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

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

J. H. Srawley.

THE ‘NICENE’ CREED IN THE SYRIAC PSALTER.

MSS quoted:—

C = Brit. Mus. Add. 17110 (supplementary hand of Cent. ix or x).
D = “ “ “ 14436 (Cent. viii or ix).
E = “ “ “ 17109 (873-4 A.D.) (Emp. Cent. xii?).
F = Florence Laurent. Orient. 58 (Cent. ix, probably).
J = Brit. Mus. Add. 14433 (Cent. x).
Q = “ “ “ 17125 (Cent. ix or x).
a = “ “ “ 17112 (Cent. x or xi).
δ = “ “ “ 17268 (Cent. xii).
e = “ “ “ 26552 (Cent. xiv).
g = Camb. Univ. Gg. 6. 30 (probably Cent. xvi).
m = Camb. Univ. Oo. 1. 22 (Nestorian of Cent. xvi or xvii).

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

The two forms of the Psalter-Creed are plainly worthy of study, both
in relation to one another and in relation to the history of the Creed
in the Eastern Church. They are accordingly printed here in parallel
columns with their various readings.
The Faith of the Church which was made (لاع) by the 318 Fathers who were gathered together in Nicaea the City.

We believe in one God the Father the All-ruler the Maker of all things visible and invisible

And in one Lord Jesus Christ

The right Faith which was set forth by our Fathers the 318 bishops in the time of Constantine the victorious king. And the cause of their assembling was on account of Arius the wicked and accursed. And it is said at the time of the Mysteries. And it was appointed to be said at this time by Joseph who was deposed from the Patriarchate.

We believe in one God the Father the All-ruler (الله أب) the Maker of Heaven and Earth and of all things visible and invisible

And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten (الولد من الله)
NOTES AND STUDIES

NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM

[LCM]

the Son (μικρότερος) of God
the Only-begotten the firstborn of all creatures

Who of His Father was begotten
before all worlds and was not made

VERY GOD OF VERY God

THE SON OF THE NATURE OF HIS Father

by whose hands (εἰς τοὺς σάκους) the worlds were prepared
and everything (καὶ τὰ πάντα) was created

Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Spirit of Holiness

and became man

and was conceived

and was born of Mary the Virgin

(Greek, τό θαύματά της [ἐγείρεται])

JACOBITE FORM

[CDEF][Qq] a d a

the Son (μικρότερος) of God

Who of the Father was begotten
before all worlds

Light of Light Very God of Very God
begotten and not made
the Son of the nature of His Father

by whose hands (εἰς τοὺς σάκους) everything was created

Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Spirit of Holiness and of Mary the Virgin

and became man

(Greek, τό θαύματά της [ἐγείρεται])

[and] equal in essence to His Father [and] equal in the essence of His Father

[and] equal in essence to His Father [and] equal in the essence of His Father

From our salvation a is defective

the Holy Spirit

Add the Mother of God

Add 'So preached Theophilus, Athanasius, and the Holy Mar Severus'

and was conceived

and was born of Mary the Virgin

(Greek, τό θαύματά της [ἐγείρεται])
NESTORIAN (CHALDEAN) FORM

[LCm]

and suffered and was crucified (Ὁ Πολάτου)

in the days of Pontius Pilate and was buried (Greek: Πολάτου)

Pr. and died c (Cassian, secundum scripturas)

and rose the third day According as it is written (Cassian, et iterum veniet)

and ascended to Heaven and sat on the right hand of His Father and again He is about to come (Cassian)

to judge the dead and the quick (Cassian, indicare vivos et mortuos. Et reliqua)

And in one Spirit of Holiness the Spirit of Truth (Cassian)

Who from the Father proceedeth (Cassian, omitt)

the Spirit which quickeneth us (التوبة)

[And] in one Church Holy and Apostolic Catholic (τιμήθη)

We confess one (σάρματο) baptism

JACOBITE FORM

[CDEFJQ g δ]

and was crucified (Ὁ Πολάτου)

in the days of Pontius Pilate and suffered and died and was buried and rose the third day according as it is written (Cassian, et iterum veniet)

and ascended to Heaven and sat on the right hand of His Father and again He cometh (Cassian, "dictavit"

in His glory CFJ to judge the quick and the dead

Who from the Father proