of His body as) as illusion, we say without doubt that He took flesh, took body and became man.

Again we confess *He took body* instead of *He took flesh*, because the remnants of the abominable teaching of the docetic Julian still exists among the Armenians.<sup>7</sup> He did not teach that Christ took a body like us apart from sin, but another body. We have completely discussed this in (our) disputation against the Chalcedonians.

14. *He became man*: He did not take a man, as Nestorius said; but He became man without change. By (using the word) *man*, they silenced Apollinarius, who said (p. 37\*) that He took flesh only, without a soul, and they forbade the diphysites who divide the Word from His flesh endowed with a soul, and count the natures in Him after the union. Instead they called the same Person *God*, for He is so, and the same one is called) *man* because He became so. *He was crucified and suffered*: Let the Nestorians and the Melkites be put to shame (by these words). The fathers called Him *God from God, only begotten, and born from the Father* and who *came down*. The same one, they said, was crucified in the flesh. They did not divide Him into likenesses, natures, actions or wills.

15. *In the days of Pontius* They regard (the name) of the pagan king of the time in which the crucifixion took place, so

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7 Bar Salibi refers to Julian, bishop of Halicarnasus, who had theological disputes with Severus of Antioch. Julian maintained that the flesh of Christ was incorruptible from the moment of his conception. For Severus the incorruption began with the resurrection. Julianism left its marks on the early Armenian Church. However, a council held in Armenia in 726 abandoned this tendency. See. SAMUEL. *Chalcedon*, p. 126-28.

Bar Salibi's statement that Julianism still exists among the Armenians is an exaggeration.

that the matter might be believed by all the gentiles. *He was buried and arose on the third day.* As Luke wrote: *it is now the third day since this happened* (Lk. 24:21): (that is) Friday, Saturday and Sunday. (It was) on that day that Cleophas and Luke travelled to Emmaus and narrated these things on the road. *Three days*, symbolises that one of the three hypostases did these things in His economy in the flesh.

16. *He ascended to heaven*, that is, bodily, while divinely He did not leave His Father and He was everywhere.

*He sat on the right side (of His Father)*: The right side indicates honour. Not that the Father is corporeal so as to have a right side or left side. But it is said *right side* (to indicate) the equality with His Father in honour, in throne, in glory and in kingship. *He will come in glory to judge the living (and the dead)*: The *living* are those who will be surviving at His coming. The *dead* are those who are already dead. Again, those who lived in good deeds are called *the living* and those who died in sins are *the dead*. Again the soul which does not die is called *the living* and the body *the dead*. Both will be equally judged. *He whose kingdom*: He is not (p.38\*) an ordinary and perishable man whose kingdom perishes. But he is the incarnate God. Therefore His Kingdom is eternal. And here (on earth) He rules only over the faithful and those who keep His commandments, in the coming world, His kingdom will be established among the unfaithful also. Even though they will confess His kingship amid torments, it will be of no use for them.

17. *And in one Holy Spirit*: They said: One Father, One Son and One Holy Spirit. But they did not write 'one, two and three,' but 'one, one and one'. If the Son has two natures, since He was incarnated, then He is not one as the fathers taught. There is no time to dispute with evil (men) who divide (the natures).

*And in one Holy Spirit*: In the Creed, the 318 fathers reached upto here. Later they wrote other things against the Arians who said: 'There was a then, when He was not' and 'He was not, before He was born' etc. When the 150 fathers, who assembled in Constantinople, saw that the wicked Macedonians strove against the Holy Spirit

and made Him a creature, they deposed him from the see of the royal city and added the following (section) to the Creed.

*Who is Lord.* The Holy Spirit is not a creature, as was pleasing to Macædonius, but Lord and Creator, and giver of life to all.

*Who proceeds from the Father:* The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, like heat from fire, branches from a tree, or like a ray from the sun.

*Who is worshipped with the Son:* Since the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, who is born from the Father, He is worshipped with Him by created beings.

*Who spoke through the prophets:* As (p.39\*) (it is written): *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me* (Lk. 4:18); *the Spirit of the Lord led me out* (Is. 37:1); *the Spirit of the Lord filled the world* (Wis. 1:7); *the Lord and His Spirit sent me* (Is. 48:16); *You send Your Spirit and they are created* (Ps. 104:30 ; *Your glorious Spirit will lead me in the path of life* (Ps. 143:10).

*And through the Apostles:* When, like tongues of fire he hovered over them in the Upper Room, as the prophet Joel said: *I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh and your sons shall prophecy* (Joel. 2:28).

18. *And in One Church:* The apostles are called the catholic or the universal Church. They are the general or universal Church, or the congregation. They are called one Church, because they were of one mind and (because of) their oneness in the fear of God, as (says): *They were of one soul and mind* (Acts 4:32). That is why immediately they say *apostolic*. *The princess stood in glory. Her friends, the virgins will convey (her)* (Ps 45:14-15), proclaimed David about the apostles. This indicates the churches (founded) in every places by the company of the apostles.

19. *We confess one (baptism):* They taught us one baptism, because Christ was baptised and crucified only once. Similarly, Paul has written of *one baptism* (Eph. 4:5). Therefore, those who rebaptise people who are (already) baptised in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are the enemies of Paul, and are those who re-crucify Christ and are the companions of the Jews.

20. *And we look for the resurrection:* They have written this against the Sadducees and Origen and other heretics, who did not believe that bodies shall be arise. But we believe that our bodies will be resurrected and be clothed with eternal glory, as Our Lord arose in the flesh from the tomb.

## Chapter 8

1. Concerning the *qurobo*: (p.40\*) After the Creed, on the steps (*darge*), the deacon reads the *katuliki* or the general proclamation (*koruzuto*).<sup>1</sup> By this proclamation, he exhorts them to stand well, and to purify their minds from worldly disturbances, and anxieties and to be attentive to that which the priest says, and to beseech God that (the priest's word) be accepted, and to know the prescribed words for their responses. This proclamation is not seen in usage among the westners. (But) the easterners regularly use it.<sup>2</sup>

2. On the washing of the hands:<sup>3</sup> Then the priest washes the tip of his fingers. The washing before the (beginning of the mysteries is to teach the whole people that they also should wash their hearts from all worldly anxieties. Again the priest washes (his fingers) before the mysteries, to indicate that he purifies his conscience before Christ. Again it indicates that he submits his thoughts and mental impulses to Christ who examines the hearts and reins and tries the hidden things. Again, he washes the tip of the fingers only, to show that he is purified from all sins, and that he has only small faults and unworthy imaginations. Again this washing was prefigured in the washing of the Old Testament priests also.

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1 BAR KEPHA, p. 38.

2 'Westners' means the Patriarchate of Antioch and 'Easteners' the Maphrianate of Tagrit.

3 Washing of the hands has a different place in Bar Kepha's commentary. Thus he comments on it after the kiss of peace and the reading of the Book of Life. This shows that a different order of rites was followed in the Maphrianate. Bar Salibi comments on the liturgical practices of the West, that is the Patriarchate of Antioch.



3. About the Book of Life: Nowadays, its reading has disappeared everywhere.<sup>4</sup> The (reasons) of reading the Book of Life on the altar are the following. Firstly, to proclaim before us (the names of) those who reached a saintly end in purity and sanctity. Again to show that they are living, and not dead. It is evident that they are proclaimed to be with Jesus, in accordance with *the souls of the just are in the hands of God* (Wisdom 3:1). Since (p.41\*)

4 Bar Kepha places it between the kiss of peace and the washing of the hands (p. 41-42).

In Bar Kepha's time, the reading of the Book of Life was a normal practice at least in the East. But in the 12th century it has become obsolete.

One version of the Book of Life has been published by Connolly and Codrington (see *Book of Life*, pp. 112-127).

For a study: R. H. Connolly, 'The Book of Life', JTS. 13 (1912), 580-94; PALMER, *Book of Life*.

In the Syrian Orthodox Tradition, George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (687-724) was the first author who mentions the reading of the Book of Life. Then the author of an anonymous commentary entitled 'The Breaking of the Eucharist' speaks of it. (Pertinent section edited and translated by Connolly, 'The Book of Life' p. 582-85). Bar Kepha borrowed freely from the 'Breaking of the Eucharist'.

In 1648, the Patriarch Simeon Ignatius of Antioch gave orders for a copy of the Book of Life to be made for the Church of Aleppo. (Text published by Connolly & Codrington, *Two Commentaries*..). Andrew Palmer writes that the Book of Life is now read aloud selectively at the Monastery of Qartamin on Easter Monday (op. cit. p. 170).

The purpose of the reading of the Book of Life is same as that of the Diptychs (cfr. PALMER, p. 165). Both were read in the beginning of the Anaphora. Thus Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Hom* 15,3) and Dionysius the Areopagite mention the reading of the Diptychs at the beginning of the anaphora.

R. F. Taft says categorically that the Syrian Orthodox Book of Life is an imitation of the Nestorian diptychs (TAFT, *Diptychs*, p. 72). But I think that it is a simplistic conclusion. The Syrian Orthodox Church under the Maphrianate of Tagrit always preserved a distinct liturgical tradition of Mesopotamian origin. The East Syrian Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church share the same mesopotamian liturgical tradition. Therefore, the Book of Life may not be a mere imitation, but one of the common liturgical elements found in both the traditions.

they adhered to the holy things, during their life-time, it is meet that, after their death, they should be remembered over the holy things. Again, the fact that they are Proclaimed on the altar, which stands for Jesus, shows that they are always with Jesus. For (it is written): *Where I am, there shall my servant be also* (John 12:26), (and) *They will be one in us* (John 17:21). Again it shows that they have a holy remembrance. By the proclamation of their (names), we are urged to imitate their holy ways and orthodox faith, so that we also may be worthy of their blessed end and be proclaimed like them on the altar our death.<sup>5</sup>

4. It is not meet to say the prayers like: *Lord forgive our debts, for You are good, who do not keep anger etc.*, before or after the prayer of peace. Even though they are beautiful, they do not fit (here). Gospel is beautiful, but it is not meet to read it at an inopportune moment. The same (is true) for these prayers. Nor is it fitting that any other (prayer) of absolution and forgiveness be placed before the prayer of peace.

5. Again we say that the *qurobo* is divided into five parts. The beginning of the first part is *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*. Jacob of Edessa says that the priest begins with these words to teach the unity of the nature and the essence and the three hypostases, which are separated without separation, and united without confusion.<sup>5b</sup> The word *now* indicates the Son and the time of His inhomination; *always* (means) that God exists, and *for ever and ever* (means) that He is without limit, beginning and end.

6. Again by (saying) *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*, we glorify one divinity, in three hypostases, which is indivisibly separated into three and unmixedly united into one for they make holy the mysteries. Therefore (p.42\*) in three places, we sign crosses, and there are three prayers before the *qurobo*. Bishop Moses, who is called Bar Kepha, says: It is not meet to say *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*, before the

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<sup>5</sup> BAR KEPHA, p. 42.

<sup>5b</sup> cfr. Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 181b.

prayer of peace.<sup>6</sup> Not because it is not meet to glorify the Son and the Holy Spirit with the Father from whom They have glory and essence, but so that nobody should think that the priest offers *qurobo* in the name of the three Persons. It is known from (the words) *this is my body*, that he is in the place of Christ. The people also cry to the Father. *Have mercy upon us God the Father*. Therefore priests have introduced *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*. This is evident since the codices of the priests have a series of addition and considerable omissions. Everyone wrote (and added) as he was pleased and there are many variations in them. But the books of the Old Testament and the New Testament are not so. Everywhere their copies agree with each other.

7. *God of all and Lord* etc. This *qurobo* of Saint James is older than all (other) *qurobe*. That is why, all others are ordered according to it. The first prayer is called (*the prayer*) of peace and it contains supplication to the Father to grant us to live in purity of heart and in divine love. As we have said, there are three introductory prayers: this (prayer) of peace, that of the imposition of hands and that of the veil (*parso*). By this (prayer) of peace, he orders us to be freed from all ill will, division and evil, so that by fulfilling the giving of the peace, we may made worthy to be gathered before God and to communicate with Him in peaceful unity which drives away from us every carnal (desires). (p.43\*)<sup>7</sup>

8. After (this) prayer, (following) the example of the peace that our Lord gave to His disciples, the priest says: *Peace be to*

6 BAR KEPHA, p. 39. This form of the Trinitarian blessing is no more used at this place.

7 In fact the anaphora begins with the Trinitarian blessing 'Love of God the Father...'. But the Syrians introduced three prayers called: Prayer before peace, Prayer of the laying on of hands and Prayer of the Veil. Most of the commentators do not consider these three prayers as part of the anaphora.

see. G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *Notes*, p. 4. They existed already in the 7th century as attested by Jacob of Edessa. See *The Letter to Thomas the Presbyter*, BRIGHTMAN, LEW, p. 491.

*you all*. It is He (Christ) who grants the peace through the priest because, as we have already said, the priest stands in the place of Christ. Again, by *Peace be to you all*, he exhorts the clergy and the people to give peace each other in tranquility and love. In the case of the clergy, in accordance with what our Lord told His disciples: *When you love each other everybody will know that you are my disciples* (Jn 13:35); and in the case of the people in accordance with *Love your neighbour as yourself* (Lev. 19:18) and the people (shall love each other). Again, the peace is given to fulfill the word of Our Lord: *leave your offering and be reconciled with your brother* (cf. Mt.5:24). Similarly, at that moment, the spiritual beings also assemble there, and with us, they give peace with us, because by the death of the Son they had peace with us.

9. Again, by the peace that we give each other at that time, we indicate that we are prepared to have communion with the Word, through His body. This will not be possible, if we are alienated from ourselves and from others. Therefore, we give peace to show that as we embrace each other outwardly, we have inner love and peace with each other. Again, this (indicates) that when we are reconciled with each other, we are reconciled with God. The peace that we give makes an end to and destroys the mutual enmity. By the peace, again we indicate that the enmity and anger which existed between God and men, between the people and the gentiles, between the soul and the body have been abolished by Christ and peace reigns between them. Before the (beginning of the) mysteries, the clergy give the peace, by standing around (the altar) like the angels (who stood around) the shepherds. The shepherds and the Magis ran to Him who was in the cave and received (p. 44\*) peaceful concord from Him.

10. When the peace is given, the faithful chant either the *m'anito of Peace and tranquility* or *Those of the service*. Those of the higher and the lower ranks give peace (mutually). This symbolises that in Christ they shall receive reconciliation and common glorification at the end of time.

11. Then the people answer: *With your spirit*. As if to Christ, they answer to the priest *with your Spirit*, that You have given us in baptism. Let your peace and tranquility be also with us that You have given us when You said: *My peace I give to you; my peace I leave with you* (Jn. 14:27). Again they answer to the priest 'the peace be with you also', as the theologian said, 'the peace which you gave and you received.'<sup>8</sup> Again the priest gives peace to the people and the people receive it gladly and they give the same peace to the priest, saying: *with your spirit*. This is a common prayer, that that the priest prays over the people and the people (pray) for the priest.

12. Then the deacon cries out to the people: *Give peace each other with a kiss*, not worldly, but divine; not only with the body, but with the spirit also, with a holy kiss which excites spiritual love. After the giving of peace all anger has been quenched through the peace, and they have been firmly bound together in spiritual harmony of love and tranquility.<sup>9</sup>

13. Then the deacon says: *After the peace...* He commands them to bow down their heads, to those who are assembled before Christ, who sees all hidden things, and purifies, illuminates and perfects everyone according to his merit. Again, the giving of peace symbolises Him who has removed our faults and reconciled us with His greatness. Again, through the peace, (p. 45\*) the divine concord—which is above the world and belongs to the blessed ones who exult in the tranquility that comes from He who gives tranquility to all—is symbolised. Through the holy kiss, the familiarity and oneness with the Spirit (is indicated—the Spirit) in which the spirits of the just are bound together and are united.

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8 BAR KEPHA, p. 40. Theologian means Gregory of Nazianzus. On this expression 'With Your Spirit', see, G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *Notes*, p. 22-23; *St. Jaques*, p. 406-408.

9 BAR KEPHA, p. 40-41. Here Bar Salibi gives a summary of the five explanations of Bar Kephia on the Kiss of peace.

14. Our bowing down of the heads symbolises the bowing down of the angels and the spirits of the just who worship the (divine) essence in the new world. By the submission of the bowing down to Him, in whom we are blessed, we are taught true worship in 'Spirit and truth'. Again by (the words), *let us bow down our heads before the Lord*, (the deacon) exhorts the people to bow down the physical and mental heads before the Lord, and to beseech for the blessing that the priest asks from Him in the second prayer. This chapter ends here.

## Chapter 9

1. Again in this chapter we shall discuss the three prayers to be said specifically with reference to the people in the *qurobo* especially, this second (prayer), that which is said before *Holy things to Holy*, and that which is said at the end of the *qurobo*. As the deacon says before these three (prayers) *Let us bow down our heads before the Lord*, it is clear that they are (to be said) particularly for the people. These three prayers are called ' (prayers) of the laying on of hands'. They are also called '(prayers) over the people'. Therefore one shall know that wherever the deacon says, *Let us bow down our heads before the Lord*, the priest recites the prayer over the people.<sup>1</sup>

2. Again, it is not meet to kneel down in the *qurobo*. This is not because we reject genuflexion. If possible, we would have knelt down at every moment (p.46\*) before the Lord. But it is not meet to kneel down in the *qurobo*, or on Sundays. Genuflexion, is in fact, the sign of our fall, (where as) *qurobo* is the sign of our resurrection. Finally, it is written, *Let us bow down our heads before the Lord*, not *Let us kneel down before the Lord*. The priest also says: *those who have bowed down their necks*. This prayer is called '(prayer) of the laying on of hands', (because) through it the faithful become worthy of spiritual gifts, and they are blessed, sanctified and purified.<sup>2</sup>

3. After the second prayer, he says the third prayer and is said over the veil: In this prayer, he beseeches the Father to accept the sacrifice from him and from the people, who stand

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1 BAR KEPHA, p. 42-43. The prayers in question are (i) the prayer after the Kiss of peace, (ii) before *Sancta Sanctis* and (iii) the thanks giving prayer after the communion.

2 BAR KEPHA, p. 43;

behind him. For he says: *We are approaching to offer to you, not relying on our righteousness, for we are sinners. But we trust in Your abundant mercy that You shall accept the sacrifice from us.* It is called the prayer over the veil, because at the end of it, the priest raises the veil, that is the *annapura* or the linen covering (*kelto*), and reveals the mysteries which are covered.<sup>3</sup>

4. Immediately the deacon says, *Let us stand well etc:* By this (prayer), he exhorts and directs the people to stand in order, fear, prudence and sanctity. For firstly, the mysteries are going to be revealed from the veil which has been laid over them. Secondly, the doors of heaven are opened at that time and the heavenly armies and the perfected spirits of the just are coming down for the occasion and for the honour of the mysteries. At that time, since the deacons hold the fans (*marwahoto*), which are the symbols of the wings of the holy angels, it is clear that the angels come down at that time,<sup>4</sup> At that time, the mysteries receive a gentle waving (*ruhopo*), as John waved (*rahep*) (his hand) over the head of our Lord when he laid his hands on Him in (His) baptism<sup>5</sup>. Again, the priest depicts the Spirit (p. 47\*) who perfects. The deacons, who stand on both sides, (symbolise) the angels, who stood at the head and feet of the tomb. As his body was living even in His death, the blood was in it. The fans that the deacons hold are the sign of the wonder to be marvelled at in the mighty mysteries.

5. **On the Anaphora:** The Anaphora or the veil was (already) interpreted above. Others interpret the anaphora as an ascent (*masaqto*); others as an edict (*saqra*). As the edict (with) a king, the anaphora is a lifting up towards the heavenly king. It is spread over the mysteries, because it symbolises the hiddenness and the invisibility of the divinity that are hidden in the mysteries.<sup>6</sup> Again it is a figure of the stone, placed on our Lord's

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3. *ibid*, p. 43-44.

4. *ibid*. p. 44. The comment which follows might be Bar Salibi's own composition.

5. John the Baptist laying his hands on Jesus, see. MURRAY, *Symbols*, pp. 178-181; BROCK, *Holy Spirit*, p. 41-42.

6. BAR KEPHA, p. 44-45; cfr. BROCK, *Com. D*, 41; GEORGE, p. 17.



tomb, Again it manifests Emmanuel who was hidden in the Old Testament sacrifices and the figurative services. The divinity hidden in the mysteries which was unknown to the uninitiated and the unfaithful is revealed spiritually to the initiated and the faithful.<sup>7</sup> Again it signifies the stone which the angel had rolled away from the tomb of our Lord. Again it signifies Emmanuel who was hidden in the Old Testament sacrifices and revealed Himself in the inhomination. Again it indicates the mystery which was hidden from the generations, and which was revealed finally in flesh. Again it removes the obscurity of the Old Testament and reveals the mystery hidden in the Old Testament sacrifices

6. Again the lifting up of the veil indicates the removal of the covering and density between (man and God), in that possibility that surrounds our nature is being removed and naked and without veil or signs (*remze*) we will gaze upon that glorious brightness. Therefore, at this time it is requisite to lift up the veil of passions and dark burdens (of sins) and consider the mysteries before us, as far as it is possible for creatures.

The anaphora is raised and lowered because of the following (reasons): When the Apostle Peter was thinking that the grace of baptism and the remission of sins were given only for the Jews, he had the vision of a vessel descending from heaven, which has four-legged animals, reptiles, birds and everything that flies. Some of them were pure, and others impure.

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7 'Again it manifests...initiated and the faithful' The whole paragraph is quoted from Bar Kepha (p. 45). However, the source that Bar Kepha used seems to be a letter of Severus of Antioch to Caesarea the Hypatissa (Letter 105): 'The veil (*parso*) therefore which before the priest approaches hides what is set forth and is removed after his entry manifestedly cries by the mouth of the facts themselves that the mystery, which was previously concealed by means of the sacrifices of the law and the shadowy service, and was obscurely made known as it were by an indication only, by means of this spiritual and rational priestly ministration reveals Christ who is God to those who have believed in him' (PO, XIV, p. 256). Severus says that in Palestine and Jerusalem it was the deacons who lifted and lowered the anaphora (ibid. p. 257-text quoted below);

cfr. BROCK, *Com.* D-42; GEORGE, p. 17.

Through this, God revealed to him that the grace of the holy baptism has been given not only to the Jewish people purified by the law, but also to the gentiles, who were formerly unclean. The anaphora is, (therefore) raised and lowered to show that this grace of the mysteries has been given for the remission of the sins of those who believe in Christ, whether they are the people or gentiles.<sup>8</sup>

7. Then the people say in response: *Mercy, peace, sacrifice and thanksgiving*. (This means) that the mercies of God have been poured out upon us and they (the mercies) gave us this sacrifice which is offered for our race and which propitiates us. This is *peace* because, when it is offered, it makes tranquility among those who are in heaven and on earth; among the people and the gentiles, and in the soul and in the body. (This is) *thanksgiving* because, when Christ gave (thanks) in the upper-room, He blessed the Father for us, as says Paul: *The bread of blessing that we receive and the cup of thanksgiving* etc(cf. 1Cor. 10:16).<sup>9</sup>

8 BAR KEPHA, p. 45. cfr. Severus of Antioch: Letter. 105: '(In) Palestine and in Jerusalem, while the priest makes the said prayer, the deacons frequently and ceaselessly lift (the cover) up and let it down again, until the end of the prayer, and so after that the priest begins the petition over the offering of the sacrifice. Further what is done in this fashion reminds us of that veil or linen sheet which came down from heaven upon Peter, which contained all the quadrupeds and reptiles and birds clean and unclean, and signified to him that the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out not only on the people of Israel which was clean, because it received God's law, but upon all the nations which were without the law and unclean.

For this reason, therefore, the cloth that is laid upon what is set forth on the altar shows by being lifted and lowered the abundant and perfect gift of the divine Spirit, which was shown to Peter by the vision to have included all the nations, which descends from heaven upon (all) that is set forth, and consecrates and hallows it. . . ' (PO. XIV, 257-258).

9 BAR KEPHA, p. 45-46

## Chapter 10

1. The beginning of the second part of the *qurobo* is as follows: *The love of God the Father and the grace of the Only-begotten Son and the fellowship and descent (of the Holy Spirit)...* He (the priest) entrusts them to the Holy Trinity and signs them with three crosses, so that they may stand pure and without fault. By saying, *Love of God the Father...*, he shows that *In His Love, God gave His Son for death*, as Paul says (Heb. 2:9). By saying *the grace of the Only-begotten Son*, he indicates that, by grace, the Son tasted death for everyone; by His grace, He made us sons of His Father not that we were unworthy of it. Again, by saying: *the descent and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit*, he makes clear that the sacrifices are perfected and accepted by the descent of the Holy Spirit. The priest should not stop after *the love of God the Father*, and make a pause. Otherwise, it (shall give a reason and an occasion to the people to say *Amen* for each phrase. For, it is not a prayer; but (a declaration) that, because of (His) love, God gave His Son.<sup>1</sup>

2. There are ignorant priests who introduce here an addition by saying: *The love of God the Father, and grace of the Only-begotten Son, the great God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the fellowship* etc. But the holy teachers like Jacob of Edessa and Moses of Mosul wrote as we have explained above. But the addition, *the great God and Saviour Jesus Christ* was introduced by their own authority. This is said on the occasion of the second sign of) cross over the people, as the priest says: *May the mercies of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be with (p. 50\*) you all.* The introduction of the (phrase) here, which is to be said there, is because of the great disorderly verbosity.

Since *The Love of God the Father, the grace of the Only-begotten Son and the fellowship of the Spirit*, that the priest says, are

<sup>1</sup> BAR KEPHA, p. 46

over the people, they respond: *And with your spirit that means, with you also.*

3. Immediately, the priest directs the people saying: *Let our minds, understanding and hearts be above...* Henceforth, the holy mysteries are revealed to them, and the doors of heaven have been opened and the spiritual armies and the spirits of the saints descend to honour the mysteries. (Therefore), let all our minds and understanding be above, not below in earthly affairs. Again, strive for heavenly things and be purified from earthly things. Then after having kept away from all earthly things, let our minds, understanding, desires and hearts be above with God, who is the Lord of all.<sup>2</sup>

4. Immediately, the people respond: *They are with the Lord.* Jacob of Edessa says: 'they are with the Lord, (because) He saved us by the inhomination of the Son.'<sup>3</sup> Again, 'we have the mercies of the Father with us'. Again, we have the inscription of the Holy Spirit by which we have been inscribed in baptism for the filial adoption as (it is said): *Rejoice, for your names have been inscribed in heaven.* Again we have a Paraclete, Jesus Christ, in heaven. Paraclete means advocate, one who consoles' or absolves.

5. Others say, *We are with the Lord,* (that is) in some way with the rewarder. The people also say to the priest *Now we have our eyes and hearts with the Lord,* and also the grace and love, by which the Son accomplished the economy and He was taken up to the Father, and made us worthy of the brotherhood with Him.

6. Moses Bar Kepha of Mosul says: *We have (them) unto the Lord* and *We are unto the Lord* – these responses are not correct. For (p.51\*) the priest does not say *Have you (them) unto the Lord?* or *Let us have (them) unto the Lord,* so that they may respond: *We have (them) unto the Lord.* Again if he had said: *Let us be unto the Lord,* they would have rightly answered *We are unto the Lord.* Therefore, these responses are not correct. But

2. *ibid.* p. 46

3. *cfr.* Jacob of Edessa, *Com. to Serugh*, fol. 181 b.

Then the priest says: *Let our minds, and hearts be above it is meet that the people say They are (turned) unto the Lord, as you have directed and said. Let our minds, hearts and understandings be above. They are unto the Lord as you have said* And this is the correct response.<sup>4</sup>

7. Then the priest adds: *Let us give thanks to the Lord in awe!* He directs the people to give thanks in awe, because of three reasons): firstly, because, the hidden mysteries have been revealed; secondly, because, the angels descend and stand around the mysteries; thirdly, on account of this great gift that the Lord has given us.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the people respond him: *It is meet and right.* It is meet and right to give thanks to Him as you have said, because all are His worshippers. Again, it is meet and right it shall be so always; that is to offer unceasing thanksgiving to God for His deeds towards us.

8. Since the priest sees that he and the whole people have become one body, he takes their permission and bows down his head to offer this sacrifice for them, and he gives thanks to the Lord, saying *It is truly meet and right to glorify Thee etc* <sup>6</sup> When the priest and the people have attained undivided concord, the priest begins the mystical service of the *qurobo* which is divided into two parts: one, the sanctification of the mysteries and the other, the commemorations.

<sup>4</sup> BAR KEPHA, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> . ibid. p. 48

<sup>6</sup> . ibid.

## Chapter 11

1. In this chapter, we teach that the beginning of the *qurobo* is *He whom the highest heavens and all the hosts therein praise...* To Him is right and due bodily and visible glorification.<sup>1</sup> All the incorporeal and invisible creatures offer glorification to Him. First, the priest remembers the intelligent creatures, heavenly ranks, Cherubim and Seraphim, and (then) bids (us) to shout with them, the threefold *Holy* to the Trinity. From the beginning of the *qurobo* till (this) prayer, which is said with outstretched hands (*pseto*) -that is *Holy, Holy* - we offer glorification and adoration to that eternal nature, which brought (both) visible and invisible things into existence. Therefore, they are remembered (first), and then he introduces *the time of the creation*.

2 *With two wings they cover their faces*:- By covering their faces, they show that God is eternal and without beginning. By covering their feet, they show that God is without end or limit. *With two wings they fly and glorify*, indicates that He who is without beginning and end is worthy to be glorified by all. *Their saying three times: Holy, Holy, Holy*, signifies that the God who is without beginning and end, is three hypostases. By saying *Lord*, they indicate that these three hypostases are of one nature and one lordship. By calling Him *almighty*, they teach that by His exalted power, He brought everything into existence, and that He holds it and protects it by His providence *Hailtono* (= *mighty*) corresponds to *sabaot* in the Hebrew language. The meaning of this word is *the mighty Lord of hosts*.<sup>2</sup>

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1 BAR KEPHA, p. 48

2. *ibid.* 48-49

3 In another manner, the prophet Isaiah foresaw one of the Holy Trinity (p.53\*), that is the Son, who was to be incarnated, sitting on a raised throne and the Seraphim standing around Him (Is. 6:12).<sup>3</sup> The Evangelist John witnesses to it, saying that Isaiah saw the glory of the Son and spoke of Him. Similarly, Cyril, we said interpreted the vision of Isaiah of the Son.

By covering their faces, they indicate that they do not comprehend the eternity of the Son. By covering their feet, they show that neither do they comprehend the incarnation. By flying with two, (it is indicated) that they glorify and sanctify Him continuously. They cry out Holy three times, indicating that He is one of the three hypostases. Again, they call Him as *Lord* signifies that He is consubstantial with the Father and the Son. By addressing Him as *Mighty*, they indicate that He who was God became man, without change and won victory over Satan and death, and redeemed our race by His divine power. Again by covering their faces, they indicate that the Seraphim, though they so exalted (in their ranks), do not dare to investigate beyond the permitted limit.

By covering their feet, they indicate that they do not dare explore the unfathomable depths of the judgements of God, as is written: *Do not investigate things which are too profound for you* (Ben Sira 3:23). They fly with the two wings in the middle, shows that they have a measured (attitude) towards those (laws) that were given to them by God, by not violating the commandments which God gave them, as did the adversary who turned aside the law.<sup>4</sup>

4 Then the people cry out: *Holy, Holy, Holy*, that is, glory to the three hypostases that they heaven earth sanctuary or any other place cannot contain. The sublime glory and exultation which they have with the angels, is the divine knowledge of the angels, of which they have been made worthy (p.54\*) through His economy in the body, and today it is being proclaimed on the holy table by heavenly and earthly beings. There are three times *Holy*, so that

- ibid, p. 49

- p. 49-50

you may learn that no other nature or hypostasis was added to the (divine) essence. And we say three times *Holy* to the Trinity, as well as to each of the hypostases, because they are of one nature and three hypostases.

Again, *Holy, Holy . . .*, that is, O priest as you have said, like the Seraphims (who) sanctify God the Word, we also sanctify Him. He is *God the Almighty*, for He brought everything into existence, holds the universe and protects it from destruction, because of His care for it. Again, when He took flesh, because He is God, He did not change, but won victory over death and Satan and redeemed us. Again, although He took flesh, on account of our feebleness, He is almighty in His divinity.

5. *The heaven (and earth are) filled with.* That is, all the heavenly and earthly beings glorify Him. '*ousano*' that is, '*ousi'ano*' in Hebrew language, which means *salvation*. In Greek language, it is *susuno*, that is *glory*. The Greek and Syriac languages have borrowed (the word) *ousano* from the Hebrew language. Jesus is truly Saviour, as (it is said): *He will save His people from their sins* (Mt. 1:21) and *He saved us from death and Satan* (Heb 2:4). He is the Lord of glory, (as says Paul): *if they had understood; they would not have crucified the Lord of glory* (1 Cor 2:8)<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we say *Glory in the highest* to the Son who took flesh and saved us.

*Blessed is He that came and is to come:* He came, in His first coming, and saved us. *He is to come*, in His second coming (for) the judgement and the recompense of all. *In the Name of the Lord*, means that first He came in the Name of His Father. Similarly, in the second coming, He will come in the Name of the Lord, that is, (in the Name) of the Father, not as inferior or different in nature, but as consubstantial with the Father.<sup>6</sup>

Again, (p. 55\*) by our saying, *Holy* three times, it is indicated that in the eternity, the saints sanctify with sanctity, the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, the one God in three hypostases, who sanctifies all and is sanctified by all.

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5 p. 50-51

6. p. 51



6. By the waving (*ruhopo*) (of the hands) the secret in-  
 welling, that is the ineffable brooding of the Holy Spirit over  
 the godly minds, is indicated.<sup>7</sup>

7. From the prayer *Holy*, with the outstretched hands  
 (*psotto*), till the following prayer of inclination (*ghonto*), the  
 priest remembers the creation of the spiritual hosts, and with  
 their creation, their orders and glories. From the *ghonto* which  
 follows *Holy*, till the narration of the upper-room, he teaches  
 about the occasion of the creation of Adam, the gift given to  
 him, his free will, how he had fallen because of the advice of  
 the woman, how he was saved through the Son in the last days.<sup>8</sup>

8. The priest says inclining, *You are truly Holy*, (that is),  
 he confirms what the Seraphim (have said) by glorifying the  
 Trinity and what the people have said *Holy, Holy* etc. in response.  
 Again, the priest says in the same *ghonto*: *You are Holy, O Father,*  
*Your Only begotten Son is Holy; and Your Holy Spirit is Holy.* Then  
 in the same *ghonto* he addresses the Father and narrates in the  
 manner of a history, the economy of the Son for us. While con-  
 tinuing the narration, he stands erect and describes the (events)  
 which happened in the mystical supper in the upper-room. By  
 the commemoration of the sacrifice in the upperroom, (we show  
 forth that sacrifice) which we shall offer in a priestly manner  
 when, in the spiritual concord, in the common new life, we will  
 be made worthy of the perfect knowledge which will remove  
 the vision through signs.

9. Finally, one may know this also: the commentators  
 of the *qurobo* have explained (only) those sections which need  
 explanation, and (therefore), they did not comment on the whole  
 (*qurobo*). Some former scribes, without having accurate attent-  
 ion, (p.56\*) made error in the above *ghonto*, and attributed  
 offering to the Father, for they wrote: *You are Holy, O Almighty,*

<sup>7</sup> Bar Salibi is probably the earliest author who speaks of the waving  
 of the hands during the Sanctus. Henceforth the rite became part of  
 the eucharistic celebration.

<sup>8</sup> efr. St. James Liturgy in Connolly and Codrington, *Two Commentaries*,  
 p. 94.

*Omnipotent, Awful, Good and He who partook of sufferings especially because of Your creation etc.* Thus by their own authority, they ascribed sufferings to the Father.

Some of the ancient commentators interprets this (as follows): as a father suffers when the son is beaten, the Father suffered with the Son. (According to) others, He suffered voluntarily, as it is said that the Father repented for having created Adam, although He is beyond compunction by nature. Thus it is said that He suffered even though He is beyond suffering. But we hear from the eighth book of Clement that it is said:<sup>9</sup> 'He who says that the Father suffered, is with the Jews who are the murderers of God'. (Therefore) we understand that there is error in that *ghonto*. This happened, not from the doctors, but from the scribes.

10. Another reason: if we say to the heretics that the Son suffered in the flesh, they will call us *Theopaschites*. If they hear that the Father also suffered, how much more will they find fault with us! Therefore, we give the correct sequence of words as follows: *You are Holy with Your Son who suffered, O Almighty, Omnipotent, Awful and Good, especially because of Your creation...But the scribes have omitted (the words) with Your Son.* This is clear from the fact that if some one continues in the wording, he says: *You called him (mankind) by the Law and led him by the prophets, and finally You sent Him, Your Only-begotten Son to the world.* (The words) *Him, Your Only-begotten Son* shows that He is remembered with *Your Son*. Again it is clear from the word *He*. If it was about the Father, it would only have said in its place as follows: *You are Awful and Good, who shared in suffering.* But by saying: *He who has shared in (suffering), not You who have shared,* this shows that it intends: (p.57\*) *With Your Son who shared in suffering.*

11. Thus in a few words, the whole of the reason for God's love towards man, is remembered in this *ghonto* (that is), regarding the first creation (of man), his blessedness in the paradise, the law which was given to him, how he transgressed the law and fell, how the Word became man, suffered in flesh, how He deified (*aloh*) us by His philanthropy.

9 Apostolic Constitutions, VIII

## Chapter 12

1. Again the priest says: *When He prepared Himself to accept death by His own will...Here, he narrates the mystical story and makes commemoration of the priestly sacrifice that Our Lord accomplished in the Upper-room, in the evening in which he was about to surrender himself for us. After having celebrated the Old Testament Passover, He fulfilled the high priestly order, and entrusted this service to His disciples. By taking bread in His Holy hands...: This shows that He took flesh with soul from the Virgin. In other manuscripts it is written: He looked to heaven. He looked (means), He manifested the will of God. And showed You, O God By showing it to the Father he indicates that He was speaking with His Cause and Father. and that He is not an opponent of the Father as the Jews lie about Him.*<sup>1</sup>

2. *He gave thanks: By (the words) He gave thanks he indicated to us that He gave thanks to the Father on behalf of us, for His goodness that He has granted us through the economy of His Son, as says Paul. Again, He gave thanks (means) that He has accomplished here; that is, He has fulfilled the will of the Father. The thanksgiving here indicates the consent. That is to say, I fulfill Your will, O Father, for I have accepted passion and death for the human race. Here (p. 58\*) the thanksgiving is not a petition or a prayer. But (it means): I bear witness to and fulfill Your will that I should accept death.*<sup>2</sup>

3. *He blessed: By (the words) He blessed, He indicated that He removed the curse of the transgression of the commandment from our race and blessed it, as Elizabeth said: Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your (womb) (Lk. 1:42).*

Again to show that, in nature, He is not inferior to Him who blesses; but He is able to bless. *Consecrated*: By (the words) *He consecrated*, He indicated that He has consecrated us from sin as it says: *Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world* (Jn 1:29); or He consecrated Himself for our sake as (John) says: *For their sake, I consecrate myself* (Jn 17:19).<sup>3</sup>

4. Again by, *He broke* He symbolized His passion, cross, killing, piercing with the lance, and death. Again, *He broke* (means) that He sacrificed and divided Himself and remission of sins flowed from Him. And *He gave them*: By the (words) *gave them* He shows that the gift comes from Him. When he (the priest) says *gave thanks*, three crosses are signed over the bread and then similarly over the cup. He recites the words that our Lord said in the upper-room when He accomplished the mystery. By these (words), He indicates that He is the one who consecrates now as well as these elements which are placed on the altar, by the will of the Father and by the operation of the Spirit, through the priest who signs the crosses and recites the words. It is not the one who ministers, but the one who is invoked on the mysteries, who consecrates.<sup>4</sup> Again, the bread receives the first sign (*rushmo*) of consecration through the signing (*hotmo*) of the crosses. It symbolises the mystical consecration which was accomplished on that evening in the upper-room. Again the sign (*hatmo*) of the crosses, here symbolises Him who consecrates the offered gifts by the will of His Father and by the operation of the Spirit.

5. It is necessary to learn these other things also: that is, by taking the bread and breaking it a little bit, without dividing it into two, he symbolises this and shows that, even though

<sup>3</sup> BAR KPEPHA, p. 52

<sup>4</sup> cfr. Severus of Antioch: 'It is not the offerer himself who, as by his own power and virtue, changes the bread into Christ's body, and the cup of blessing into Christ's blood, but the God-befitting and efficacious power of the words which Christ who instituted the mystery commanded to be pronounced over the things that are offered' E. W. BROOKS, *The Sixth Book of the select Letters of Severus*, Vol. II (London, 1904). p. 238 (=Letter III, 3).

Christ (p. 59\*) was 'broken' on the cross, and died and His soul was separated from His body, His divinity did not leave, or become separated from His soul and body; but it (remained) united with the soul and the body hypostatically and substantially. Therefore, the priest shall take care at the time when he breaks the bread, to break (it) a little bit in the correct way, and not to separate the parts from each other. For, by breaking it without separating, he symbolises that the soul of the Word was separated from His body. By not dividing or separating into two pieces, he indicates that the divinity did not separate from the soul, or from the body.<sup>5</sup>

6. *And gave it to His disciples and said: Take, eat of it:* The disciples, then, ate from the body without doubt. But did our Lord eat from His body or not? We say that He ate from it, and drank from His blood, for he said: *I shall not drink again of this fruit of the wine with you* (Mk. 14:25; Mt. 26:29). Mar Aprem says: His disciples ate His body, and He (also) ate with them; and they drank His blood and He (also) drank with them. Similarly, Mar ivanios says: He tasted and gave to His disciples. And Jacob of Edessa says that truly He ate from His body and drank from His blood. The patriarch Kuriakos and Moses Bar Kepha taught that He ate from His body and drank from His blood.<sup>6</sup>

7. *This is my body:* It may be fitting to investigate whether the bread that Christ took in His hands, blessed, consecrated and called His body, is the body which is (taken) from the Virgin, or another, which is different from it. We say that,

5 BAR KEPHA p. 53.

6 *ibid.* p. 53. Bar Kepha gives the names of Mar Joannes (ie Chrysostom), Patriarch Cyriacus and Mar Ephrem and not that of Jacob of Edessa (p. 53). Probably he quotes from Jacob of Edessa's Commentary to George the Stylite of Serugh (fol 182a). Bar Salibi, however, identified the source and therefore mentions the name of Jacob of Edessa along with the three fathers.

In fact the words of institution of the Anaphora of Jacob of Edessa say that Christ 'ate of His body'. We could not identify the quotation in the works of Ephrem, Chrysostom and the Patriarch Cyriacus *cfr. infra.* ch. 18. n. 2.

it is the body and blood from the Virgin. Perhaps somebody may reply: How could it happen? We say to him that it is possible. The right hand which took dust from the earth in the beginning, and changed it and made the body of Adam: changed this bread and made it (p. 60\*) the body of the Word, which is from the Virgin and the Holy Spirit. He who took the flesh of the lamb in Egypt and changed it and effected (*'bad*) the redemption of the Hebrews in Egypt, has changed this bread and made it the body which is from the Virgin. (In the upper-room), He changed the wine and made it the blood which is from the Virgin. Similarly, today also, understand regarding the bread and wine that the priest offers. The same Holy Spirit, who descended in the womb of the Virgin and made the flesh from her, (that is), the body and blood of God the Word, descends on the altar and makes the offered bread and wine the body and blood of God the Word which He took from the Virgin Mary, through the hands of the priest who ministers and offers. Again, understand the miracle which was done on that evening in the upper-room: He ate from His body and gave His disciples to eat. He drank from His blood and gave them to drink. This is a miracle which transcends the minds of created beings and is incomprehensible to them.<sup>7</sup>

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7 BAR KEPHA, p. 54.

## Chapter 13

1. It is fitting to investigate whether it is the body and blood of God the Word that we drink, or of the man from Mary as the Nestorians argue. We say that it is the body of God the word, Paul witnesses to this by saying: *He who eats the body of the Lord and drinks His blood ...Again he says:...without discerning the body of the Lord*(1 Cor. 11:27-29). He calls it *the body and blood of the Lord, not of the man*. David witnesses that God is the Lord by saying: *There is no Lord except the Lord* (Ps 18:32). Even though Paul speaks of *the body of the Son of Man* (1 Cor. 11:29), he calls here the Word God. *After the Word became flesh* (p.61\*) and *dwelt among us* (Jn. 1:14), by whatever name, He has been called, He should be understood wholly. Even if He is called *Word*, He is the Son of Man; or if He is called *body*, He is God. Therefore (when we say) that we eat body of the Son of Man, He is the Son of God. When Christ gave His body to eat and His blood to drink, He was not a man in whom God dwelt, but He was God who became man without change.<sup>1</sup>

2. Nature has not handed down and the scripture does not teach that we are eating the body and drinking the blood of the Son of Man. How can a man give eternal life, since *his days are like grass?* (Ps. 103:15). But Christ is God who became man. Even though sometimes Jesus says that we eat His divinity, it means He who incarnated, for (He has said): *I am the bread which came down from heaven* (Jn. 6:51) and *if anybody eats from this bread* (Jn. 6:54). Sometimes He says that we eat His body, as it is said: *if you does not eat the body of the Son of Man...;* or

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1 BAR KEPHA, p. 55. This argument is directed against the Nestorians.

sometimes it says We eat Him (that is), where He says. *He who eats me, shall live because of me* (Jn. 6:57). His body and blood are spiritual food, and life is hidden in them. It is evident that, as we take bodily food for satiation, (we take also) spiritual food moderately and partially. Bodily food completely fills and satisfies; but this (spiritual food) is able to give life by its power, and to protect those who partake it.

3. Why are the body and blood called mysteries? The body and blood are called mysteries, because they are not what is seen. In appearance, they are bread and wine; but they are recognized (to be) and are the body and blood of God. As Jesus who was seen as a man, was God, so too those which are seen as bread and wine are the body and blood. Even though the (Holy) Spirit makes the mysteries (p. 62\*) the body and blood, they are those of the Son, as was effected in (the womb of) the Virgin. Even though the Spirit formed the body for the Son (*gsham labro*), it was the Son who took the body (*etgasham*). As the angel said: *He who is to be born from you is Holy, and He is from the Holy Spirit* (Lk. 1:35). Even though the Holy Spirit was the cause in that He fashioned the body, He who was conceived and born, is the Son. Similarly (on) the altar, which is the figure of the womb and the tomb, the Holy Spirit overshadows and transforms the bread and wine and makes them the body and blood of the Word, who became flesh only once in the womb. Although it is the body of the Son, it is given to us by the Father, through, the Holy Spirit.

4. *Which is for you and for many:* That is, O my twelve disciples, this body is broken not for you alone, but for all who believe in me. (The words) *is broken* means that He was speaking of the sacrifice on the cross which is to be accomplished.

*and is given for the remission of the sins:* Because of two reasons He says that His body has been given to the faithful: first, in order to forgive their sins; second, in order to give them eternal life in the Kingdom of Heaven, as it is said: *He who eats my body shall live forever.*



*For the life eternal:* Moses of Mosul says: When the priest says here *for the life eternal*, it is not meet that he makes a pause' and allows the people to say *Amen*, like the custom which has entered and which still exists. For this place, is not a prayer or a petition, but a narration. It is right that the people respond (with) *Amen* to a prayer, but not to a narration. Therefore, the priest shall continue the words till he says: *acknowledging my resurrection until come*. Even though, Moses Bar Kepha prescribed thus, today the people say two *Amens*; one (p. 63\*) here and another when (the priest) blesses the cup and says likewise *for the life eternal*.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Likewise after, the supper (he took) the cup mixed with wine and water, gave thanks and blessed, saying: Take, drink of it all of you. This is...* When He spoke of the body, He said, only: *take it, eat of it*. This shows that all the apostles together ate of it without hesitation. In the case of the cup, He added *drink of it all of you*. '*All of you*' shows that there were Nazirites among the disciples who never tasted the fruit of vine, according to the law of the Hebrews. By this word *all of you*, He permitted them to participate in His blood, and to abandon the Jewish custom which ordered to abstain from wine.

*This is my blood of the New Covenant: diatiqi* means 'instruction' (*puqodo*). If he who made it dies (cfr. Hb. :17), it does not change at all; if he is not dead, it is not confirmed, because he has the authority to change it as he wills. What is the meaning of a covenant? We say: one, the death of the man who made it, two, the inheritance that he gives to them, whom he wills to be the heirs. The *diatiqi*, that is the instruction that Christ wrote for us, was confirmed with His blood. As the Old Testament Covenant was confirmed with the blood of lambs and calves, the new covenant also was confirmed with the blood of Christ. As the apostle says: *without the shedding of blood, there is no forgiveness of sins* (Hb. 9:22).

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2 *ibid.* p. 55-56.

What did Christ profit us through this *diatiqi* or instruction? We say: He made us the sons of the Father from baptism; He forgave our debts and sins through His body and blood; He invited us up to the Kingdom of God and the ineffable blessedness (*busomo*) which has been prepared for us there.<sup>3</sup>

6. *Do this in remembrance of me: that is, as you have seen me doing. (P. 64\*). Therefore whenever you eat this bread (and drink) this cup... that is, whenever you celebrate this mystery, this forgives your sins. You are doing two things: one, you are commemorating my death; two, you are confessing my resurrection. It is meet to know that from Egypt till the upper-room, this mystery of the body and blood was celebrated in figures. From the upper-room till the second coming of Christ, it is celebrated with the body and blood.*<sup>4</sup>

*You are proclaiming my death and resurrection; (You are) proclaiming' that is commemorating through the sacrifice, the death of our Lord in the flesh and His resurrection, the sign (shuudo'o) by which the Church is sanctified and saved. By commemorating the death in the flesh and the resurrection over the bread and wine, (we are proclaiming that) we shall remember them continuously and without forgetting. Again, through the commemoration of His death and resurrection over the bread and wine, the glorious resurrection of the sons of light on the eighth day and the deliverance from mortality are symbolised.*

7. The people then say in response: *Your death, O Lord...* That is, according to Your commandment, we commemorate Your death, for by it, you have killed our death. *We confess Your resurrection...*, because it became the pledge of our resurrection and the first fruit of the new life. *We look for your second coming,* so that we shall drink with you the spiritual fruit of spiritual vine, in the Kingdom of your Father, as you have said. The wine that we will drink with Him there, is the new teaching about things which we do not know here<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 56.

<sup>4-5</sup> *ibid.* p. 57.

8. From the narrative of the upper-room till the prayer of the economy, which we are discussing, the time in which Noah was floating on the water in the ark is symbolised. As an image, the ark symbolises the upper-room, the spiritual basin which floats above the flood of sins. (p. 65\*) And our priesthood was symbolised by the sacrifices which Noah offered after the flood.

## Chapter 14

### On the mysteries:

1. On this subject, let us speak of suitable things. Priest-*Commemorating O Lord Your death* etc. By offering glorification, here he makes the memory of His *economy: Let Your mysteries, O Son, beseech You and Your Father not to act with us according to our sins. But have pity on us and have mercy on us, in the terrible day of Your second coming. Receive these (gifts), especially now, because of Your economy. Therefore, Your people and Your inheritance... Therefore Your people...*, because Your name has been called upon them: *christians from Christ, that is, mshihoye from Mshihho.*

*Your inheritance: That is, Your Father gave You as inheritance, as it is (written): Ask of me, and I will give You the nations as Your heritage (Ps. 2:8), and All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me (Mt. 28:18).*

Again *Your inheritance*, as You have promised them that they shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. *Beseech You and through You: that is, do not reckon their sins now, but redeem them in the day of Your coming through You: that is, as the Cause to He who causes. A gain, as the mediator between the Father and us. With You to Your Father: that is, as (You are) equal to the Father in essence and nature.*<sup>1</sup>

2. The people then say in reply: *Have mercy upon us, O God the Father...* That is, we beseech You God the Father, through

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<sup>1</sup> BAR KEPHA, p. 58.

Your Son who became the mediator to forgive our sins, and to pour out Your mercies upon us, in the second coming of Your Only begotten Son.

Priest: *We also, O Lord, receiving Your grace..., that is, (p.66\*) now, for everything that You have done for us from the beginning till the incarnation of Your Only-begotten Son: whether You have created me, made me in Your image, adorned me with the gifts of intelligenc, or taken care of us etc. We acknowledge You by (reason of) all things and for all things. That is for everything that You have given us through Your incarnation, whether it is the remission of sins, or adoption as sons, or the Kingdom of Heaven or the blessedness in it etc.*<sup>2</sup>

3. The people say in response: *We glorify You*. That is, for everything that the priest said before or later, we glorify You. *We bless You* like the Cherubim, for You have blessed our race from the curse of the transgression of the commandment. *We confess You*, for You are Our God and Lord and our Benefactor. We beseech You to answer our good requests. Again *we glorify You*, for You have made us intelligent; *we bless You* with mouth and tongue, for You have made us worthy to be Your worshippers; *we confess You*, for You have gathered us together from the error of sins.<sup>3</sup>

4. From the prayer of the economy till the invocation of the Spirit, symbolizes the time of the fathers. the Old Testament priesthood and the prophecy of the prophets – in which the economy in the flesh was pre figured. The fathers by their figures, the priesthood by the sacrifices of the Law, the prophets by their symbols prophesying concerning the revelation of our Lord in the flesh, and on His life-giving resurrection.

5. The deacon says: *How awful is this hour and how fearful this time etc...* Then *stand in calm and in awe...* Since the gifts of the Spirit are given in calm, he prepares the people for the

2 *ibid.* p. 58–59.

3 *ibid.* p 59.

indwelling of the Holy Spirit. (p.67\*). Another (explanation): *with fear*, so that there may not be any clamour among them, as it happened to the Israelites on the Mount Sinai, for they said to Moses: *You speak to us; but let not God speak to us, lest we die* (Ex.20:19). Then the priest inclines his head (and says) the invocation of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

6. **On the invocation of the Spirit:** *Have mercy upon me, O God the Father...* etc. Here (he) teaches about the invocation of the Spirit. It is meet to enquire here, why does the Holy Spirit come down upon the bread and the wine? The Son descends and is hypostatically united with them. (Then) for what reason, does the Holy Spirit come down? We say that (it is) because of the following reason. He descended in the womb of Mary, as the angel said: *The Holy Spirit shall come* etc, and made the flesh from the Virgin the body of God the Word. Similarly, He descends upon the bread and wine (placed) on the altar and makes them, the body and blood of God the Word which are from the Virgin.<sup>5</sup>

7. Again we say: Just as the Father was pleased in the case of the Virgin Mary, that the Son should take body (from her); but the Son descended into the womb of the Virgin and was embodied from her; the Holy Spirit also descended upon the Virgin so that the Son might take body from her; likewise happens here also on the altar. The Father is the One who pleases that the Son shall be hypostatically united with the bread and the wine. Because of this reason, the priest beseeches with fear and implores silently with a sigh to God the Father. He asks Him, as being the eternal origin (*Ito*) of the Son and the Spirit, and because every good gift proceeds from Him, to send His Holy Spirit upon him and upon all the faithful who stand behind him, as well as upon the mysteries that are placed on the altar. Since there are many spirits, he qualifies the Spirit saying: *Your Holy Spirit, Lord and Life-giver* etc. (p.68\*). That is, this Spirit is Lord, and He gives life to all rational beings, angels and all that are

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4 *ibid.* p. 57.

5 p. 59-60.

living. *Who is equal in throne*: that is, consubstantial in divinity with the Father and the Son. He is eternal and King like Them. After these (titles), he introduces other images and metaphors, such as *who spoke through the Law and the prophets* etc.<sup>6</sup>

8. The bread receives the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, in the same way as the Son received it in the flesh as our first fruit in the river Jordan. (The priest) beseeches that the Spirit shall be sent on the body and blood, in the same way as He overshadowed upon the Virgin. Again the invocation of the Spirit symbolises that Gabriel stood before the Virgin and gave her the good news regarding her holy conception. Again the invocation of the Holy Spirit (symbolises) the mystical union – which is beyond knowledge - with that sanctifying power which upholds all, (in which) we participate with impassible and immaterial mind.

9. Then the priest says: *Hear me, O Lord, and have mercy upon me*. Moses Bar Kepha says that the priest says *quriellaisun* (= *Kyrie Eleison*), which means, *Lord have mercy upon me*. Since he perceives through faith, that the Holy Spirit has descended, perfected and accomplished the mysteries, he cries out towards the Father: *Lord have mercy upon me*, because *Kyrie Eleison* means *Lord have mercy upon us*.<sup>7</sup>

10. In the West, according to the new custom, which is existing today, as we have said above, the priest says in Syriac *Lord, answer me and have mercy upon me*. That is (to say), he raises his voice to persuade the people to say similarly. Then the people say three times *Kyrie Eleison* that is, *Lord have mercy upon us*. The chanting of *Kyrie Eleison* three times indicates persistent supplication. (p.69\*)<sup>8</sup>

6 p. 60-61.

7 BAR KEPHA, p. 61. Eventhough Bar Kepha and Bar Salibi refer to the prayer '*Answer us..* and '*Kyricleison*', it is absent in most of the ancient manuscripts (cfr. n. 8)

8 According to Bar Salibi, the recitation of *Answer me* is a new custom, which was Probably introduced in the 12th century. This might have been first introduced in the East at an earlier date.

11. There are ignorant priests who, sometimes, strike their forehead at this place as though they are regretting something which they have done. Moses Bar Kepha says that it has no relevance here, for the gifts of the Spirit are given in quietness, not in clamour, and God the Word descended upon Mary and took flesh from her in silence and in quietness, not in clamours and in tumults. Similarly, here also He descends quietly and unites hypostatically with the bread and wine, (that are) placed on the altar. Again, *we do not have received the Spirit of slavery* (Rom.8:15), to be troubled like the Israelites, when the gifts came upon them, for they were in the figure of slaves. But *we have received the Spirit of sonship which calls the Father 'Abba'*, as the apostle says (Gal.4:6; Rom. 8:15). Therefore we are sons; and it is not meet for us to be in a commotion.<sup>9</sup>

16. *So that by overshadowing He may make this bread...*, that is, may the Holy Spirit overshadow, as he (the priest) beseeched the Father to send. And the people say *Amen*, which means, *Let it be so, as you have said*.

13. After having invoked the Holy Spirit, the priest, stands erect from inclination and says: *May He overshadow...*, and then he signs three crosses over the bread and three over the chalice, to indicate that by the will of the Father. God the Word descends and overshadows the mysteries and perfects them by the Holy Spirit: the bread so that it may become the body and that He may make the mixture in the chalice the blood. Again, the three crosses on the body and the blood indicate the (words): *the Holy Spirit will come (upon you) and the power of the Most High will overshadow upon you* (Lk. 1:35). As God the Word overshadowed on the Virgin, after she has been sanctified by the Holy Spirit, the word overshadows upon the bread, after it has been sanctified by Him<sup>10</sup>. As by the will of His Father, (p. 70\*) by His Holy Spirit, the Word was incarnated from the Virgin without change, so by the will of His Father,

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<sup>9</sup> BAR KEPHA, p. 61-62.

<sup>10</sup> The signs of the crosses are not mentioned by Bar Kepha.



by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, He perfects the bread as His body and the wine as His blood. The bread which becomes heavenly body by the power of the One Father, symbolises the one incarnate nature and one composite hypostasis from humanity and divinity. This mystical unity symbolises the natural and hypostatical union of the Word with the flesh. Then the priest says aloud: *Let them be (for the remission of the sins) of those who receive from them etc.*

14. In former days, there were priests who introduced the following addition to this prayer: *Protect her for ever from all heretical scanddals of those do unlawful acts. They did not recite: until the end of the world by the grace etc, as we say today. Then the doctors deleted the (word) for ever and corrected (the prayer) according to the existing custom in the Church today, saying that, after the end of the world there is no impiety or heresy, so that we should (need to) add for eternity.*

## Chapter 15

1. Again, depending upon the power of God, we add: the third part (*kephaleion*) of the *qurobo*. During the prayers said inclined and upright the priest should have a single aim. to pray silently and openly for what he wishes (to pray). When he recites a *ghanto* he informs the people, for what he preys. When he recites the words silently, he exhorts them that they also may pray for what he prays. (p.71\*) Similarly, by extending his hands, the priest prays openly to God. Again he informs the people, for what he was praying silently.

2. Diptychs (*diptuke*) are six.<sup>1</sup> The Syrians call them *canons*. (The Word) *diptychs*, which has been borrowed from Greek to Syriac, means the two *inscriptions* or *tablets*. Three of the canons are for the living and the remaining three (are) for the dead. It is meet to give here a word, refuting the Armenians who do not offer the *qurbono* for the living. If in the *qurobo*, the first three commemorations are for the living: that is, for the priests, for the people and for the Kings, why then out of ignorance, do you not make remembrance of the living on the altar? If a living man is impious, persistent in sins or unrepentant or he has fallen in mortal sins, it is not right that we remember him on the altar either. He is dead and sick with mortal sins as we have declared above to use the apostolic phraseology. But if he repents of his faults and offers penitence like the prodigal son, it is right that the sacrifice be offered for him.

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1 Originally the Diptychs consisted of a single prayer with two parts: first remembering the living and the second the dead. The *Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles* witnesses to this stage (cfr. JASPER & CUMING, p. 124-128). The six fold division might have been introduced in Mesopotamia, probably by Jacob of Edessa. (I hope to demonstrate this possibility in my forth-coming study on the Syriac Anaphora of St. James). The Diptychs of the Greek St. James do not have the six fold division as in the Syriac version.

Since we have written extensively in the refutation of the Armenians, it is meet that here we abbreviate this discourse. Let us return to the *kamptos*, that is to (our) goal.<sup>2</sup>

3. Again we say, (even) when the book of life is not read, it is not meet to leave out anything from the Diptychs, that is the canons. Firstly, because of the mysteries which are in them: three and three. Secondly, because we beseech for the tranquility of the four quarters of the earth. But in former days, there were people who shortened the canons of the kings, because of the enmity and wickedness of the Greek kings towards our people. We say to them: even though there are pagan kings and others like the Chalcedonians who are against us, there are (p.72\*) faithful kings who do not subscribe to the opposition of "natures" and "nature". Since it is meet to pray for the tranquility of the kingdoms and the four quarters of the world, we should urge that the canons of the kings shall be read.<sup>3</sup> Thus we have written extently in our first book of the refutation of the Chalcedonians, that is the Melkites, while speaking of their customs and perversions.<sup>4</sup>

4. Again, there are six *ghonotho*; similarly six *psototho* also. From each of the *ghonotho* and *psototho*, it clear for which order the priest is beseeching.<sup>5</sup> After each of the diptychs of the deacon, it is not meet that the people answer *Amen. Lord, have mercy upon us or on behalf of all and because of all*, for these responses are wrong. He does not interceed for all ecclesiastical orders and the lay people. Therefore, after the dyptichs of the deacon, it is meet that the people say only *Kyrie Eleison*, that is *Lord, have mercy upon us*, like the existing custom in the West and in the North among the Greeks.

5. Now it is known that sometimes the (reading of the) Book of Life is omitted. Many people (omit) the diptychs also, that

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Bar Salibi, *Treatise against the Armenians*.

BAR KEPHA, p.63. According to Bar Kepha, the Ethiopians and the Iberians of his time had "believing kings".

Bar Salibi, *Against the Melchites*.

BAR KEPHA, p.64

is the canons which are normally read during the mysteries. This is because of the neglect and laxity that dominate everywhere.<sup>6</sup>

6. After the completion of the mysteries he begins on the commemorations: first of all for the bishops and priests; (then) for the Church and all its orders, kings, Apostles, the Mother of God, prophets, fathers, martyrs, teachers and departed. Again, the commemorations of the living and the dead in the sacrifice symbolise that our Lord also, after the baptism, preached life to all and extended help, and did miracles until the cross. Again by the rite of the commemorations, the unfailing remembrance of God in the minds of all saints (p.73\*) which never ends and lasts for ever, is symbolised.

7. Following the *ghonotho* and the *psototho*, at the end of the *psotho* of the departed, the priest says: *for there is none among men who is pure from sins except our Lord Jesus Christ.* (Then) he adds: *through Whom we also hope to find mercies and forgiveness of sins, because of Him, for us and for them. Through Christ means, through His sacrifice. Because of Him, we and the faithful departed whom we have remembered, wait in hope and find mercies and forgiveness of sins before the Father.*

8. Then the people respond: *give rest and pardon etc; that is, give us rest, after our death, in the bosom of Abraham. Ignore, wipe out and pardon our and their sins (that we have committed) willingly or unwillingly.* If we have committed sin with knowledge or without knowledge, from here we understand that God will requite the sins (that we have committed) voluntarily or involuntarily, with knowledge or without knowledge. If He was not requite about them, the Church would not have interceded for them, *that in this and in all things:* that means, with all your graces towards us, in this also, You grant us a *Christian end* and forgiveness of sins. Because of all these, we glorify and praise Your great name, and that of Your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ and of Your Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Bar Salibi might be referring to the six canons read by the deacon.

7. BAR KEPHA, p.65

9. People: *As it was.....* that is, *it was* indicates the past time, and *from generation to generation*, the future. Again *for ever and ever*, *Amen* (= *in secula seculorum*) indicates the two worlds. *Amen* here means *it is true*. (Again) *Amen* is *Let it be so* (*nehwe*). *Amen* is (also derived) from *never-ceasing* and *stability*. (Again) *Amen* is (p.74\*) form the measure of an arm's length and *three Amen(s)* are three arm's lengths.

Again as it was in the past time. O Father, Your Name, and that of Your Son and that of Your Holy Spirit, was glorified and praised, it is so in the present time, and it will remain so in the future. Not only in these three times is it glorified, but in both the worlds. *in this and (Waw) in that which to come*. From it, it is not right to omit, *Waw* (= and), as some people use to say *as it was, it is.....*, but he should say: *As it was "and" is*. Since the priest says as follows: 'because of all Your graces and because of this also, You grant us a christian end and forgiveness, we glorify and praise Your Name, O Father, and that of Your Only-begotten Son and of Your Holy Spirit. Therefore the people answer: *As it was glorified, praised in the past, it is also in the present and thus it shall be in the time to come*.

10. Some say that only the Son is meant here. *As He was, He is and will be for ever and ever*. That means, as He was God before He was incarnated, He is God even after He is incarnated, and He continues to be God in the flesh *in secula seculorum*. This interpretation is not correct. It is clear from the fact that the priest says as follows: *that in this also, as in all things, let Your all-honoured and blessed Name be glorified and be praised with that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Your Holy Spirit*. Therefore, as the priest says this, it is meet that the people respond: *As it was, and it is....*

11. Moses Bar Kepha gives an intermediary interpretation, on the three hypostases, and is well acceptable.<sup>8</sup> Jacob of Edessa also agrees with those who interpret it in terms of the Son. (p.75\*) *As He was and He is*, that is, (He was) God before He was incarnated, and (He is) God after the death, (and) He remains in the

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8. IBID. p.66-67

body without corruption. *In secula....* that is, the divinity is unlimited. *seculorum*, means that is incomprehensible.

12. Others interpret *as He was.....* as follows, by this (expression), His unchangeability, His goodness and the essential stability as God, as well as His external deeds and His gifts for us are shown, as the Apostle says: *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and for ever* (Heb. 13:8).

14. The priest says: *May the mercies of the Great God and Our Saviour....*, that is, this sacrifice which has been offered on the cross once for all, is one of love and mercies shown towards you; and it is with you; and it is going to be in you now also as He said: *He will abide in me and I in him.* (cf. Jn. 6:56).<sup>9</sup>

15. From the invocation of the Holy Spirit, till the *qatoliqi* symbolises the time between the birth of Our Lord and His resurrection. After having completed His economy, He accomplished the priestly ministry on the tree. Similarly, after having completed the mysteries, the priest breaks and signs them.

## Chapter 16

1. Immediately the deacon begins the *katholiké* or the common (prayer), that is, that which remembers all. Some people say that the *katholiké*, which is called *again and again (tub wtub)* by the ignorant people, did not exist in the time of the Apostles, but the fathers later introduced it fittingly with sacred purpose, to be said after the Diptychs so that the thoughts of the people may not go astray during the silence when the priest fulfills the ministry of the mysteries. There are many *katholiké*; some of them are correct and others are not fitting. Some of them are said in the form of prayers and others as hymns or anthems. *Again and again with out guilt and shame for..... or Again and again..... now the divine sacrifice has been accomplished....*are correct and fitting.

Formerly, before the *katholiké*, the deacon used to say: *Let us beseech mercies from the Lord*. As it was superfluous, the doctors omitted it. When the deacon reads the *katholiké*, the priest takes the bread in his hands silently and quietly, unlike the foolish people of Cyrrhus, who formerly taught that the priest shall cry out *We break the heavenly bread* etc.,<sup>1</sup> before the deacon reads the

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1. On the "heavenly bread" controversy, see SAUGET, Vestiges, pp. 335-344. The controversy on the phrase "heavenly bread" (panem caelestem) agitated the Syrian Orthodox Church between 750 and 850. Bar Salibi here gives a summary of the controversy. The patriarchs of whom Bar Salibi speaks are Giwargis (758-790), Qiryquos (793-817) and Dionysius of Tell Mahrê (818-845). On the basis of the Chronicle of the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahrê, Michel the Syrian records the development of the controversy (Chronicle, III, pp.5-8). The argument of the Patriarch Giwargis can be summarised as follows: Breaking the "heavenly bread", already consecrated and thus became the body of Christ, would imply that the person of Christ is divided, that is confessed as two persons. According to him, this would imply that the "heavenly bread" is recognized as another son, distinct from the second Person of the Holy Trinity. For Giwargis, this is another form of Nestorianism. (see. SAUGET, *op. cit.* p.337).  
Cyrrhus is a diocese in the province of Euphratean Syria. On the role of the bishops of Cyrrhus in the controversy, see SAUGET, p. 339-40. The text of the anaphora of St. James published by Sauget contains the expression "heavenly bread".

*katholiké*. The patriarch Giwargi and Cyriacus and the patriarch Dionysius and other doctors opposed them. They demonstrated that, by these words, their teaching (= of the people of Cyrrhus) implies the opinion of Nestorius.

2. On the Fraction: When the priest takes the bread in his hands, as we have (already) said, he breaks it into two, showing that the World suffered truly in the flesh, and that He was sacrificed and broken on the cross. Again he takes a piece of the body, and dips it in the blood and signs the body with it. First of all, with the piece which is in his hand, he "pierces" the side of the (other) piece, that is the (other) half which is in the paten, showing that Christ was pierced in His side with a lance. Then (with the piece in the hand), he signs the whole body, showing that this slain body was sprinkled with blood, when He said in the upper-room: *This is my blood* (p.77\*), and on the cross when His side was pierced with a lance, and blood and water flowed out from it and He was sprinkled with them. Again by dipping (the piece) in the blood and signing the body in the form of a cross, he effects the union of the soul with the body, and shows that, after the soul had separated from the body of the Word, His soul again united with His body, although the divinity was not at all separated either from His body, or from His soul, and it will not be separated.<sup>2</sup>

3. The bread is the body of God and Word; wine is His soul, for blood is the figure of the soul, as it is written: *the soul of all flesh is the blood* (Lev. 17:11-14).

After having signed the body with the blood, he joins the two halves of the bread together, symbolising that Emmanuel is one, and not divided after the union of the two natures. Again it shows that after He was sacrificed on the cross, by His blood of the cross, He reconciled and united those who are in heaven with those on earth, and the people with the gentiles and the soul with the body. Then (with the piece that is in his hand), he makes a round on the bread in a circle, indicating that He was sacrificed on the cross for the sins which surrounds the world. Again, making a

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2. BAR KEPHA, p.67.



circle on the bread, the first time from the right side, teaches that He was sacrificed for the sin of the whole world. Then for a second time, from the left to the right indicating that our Lord has restored us from the deeds of the left, that is from error, to the right. As we have said above, the piercing of the half of the bread shows that our Lord was pierced in the flesh. One half placed with (together) with (the other) half indicates that, after He was sacrificed, He united those who are in heaven with those on earth, and soul with body and the people with the gentiles.<sup>3</sup>

4. Why does the priest bring some of the blood to the body (p.78\*) and sign it? Why does he not bring forth the body to the blood? We answer, because the blood is the soul, and the soul came and united with the body of the Word when He was bodily risen from the dead; and the body did not go to be united with the soul.<sup>4</sup>

5. Why does he take the *gmurtho*<sup>5</sup> from the body and put it in the chalice? We answer: (it is) to indicate that this blood is of this body; and this body is of this blood, and is not of another. Again, he puts the *gmurtho* into the blood to indicate that He whose body is this, and whose blood is this, sacrificed Himself on the cross for us. Again the *gmurtho* is placed in the blood to show that although the body and blood are placed in *two vessels*, it is the one actual (*moronoyo*) body of God the Word. Again, after having put the *gmurtho* of the body into the blood, he breaks the body into many small pieces (*gmurotho*). By this, he does like Our Lord, who broke His body and divided it in the upper-room.<sup>6</sup>

6. Again, the pearl<sup>7</sup> in the chalice proclaims that this blood is of this body and (that) the slain is one in blood and body. Finally another *gmurtho* is placed apart, like the most important and princi-

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3. *ibid.* p.67-68

4. *ibid.* p.68

5. that is a particle of the consecrated bread. *gmurtho* means coal (from Is 6:6).

6. BAR KEPHA, p.68

7. ie the consecrated piece.

pal member, to be given to those who are (more) perfect than others. Again he breaks the body into pearls, that is (into) many *gmurotho*, so that there shall be enough for all faithful. It is meet for the prudent priests, when communicating children with the body of the Lord, not to break one *gmurtho* into two or three, but one full *gmurtho* should be given to each one, and one cross on a *gmurtho* shall be given fully. By breaking, the sign of the cross which is on a *gmurtho* shall not be destroyed, like some priests, who are ignorant in christian mysteries and are parsimonious do.<sup>8</sup>

7. Again, the priests of the former times (p.79\*) did not take out the *gmurotho* of the body which were put in the chalices. But they (used to) go towards the faithful with those in the chalices, and the faithful (used to) see them, so that they could know and understand that the blood that is in the chalices, is that of the body, which they formerly received with understandings different as we have said above. After the chalice of the blood had returned to the altar, those who ministered the chalice used to consume these *gmurotho*. This custom was good and meaningful. It is said that the Chalcedonians, that is the *Meikites* (still) observe it.<sup>9</sup>

8. On the Cross and its Symbols: Why does the priest sign the body and the blood with the cross? We say: that they may be consecrated, for everything that is consecrated in the Church is consecrated, perfected and fulfilled by the (sign of the) cross, whether Myron, Baptism, the Body and Blood, the Altar, the church (*haiklo*) or Ordinations etc. Mar Severus, the ecumenical patriarch, says in the first anthem of the *m'anitho* of the cross: "The Cross consecrates the regeneration of baptism, completes and perfects the eloquent and bloodless sacrifice, and every service and the celebration and perfection of the mysteries."<sup>10</sup>

9. Why is everything that is consecrated in the Church is consecrated and perfected with the cross? We answer that the

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8. BAR KEPHA, p.68-69.

9. *ibid.*p.69.

10. *ibid.*p. 69-70. Bar Salibi quotes Severus from Bar Kepha. Bar Kepha does not call him "ecumenical patriarch".

Since we have written extensively in the refutation of the Armenians, it is meet that here we abbreviate this discourse. Let us return to the *kamptos*, that is to (our) goal.<sup>2</sup>

3. Again we say, (even) when the book of life is not read, it is not meet to leave out anything from the Diptychs, that is the canons. Firstly, because of the mysteries which are in them: three and three. Secondly, because we beseech for the tranquility of the four quarters of the earth. But in former days, there were people who shortened the canons of the kings, because of the enmity and wickedness of the Greek kings towards our people. We say to them: even though there are pagan kings and others like the Chalcedonians who are against us, there are (p.72\*) faithful kings who do not subscribe to the opposition of "natures" and "nature". Since it is meet to pray for the tranquility of the kingdoms and the four quarters of the world, we should urge that the canons of the kings shall be read.<sup>3</sup> Thus we have written extently in our first book of the refutation of the Chalcedonians, that is the Melkites, while speaking of their customs and perversions.<sup>4</sup>

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5. BAR KEPHA, p.64

is the canons which are normally read during the mysteries. This is because of the neglect and laxity that dominate everywhere.<sup>6</sup>

6. After the completion of the mysteries he begins on the commemorations: first of all for the bishops and priests; (then) for the Church and all its orders, kings, Apostles, the Mother of God, prophets, fathers, martyrs, teachers and departed. Again, the commemorations of the living and the dead in the sacrifice symbolise that our Lord also, after the baptism, preached life to all and extended help, and did miracles until the cross. Again by the rite of the commemorations, the unfailing remembrance of God in the minds of all saints (p.73\*) which never ends and lasts for ever, is symbolised.

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8. Then the people respond: *give rest and pardon etc; that is, give us rest, after our death, in the bosom of Abraham. Ignore, wipe out and pardon our and their sins (that we have committed) willingly or unwillingly.* If we have committed sin with knowledge or without knowledge, from here we understand that God will requite the sins (that we have committed) voluntarily or involuntarily, with knowledge or without knowledge. If He was not requite about them, the Church would not have interceded for them, *that in this and in all things:* that means, with all your graces towards us, in this also, You grant us a *Christian end* and forgiveness of sins. Because of all these, we glorify and praise Your great name, and that of Your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ and of Your Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

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7. BAR KEPHA, p.65

9. People: *As it was.....* that is, *it was* indicates the past time, and *from generation to generation*, the future. Again *for ever and ever*, *Amen* (= *in secula seculorum*) indicates the two worlds. *Amen* here means *it is true*. (Again) *Amen* is *Let it be so* (*nehwe*). *Amen* is (also derived) from *never-ceasing* and *stability*. (Again) *Amen* is (p.74\*) form the measure of an arm's length and *three Amen(s)* are three arm's lengths.

Again as it was in the past time. O Father, Your Name, and that of Your Son and that of Your Holy Spirit, was glorified and praised, it is so in the present time, and it will remain so in the future. Not only in these three times is it glorified, but in both the worlds. *in this and (Waw) in that which to come*. From it, it is not right to omit, *Waw* (= and), as some people use to say *as it was, it is.....*, but he should say: *As it was "and" is*. Since the priest says as follows: 'because of all Your graces and because of this also, You grant us a christian end and forgiveness, we glorify and praise Your Name, O Father, and that of Your Only-begotten Son and of Your Holy Spirit. Therefore the people answer: *As it was glorified, praised in the past, it is also in the present and thus it shall be in the time to come*.

10. Some say that only the Son is meant here. *As He was, He is and will be for ever and ever*. That means, as He was God before He was incarnated, He is God even after He is incarnated, and He continues to be God in the flesh *in secula seculorum*. This interpretation is not correct. It is clear from the fact that the priest says as follows: *that in this also, as in all things, let Your all-honoured and blessed Name be glorified and be praised with that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Your Holy Spirit*. Therefore, as the priest says this, it is meet that the people respond: *As it was, and it is....*

11. Moses Bar Kepha gives an intermediary interpretation, on the three hypostases, and is well acceptable.<sup>8</sup> Jacob of Edessa also agrees with those who interpret it in terms of the Son. (p.75\*) *As He was and He is*, that is, (He was) God before He was incarnated, and (He is) God after the death, (and) He remains in the

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8. IBID. p.66-67

body without corruption. *In secula....* that is, the divinity is unlimited. *seculorum*, means that is incomprehensible.

12. Others interpret *as He was.....* as follows: by this (expression), His unchangeability, His goodness and the essential stability as God, as well as His external deeds and His gifts for us are shown, as the Apostle says: *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and for ever* (Heb. 13:8).

14. The priest says: *May the mercies of the Great God and Our Saviour....*, that is, this sacrifice which has been offered on the cross once for all, is one of love and mercies shown towards you; and it is with you; and it is going to be in you now also as He said: *He will abide in me and I in him.* (cf. Jn. 6:56).<sup>9</sup>

15. From the invocation of the Holy Spirit, till the *qatoliqi* symbolises the time between the birth of Our Lord and His resurrection. After having completed His economy, He accomplished the priestly ministry on the tree. Similarly, after having completed the mysteries, the priest breaks and signs them.

## Chapter 16

1. Immediately the deacon begins the *katholiké* or the common (prayer), that is, that which remembers all. Some people say that the *katholiké*, which is called *again and again (tub wtub)* by the ignorant people, did not exist in the time of the Apostles, but the fathers later introduced it fittingly with sacred purpose, to be said after the Diptychs so that the thoughts of the people may not go astray during the silence when the priest fulfills the ministry of the mysteries. There are many *katholiké*; some of them are correct and others are not fitting. Some of them are said in the form of prayers and others as hymns or anthems. *Again and again with out guilt and shame for..... Or Again and again..... now the divine sacrifice has been accomplished....*are correct and fitting.

Formerly, before the *katholiké*, the deacon used to say: *Let us beseech mercies from the Lord.* As it was superfluous, the doctors omitted it. When the deacon reads the *katholiké*, the priest takes the bread in his hands silently and quietly, unlike the foolish people of Cyrrhus, who formerly taught that the priest shall cry out *We break the heavenly bread* etc.,<sup>1</sup> before the deacon reads the

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1. On the "heavenly bread" controversy, see SAUGET, *Vestiges*, pp. 335-344. The controversy on the phrase "heavenly bread" (panem caelestem) agitated the Syrian Orthodox Church between 750 and 850. Bar Salibi here gives a summary of the controversy. The patriarchs of whom Bar Salibi speaks are Giwargis (758-790), Qiryauos (793-817) and Dionysius of Tell Mahrê (818-845). On the basis of the Chronicle of the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahrê, Michel the Syrian records the development of the controversy (Chronicle, III, pp.5-8). The argument of the Patriarch Giwargis can be summarised as follows: Breaking the "heavenly bread", already consecrated and thus became the body of Christ, would imply that the person of Christ is divided, that is confessed as two persons. According to him, this would imply that the "heavenly bread" is recognized as another son, distinct from the second Person of the Holy Trinity. For Giwargis, this is another form of Nestorianism. (see. SAUGET, *op. cit.* p.337).  
Cyrrhus is a diocese in the province of Euphratean Syria. On the role of the bishops of Cyrrhus in the controversy, see SAUGET, p. 339-40. The text of the anaphora of St. James published by Sauget contains the expression "heavenly bread".

*katholiké*. The patriarch Giwargi and Cyriacus and the patriarch Dionysius and other doctors opposed them. They demonstrated that, by these words, their teaching (= of the people of Cyrrhus) implies the opinion of Nestorius.

2. On the Fraction: When the priest takes the bread in his hands, as we have (already) said, he breaks it into two, showing that the World suffered truly in the flesh, and that He was sacrificed and broken on the cross. Again he takes a piece of the body, and dips it in the blood and signs the body with it. First of all, with the piece which is in his hand, he "pierces" the side of the (other) piece, that is the (other) half which is in the paten, showing that Christ was pierced in His side with a lance. Then (with the piece in the hand), he signs the whole body, showing that this slain body was sprinkled with blood, when He said in the upper-room: *This is my blood* (p.77\*), and on the cross when His side was pierced with a lance, and blood and water flowed out from it and He was sprinkled with them. Again by dipping (the piece) in the blood and signing the body in the form of a cross, he effects the union of the soul with the body, and shows that, after the soul had separated from the body of the Word, His soul again united with His body, although the divinity was not at all separated either from His body, or from His soul, and it will not be separated.<sup>2</sup>

3. The bread is the body of God and Word; wine is His soul, for blood is the figure of the soul, as it is written: *the soul of all flesh is the blood* (Lev. 17:11-14).

After having signed the body with the blood, he joins the two halves of the bread together, symbolising that Emmanuel is one, and not divided after the union of the two natures. Again it shows that after He was sacrificed on the cross, by His blood of the cross, He reconciled and united those who are in heaven with those on earth, and the people with the gentiles and the soul with the body. Then (with the piece that is in his hand), he makes a round on the bread in a circle, indicating that He was sacrificed on the cross for the sins which surrounds the world. Again, making a

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2. BAR KEPHA, p.67.



circle on the bread, the first time from the right side, teaches that He was sacrificed for the sin of the whole world. Then for a second time, from the left to the right indicating that our Lord has restored us from the deeds of the left, that is from error, to the right. As we have said above, the piercing of the half of the bread shows that our Lord was pierced in the flesh. One half placed with (together) with (the other) half indicates that, after He was sacrificed, He united those who are in heaven with those on earth, and soul with body and the people with the gentiles.<sup>3</sup>

4. Why does the priest bring some of the blood to the body (p.78\*) and sign it? Why does he not bring forth the body to the blood? We answer, because the blood is the soul, and the soul came and united with the body of the Word when He was bodily risen from the dead; and the body did not go to be united with the soul.<sup>4</sup>

5. Why does he take the *gmurtho*<sup>5</sup> from the body and put it in the chalice? We answer: (it is) to indicate that this blood is of this body; and this body is of this blood, and is not of another. Again, he puts the *gmurtho* into the blood to indicate that He whose body is this, and whose blood is this, sacrificed Himself on the cross for us. Again the *gmurtho* is placed in the blood to show that although the body and blood are placed in *two vessels*, it is the one actual (*moronoyo*) body of God the Word. Again, after having put the *gmurtho* of the body into the blood, he breaks the body into many small pieces (*gmurotho*). By this, he does like Our Lord, who broke His body and divided it in the upper-room.<sup>6</sup>

6. Again, the pearl<sup>7</sup> in the chalice proclaims that this blood is of this body and (that) the slain is one in blood and body. Finally another *gmurtho* is placed apart, like the most important and princi-

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3. *ibid.* p.67-68

4. *ibid.* p.68

5. that is a particle of the consecrated bread. *gmurtho* means coal (from Is 6:6).

6. BAR KEPHA, p.68

7. ie the consecrated piece.

pal member, to be given to those who are (more) perfect than others. Again he breaks the body into pearls, that is (into) many *gmurotho*, so that there shall be enough for all faithful. It is meet for the prudent priests, when communicating children with the body of the Lord, not to break one *gmurtho* into two or three, but one full *gmurtho* should be given to each one, and one cross on a *gmurtho* shall be given fully. By breaking, the sign of the cross which is on a *gmurtho* shall not be destroyed, like some priests, who are ignorant in christian mysteries and are parsimonious do.<sup>8</sup>

7. Again, the priests of the former times (p.79\*) did not take out the *gmurotho* of the body which were put in the chalices. But they (used to) go towards the faithful with those in the chalices, and the faithful (used to) see them, so that they could know and understand that the blood that is in the chalices, is that of the body, which they formerly received with understandings different as we have said above. After the chalice of the blood had returned to the altar, those who ministered the chalice used to consume these *gmurotho*. This custom was good and meaningful. It is said that the Chalcedonians, that is the *Markites* (still) observe it.<sup>9</sup>

8. On the Cross and its Symbols: Why does the priest sign the body and the blood with the cross? We say: that they may be consecrated, for everything that is consecrated in the Church is consecrated, perfected and fulfilled by the (sign of the) cross, whether Myron, Baptism, the Body and Blood, the Altar, the church (*haiklo*) or Ordinations etc. Mar Severus, the ecumenical patriarch, says in the first anthem of the *m'anitho* of the cross: "The Cross consecrates the regeneration of baptism, completes and perfects the eloquent and bloodless sacrifice, and every service and the celebration and perfection of the mysteries."<sup>10</sup>

9. Why is everything that is consecrated in the Church is consecrated and perfected with the cross? We answer that the

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8. BAR KEPHA, p.68-69.

9. *ibid.*p.69.

10. *ibid.*p. 69-70. Bar Salibi quotes Severus from Bar Kepha. Bar Kepha does not call him "ecumenical patriarch".

cross symbolises Christ, who sanctifies, while not being sanctified. Although there are other figures in the Church to symbolise Him, (it was) on the cross that the whole economy was fulfilled. Therefore, let the Armenians be ashamed who baptise the cross. If cross is Christ, why do they baptise this Christ? Perhaps they have two Christs like the Nestorians and the Chalcedonians, with one Christ baptising the other Christ.<sup>11</sup>

10. (p.80\*) **On the Crosses over the mysteries.** How many are they? It is necessary to indicate about the crosses on the body and the blood and about the occasions on which they are signed. We say that the (number) of crosses are eighteen. Nine are signed on the body, and nine on the blood. Three times they are signed on the body: the first, where it is said: *He took bread in His hands*; the second, where it is said: *May He (the Holy Spirit), overshadowing, make this bread the Body of Christ...*; and the third, where (the bread) is broken and signed.<sup>12</sup>

11. Why are they signed three times in three occasions? We answer: so that it may be known that this body and blood are of God the Word, Son of the Father, (who is) one of the Trinity. Again, so that it may symbolise His burial, and the resurrection on the third day. Again we say (that) the priest signs crosses on the body and blood three times, in three occasions. The first occasion is, where he says: *He took (bread) in His hands.....*, indicating that the Father is the one who wills, the Son consents\*<sup>13</sup> and the Holy Spirit sanctifies, the second occasion is, where he says: *May He, overshadowing.....*, indicating that the Father is the one who wills, the Son consents and the Holy Spirit perfects; the third occasion is where (the bread) is broken and signed, showing that the Father is the one who wills, the Son consents, and the Holy spirit perfects.<sup>14</sup>

13. Again, let us speak here about the crosses (that the priest signs) on himself, on the clergy and on the people. First of

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11. *ibid.*p.70.

12. *ibid.*

13. *bro den mestbô = son consents; choses, is willing or is well pleased.*

14. BAR KEPHA. p.70-71.

all, we say that in the *qurobo*, it is not permitted that anybody from clergy or from the people signs cross on him (that is, on the priest); but the priest who offers, signs crosses on himself, on the mysteries, on the clergy as well as on the people. (p.81\*). Firstly, where he says: *Love of God the Father.....*; secondly, where he says: *May the mercies of God.....*; and thirdly where he says: *Let the grace of the Trinity.....*; fourthly, after the communion where he entrusts the people saying: *Turn towards us with mercy and compassion and bless Your people and protect Your inheritance*. Today, in the place of this fourth (signing), that is in the place of *Turn towards us with mercy and compassion* etc, we sign one cross on the people with the (following) prayer: *Bless all of us*, that is, at the end of it: *We say by entrusting Your.....* etc.

In the first three occasions that we have mentioned, the priest signs the cross, firstly, one cross on himself, (then) one on the clergy who are on his left side, another on the clergy who are on his right side and finally three on the people. If there is no priest or deacon on his right or left side, it is not necessary to sign the right and the left sides; but only the people. If there is nobody behind him, it is not necessary to sign cross on any of the sides, but only on himself.<sup>15</sup>

14. Again, we say: the bread is consecrated and broken on the altar by the priest, and forgiveness of sins and absolution are conferred on each one of the dead and the living according to his merit, just as our Lord sanctified Himself for us, and on the tree He was slain in the flesh, and effected the remission of our sins and made atonement for all. The bread is signed and joined with the blood, as our Lord also united Himself with His body when He arose from the tomb. Again, the priest takes the bread in His hands to indicate that it is not passible and corruptible, but it is impassible, incorruptible and life-giving. As we have written above, he signs three crosses on the bread and three on the chalice, as all the sacramental operations (p.82\*) are fulfilled by the Trinity. Behold, the apostle Jacob confirms this in the *qurobo* itself, while interpreting the prayer *Our Father, who art in heaven*, it is said, *You are pleased to consecrate the sacrifices and the first fruits which have*

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15 *ibid.*p.71

been offered to You, through the communion of Your Only-begotten Son, and by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit. By the fraction, the priest accomplishes the sacramental operation, showing that our Lord fulfilled His mysteries on the cross, after having fulfilled His economy. By breaking he also fulfills the union of the body and the mystical blood. And by the signs of the crosses, (it is indicated) that, on the cross, He had offered Himself in the flesh. Again, by the words 'We break the bread and sign the blood with the sign of the crosses', we symbolise the sacramental priesthood in the coming world, in which all spiritual minds shall minister and shall be imprinted with the divine likeness.<sup>16</sup>

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16. In Bar Salibi's time, the fraction might have been done with the simple phrase: "We break the bread and sign the blood.... in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit", which is attested in a number of manuscripts of the Anaphora.

The present prayer of fraction in the *Ordo Communis* is attributed to Bar Salibi. But this attribution has no historical basis. The present formula of fraction might have been composed on the basis of Bar Salibi's commentary.

## Chapter 17

1. **On the Mysteries:** The whole subject of this fourth part of the *qurobo*, that we discuss (now) is concerning the Father: The priest says: *God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.....* By this prayer, he beseeches the Father to purify and to sanctify our spirits and bodies, so that we may say with purity the prayer which our Lord taught His disciples.

*With unashamed faces.....*, that is without being ashamed of the sin of the transgression of the commandment, and without being ashamed of our own sins, that we have committed. *We dare to address You God.....*, that is, even though we were to say this prayer with purity - which is impossible for the creatures, for nobody is without sin - it is audacious that we say this prayer. (p.83\*) Again it is audacious to address God "the heavenly Father", for we are mortals and creatures. We should know that God the Father became our Father by baptism. He told His Son, when He was baptised: *This is My son.....* (Mt. 3:17). By the (words), *This is My Son*, He did not make Him (His) Son, as the heretics say. He is essentially and eternally His Son, for He begot Him before the beginning and (before) time. Since He was hidden and invisible, when He was incarnated and was baptised, He revealed Him and showed Him (saying): *This is My beloved Son*. Then by saying *My Son*. He showed that He is His Son by nature, who was hidden, and (that) He is revealed in flesh. By saying: *This is My Son*, through Him, He was calling all the baptised faithful *His sons*.<sup>1</sup>

2. **On (the prayer) Our Father who art in Heaven, and its interpretation:** Therefore, we also say *Our Father who art in heaven*, immediately after we have been baptised. When the priest completes

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1 BAR KEPHA, p.72-73.

the prayer, the people say loudly: *Our Father who art in heaven* etc. In (our) commenatary on the Gospel of Mathew, we have commented at length on this prayer. (Therefore), here we say briefly.<sup>2</sup>

*Our Father who art in heaven:* It is good that this prayer has been arranged to be said in the *qurobo*, for it teaches Christians the teaching of the Son. It shows the fatherhood of the Father in His grace towards us, and our sonship, and that our soul should rejoice, for we have such a Father so that the evil one who fights with us shall fear. *Our Father who art in heaven:* We call Him Father through baptism. We commonly address Him *Our Father*, because we are one body, (whether) rich or poor, and because we ought to pray for all. *Who art in heaven*, that is we are elevated to the heaven from the earth. *Hallowed be Thy name:* Let Your name be glorified in us when we do good; again, let us be sanctified, for You have made us worthy to be Your sons. *Your kingdom come* (p:84\*): May Your help and Your Holy Spirit come. Protect us from the adversary who tries to subdue us. Again *Your kingdom come*, that is the authority of Your Son who rules over all.

*Your will be done:* May Your will be done in us; as the angels keep Your commandments in heaven, (may) we also (keep them) on earth. *As it is in heaven:* As there is peace in heaven from wars and apostasies - for Your will is there, that is among the angels - may Your will be done on earth, not the will of the adversary.

*Give us bread:* that is the provisions of the body, not the riches. Again, *give us the daily bread:* not much to fill the stomach with gluttony; again, *today* (means), we should not be worried about the things which have passed, but about those which are to come and (those) which are present. *Forgive us our debts:* that is, the faults and sins that we have committed. As we also: that is, by forgiveness, he being the healing of forgiveness and for a drop that we forgive, He forgives a great ocean of sins, and by it He holds us back resentment.

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2. cfr. Dionysii Bar Salibi, *Commentarii in Evangelia* 1,2, CSCO.77, (Louvain, 1953), p.230-233.

*Lead us not into temptation*: that is, affliction, so that we may not succumb, for our nature is feeble. *But deliver us from evil*: that is, from the adversary, for many are his attack against us, and we have no force to resist him. *For Yours is the Kingdom*: that is Your Kingdom does not end or change like those of the earthly kings. Therefore, we need not fear, for nothing can stand against us. *And power*: that is Your power is holding all created powers. *And the glory*: that is, those who are in heaven and on earth offer You glorifications for ever and ever.

Again, the prayer *Our Father who art in heaven* is recited commonly, (and it) shows (His) common fatherhood, and (our) spiritual sonship, and the distinction of the faithful from the non-believers. All the people recite the prayer *Our Father who art in heaven*, (p.85\*) with feeling beseeching to be sanctified with sanctity, so as to sanctify the divinity with sanctity appropriately, and to be worthy of the communion of the mysteries with sanctity.

Again by the prayer, *Our Father who art in heaven*, we glorify Him who made us worthy of the spiritual communion with Him. Again the prayer, *Our Father who art in heaven*, (indicates) the fatherhood which generates all and which perfects all in unperishing life which the perfect possess by eternal communion, when we shall be made worthy of the coming blessedness. There is another thing also to be known, that the priest should begin *Our Father who art in heaven* like the tongue of a body, and then the people should continue to say after him.

3. Again, the priest says: *Yea, O Lord Our God, lead us not into temptation.....*: that is, he beseeches the Father to receive the prayer that the people have recited and said. Then the priest says: *Peace be to you all*; that is, he alerts them to be free from disturbance and be peaceful with themselves and with each other so that they may be worthy of the reception of the life-giving mysteries.<sup>3</sup>

4. Immediately the deacon bids the people, saying: *Let us*

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3. BAR KEPHA, p.85.



*bow down our heads before the Lord*; that is, he directs them to bow down their heads before God, for the priest says this prayer for you and on behalf of you and offers it to Him. Therefore, bow down your heads before Him and beseech Him to grant you what the priest prays. And the people say: *Before You, Our Lord and Our God*: that is, O Lord, we bow down our heads before You, as the deacon has said. (Then) the priest prays, saying: *Your servants have bowed down their heads to Thee.....*; that is, by this prayer, he beseeches the Father for them to send mercies and blessings upon them, so that they may receive the holy and life-giving mysteries with due purity.<sup>4</sup>

5. The priest says: *Peace be to you all*, that is, this peace which he gives them (p.86\*) here, is like the peace that Our Lord gave His disciples in the Upper-room, after His resurrection, when he entered and said to them: *Peace be with you*.<sup>5</sup>

6. Then the priest says: *The grace of the Trinity... be.....*: that is, he says to them that these mysteries that have been consecrated, fulfilled and perfected on behalf of you and (which) you are going to receive, are given to you by the grace of the Trinity. They (= the mysteries) are not outside of or without the Trinity; but they are of one of the hypostases of the Trinity, that is, of the incarnated Son. Again by giving the peace to the people, he signs them with three crosses, in the Name of the Holy Trinity which protects, perfects and fulfills everything.

7. Immediately the deacon cries out to the people: *With fear, let us attend*, that is, with fear and trembling, let us attend to the mysteries, which are exalted from the world, which the priest elevates and extols before your eyes.<sup>6</sup> The priest elevates and extols the mysteries by crying out: *Holy things to the holy*; that is, he says that these mysteries (that) are holy, sanctifying and life-giving, are given to the saints. Again *Holy things to the holy*: that is, to the soul, body and mind which have been sanctified with three holy (invocations) by water, fire and the Spirit, and by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Again, it (corresponds to) the image of God in the composition of man; soul is like the Father, body is like the hu-

4. *ibid.* p.85-86.

5. *ibid.*p.86.

6. *ibid.*p.86.

manity (*pagronutno*) of the Son and mind is like the Holy Spirit. By this, we are in the image of God.

8. Again, *the Holy things to the holy*: that is, the holy things are divided and given to the pure by the priests who are pure. He who receives without purity, is guilty, for not discerning the body of the Lord. Again, *holy things to the holy*, that is, to those who are sanctified by the three holy (signs): *rushmo*, *hatmo* and *tab'o*, by which we have been adorned as though with the pearls, (p.87\*) and we have become sons of God.<sup>7</sup> Like the prodigal son, we should not throw them before pigs.

9. Again, the mysteries are elevated and extolled by the priest.<sup>8</sup> Then he cries out: *Holy things.....*, symbolising the ascension of our Lord to the heaven. And (again it symbolises) that He was splendidly sanctified by the angelic powers. Again, elevating the Paten and the Chalice in the air indicates that our Lord was elevated in clouds and entered His glory. Again, *holy things to the holy*: it is given to us to glorify Him with sanctity and to be in communion with Him, and to be divinely united with Him. Again, *holy things to the holy* (indicates) the common glorification of all the saints, when they in holy fashion communicate with that blessed nature in the coming world and continuously glorify Him and He sanctifies them eternally.

10. Then the people confess and say: *One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit*. That is, now, o priest, you have said that these holy things are to be given to the holy. We therefore, confess and say that there is no one holy, but the One God the Father, and the One God, His Son, and the One God, the Spirit, who is from Him. *Glory to the Father and to the Son.....*, that is, we offer glory to the Holy and sanctifying Trinity, so that our tongues may be sanctified by the glory that we offer to Him before receiving the mysteries.

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7. *rûshmô* (= sign), *hâtmô* (= mark), *tâb'ô* (= seal). These three words have the same meaning. Probably they refer to baptism, especially to the baptismal anointings.

see. VARGHESE, Onctions, pp.283-309; *Meaning*. pp.21-30.

8. ARRANZ, *Sancta Sanctis*, pp.31-67.

11. Again, *One Holy Father*, because He is not a Son of anybody like the earthly sons. He is not the Father of anybody, but of our Lord Jesus Christ. By Him is named fatherhood in heaven and on earth. *One Holy Son*: that is, He is not the Son of anybody, like those on earth, for they are the sons of their fathers and fathers of their sons. But they are not true sons (p.88\*) in the real sense (*bkunyo*); nor even genuine fathers. *One Holy Spirit*, that is: He who proceeds from the Father and is consubstantial with the Son. And the title of holiness belongs to Him. To them, who are equal in nature and distinct in peculiarities, glory and honour for ever.

12. Again the people crying out *One Holy Father* symbolises the clear manifestation that, after the economy, the Trinity remains as it was and that it is glorified by those in heaven and on earth. Again it is most suitable to bless the Trinity before receiving the mysteries, just as after having heard the glorifications, Isaiah also was purified with the burning coal, which figuratively touched his mouth, without his communicating in it. Even though, there the prophet did not eat the mystery, he was purified by the mystery. (But) here, how much more does the reality, which is being consumed, purify those who eat them. The mystery is for the members of the family; and the bread is for those who are outside.<sup>9</sup> It is called "mystery", since it is incomprehensible. No stranger shall eat from it. The sanctuary doors are closed, and the veil covers the awesome mysteries. This indicates that our Lord is hidden from all and (that) He entered His glory.

13. The deacon (sings): *By the resurrection of (Christ) the King....*; then *Glorify the Lord in His sanctuary.....* Then the deacon says: We beseech You.... and the priest breaks (the bread).<sup>10</sup>

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9. cfr. Is.24:16 (*Peshitto*) : "I have mystery, I have mystery". A slightly expanded version of this verse is chanted during the communion on Holy Thursday: "I have mystery; I have mystery. A mystery for me and for the members of my family".

10. In Bar Salibi's time, *qûqliûn* have not become part of the *Ordo Communis*. (*qûqliûn* is a cycle of hymns chanted between the *Sancta Sanctis* and the communion).

## Chapter 18

1. **On the Mysteries:** Again, continuing our contemplation (*théoria*), we have reached the spiritual joy. After the people have said: *One Holy Father* etc, the priest covers the mysteries with towels (*kupré*), that is with a cover (*patho*). When he desires to communicate or to give communion to others, he uncovers the mysteries. The towels (*kupré*) are the figure of the stone which was placed at the tomb of our Lord, by which the entrance of the tomb was covered. Removing the towels symbolises that our Lord arose from the tomb and appeared to His disciples and confirmed them. Again the covering the mysteries symbolises the time before the incarnation of the Word, who was concealed and hidden from men, and uncovering the mysteries indicates the time after His incarnation, in which He was revealed and known to mankind.<sup>1</sup>

2. Again, the priest himself communicates first in the mysteries, as our Lord also partook first in the mysteries, as our Lord also partook first of His body and blood in the upper-room, and then gave to His disciples.<sup>2</sup> Again, it indicates that the priest also is in need of power, and (that) by grace, he was made worthy to minister these mysteries. Again, it is meet that the husbandman sustains himself by the fruits of his field; then he gives to others. And for a teacher, it is meet that he shall be 'filled' with his teaching and then he shall teach others.<sup>3</sup>

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1. BAR KEPHA, p.87. The anaphora (= veil) is also interpreted as the stone placed at the tomb of Our Lord.
  2. The tradition that Our Lord Himself partook of His body, see. supra, ch. 12, § 6. Some of the West Syrian Anaphorae, in thier word of Institution refer to this tradition eg. The Anaphorae of the Twelve Apostles and that of Jacob of Edessa.
  3. BAR KEPHA, p 87-88

3. Again the priest divides the mysteries among the clergy and the people. He does this, as our Lord did in the upper-room, who divided His body and blood among His disciples. He takes the Chalice first, not because it is the first, but blood flows from a body and is seen even when the body is away.

Again, we say that the priest divides and gives these mysteries of the Body and Blood to the faithful, as Christ divided them after His resurrection, being impassible, immortal and unperishable, not like (the body which He had) before the resurrection. Through the priest, the mysteries go to the people, just as the Son (who) also (went) to the gentiles through the apostles.<sup>4</sup>

4. The veil is removed and the mysteries are revealed, like the revelation (p.90\*) of the hidden mystery of our Lord, through the brilliant preachers and through the proclamation of the Gospel in the whole world. The mysteries are received as spiritual and unperishable food. This shows that the true faithful are illuminated by the Son and they are made worthy of the spiritual union with Him and of the divine knowledge.

5. Again, here the communion of the mysteries is the pledge that in the coming world, in holy fashion and beyond knowledge, we will be spiritually and inexhaustably delighted by the person of Christ. Again, we partake of the one body and holy blood, symbolising that we have been illuminated by the revelation (of the Son) in the flesh, and we have been nourished by Him with true life and eternal delight. Again, the communion of the mysteries (shows) the naked intellect which has been perfected and made worthy of participation in the vision (*théoria*) of the Holy Trinity on which the saints draw ineffable nourishment.

6. Again, from fraction to the reception of the mysteries, symbolises the time after the economy and till the common resurrection in which we will be worthy of the baptismal grace and the spiritual food of the body and blood.

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4. *ibid.*p.88.

## Chapter 19

1. **On the Qurobo:** The fifth section of the qurobo: The deacon exhorts: *Let us stand well, after being made worthy to receive* etc. He exhorts the people to give thanks for the ineffable gifts of the life-giving and atoning mysteries that were given to them.<sup>1</sup>

2. The priest prays: *We give you thanks, our God (and) Lord, and we especially give thanks.* That is, by this prayer he gives thanks (p.91\*) to God for the life-giving mysteries that He has given us, and again he asks Him, so that they may be for our atonement and purification, not for the condemnation. Again, he asks Him to protect us in justice and purity, so that in the coming world, we shall become worthy of the portion, heritage and inheritance of all who have pleased You forever.<sup>2</sup> Again the prayer of praise and thanksgiving is said, symbolising the public demonstration of all the faithful, (who) praise and give thanks to Him who has made us worthy of all these things. Again, they offer praise to Him who made them worthy of the divine banquet. Again, by the final praise, (we praise) Him, who has taught us the true praise at the end of the times. Again, the praise and the thanksgiving, (symbolise) the common praise of all who have entered the bridal chamber, (addressed) to Him who has made the mortals worthy of the spiritual delights and union with Him.

3. The deacon says: *Let us bow down our heads before the Lord.* That is, he instructs them to bow down their heads before the Lord, because he says this prayer for them.<sup>3</sup>

4. The priest: *O God, who art great and marvelous who bent down the heaven.....;* that is, in this prayer, the priest asks the Son to have mercy upon the people and to bestow blessings upon them and to protect them from sin and from harm.<sup>4</sup>

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i. BAR KEPHA, p.88.

2- 4. *ibid.* p.-89.

5. It is meet to know that all prayers of the *qurobo* are addressed to the Father. This is evident from the (prayers) of the priest who offers in the place of Christ, who became mediator between God and men. Standing in the place of Christ, he names the body and blood as his. Similarly, in the invocation of the Spirit, he speaks to the Father, saying: *Have mercy upon us, O God the Father send Your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts which have been offered*. Even though, when the priest commemorates (p.92\*) the economy of the Lord, he turns towards the Word, (that is) towards the person of Christ, and says: *Remembering, therefor, O Lord, Your death and resurrection etc*; nevertheless at the end of this prayer, as in all other prayers, he addresses his words to the Father, saying to Christ: *through You and with You, to Your Father.....* Immediately, the faithful says to the Father in response to the priest: *Have mercy upon us, O God, Father Almighty....* Therefore, all prayers of the *qurobo*, are addressed to the Father, except this last of all the prayers which ascends towards the Son, in which the priest confesses the Son, because, it is through Him that we had access (*qurobo*) towards God; for, according to His words which are not false, He is the way of access and the door that introduces us before God.<sup>5</sup>

6. If in any of the *qurobé*, a prayer which is not addressed to the Father is found, either by the error of the scribes or written by ignorant and uneducated priests, someone should correct it and address it to the Father, except this last (prayer), which is addressed to the Son, as we have said.<sup>6</sup>

7. As we have demonstrated above, the priest, in the place of Christ, stands as mediator between God and man. The final prayer is addressed to the Son, because He became the reason for our access to God. It is suitable that, by this prayer, we praise Him and give Him thanks, for, while we were alienated and rejected from Father, through Him, He called us and gave us access to Him.<sup>7</sup>

8. **The inner meaning (theoria) of the qurobo and the Church: in Summary:-** Again, we say that without altar, (p.93\*) no

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5. *ibid.*p.89-90.

6. p.90.

7. *ibid.*

Body and with out priest, no Body is perfected; and all these are (indicating) Emmanuel: altar, Body, that is the sacrifice, or offering, and the priest or celebrant.

Again we say that from the reception of the mysteries till the end, symbolises the coming world in which, in another way, we will be sanctified and will sanctify that great and marvellous mystery.

Again we summarize briefly: By the nave (*haiklo*), we indicate the sincere soul; by the altar, we symbolise the pure heart, by the priest, the mind that performs virtues; by the Body and the Blood the hidden treasures and virtues.

By asking peace, the common peacefulness; by bowing down in the *géhonoto*, the spiritual worship; by lifting up the *anaphora*, the knowledge of hidden and concealed things; by the common consent, the high priesthood; by the reverend waving (*ruhopo*), the divine grace; by *Holy, Holy, Holy* that is the three glorifications, the vision of the Trinity; by the narrative in the upper-room, the priestly action; by the commemoration of the death, his life-giving image; by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, the divine gifts, by the sign (*rushmo*) of the cross the perfection of thoughts; by the sacramental union, that spiritual union; by the commemoration of the living and dead, the atoning intercession for all; by the fraction and signing, the complete sacrifice of the mental impulses; by the mark (*hatmo*) of the cross and the invocation of the Holy Names, the perfect fulfillment in the Trinity; by the prayer *Our Father who art in heaven*, the freedom of speech (*parrésia*) of the family members; by *holy things to the holy*, the highest exaltations; by the reception of the mysteries, that heavenly delight; by the praise and the thanksgiving (p.94\*), that praise for all and on behalf of all (are symbolised).

9. Now my brother, as you have requested, now I have concisely (and) theoretically written down the whole of the spiritual understanding (*théoria*) of the *qurobo*. In the whole of (this) commentary, after the literal interpretation, we have added, as far as possible, the spiritual sense (*théoria*).

10. According to the easterii custom, at the end of the



*qurobo*, the deacon says: *Barek Mor: Go in peace.....* That is, he directs the people to leave in tranquility and peace. The people say: *In the Name of the Lord, Our God....*, that is, as you have ordered us, we are leaving in the Name of the Lord Almighty. (But) in the West, these are not said, except *Barek Mor* that the deacon says. The priest says: *Bless us all; protect us all* etc, and immediately the people sing the stanzas: *Your Body that we have eaten, and Your living Blood....* After the stanzas, the priest turns towards the people and signs three crosses saying: *We entrust you to grace, that is, I entrust you to the Holy Trinity, who is God existing in three hypostases, which will protect you in your ways, and us with you, by His mercies.*<sup>8</sup>

11. It is meet that when the priest begins this "entrusting" prayer to make the signs of the cross while placing his right hand on the altar and then turns towards the people and signs with it the crosses. It is not right that the priest says: *You have been entrusted to the Trinity, but we entrust you.....* because this is correct and accurate.

12. Here we end this subject. By the assistance and help of the Lord, we have lengthly and completely fulfilled your need and request, O our brother, (p.95\*) admirable Mar Ignatius, Metropolitan of the Holy city of Jerusalem, that is "the vision of tranquility". With sincere soul and pious mind, pray for me, poor and feeble Dionysius, residing in Amid in Mesopotamia, so that I may be delivered from temptations and troubles of the soul and body, and be freed from all attacks of the Evil One and Father of (all) evil, and may reach the rest of the righteous. Amen.

(Here) ends the commentary of *qurobo*.

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8. Here Bar Salibi gives an important information about the final dismissal. In the Maphrianate Tagrit, after the final thanksgiving prayer, the deacon dismissed the people saying: *Barek Mor, Go in Peace*. This was followed by the people's response : *In the Name of the Lord.....* But in the Patriarchate of Antioch, deacon simply said *Barek mor* (= Bless, my Lord!) and the priest chanted a *hutomo* (= concluding prayer / hymn), followed by a similar hymn by the people. Then the priest turned towards the people and said the formula of dismissal. The present practice corresponds to the "western" custom. Therefore it is clear that the "eastern" practice gradually disappeared and the "western" practice was widely accepted.





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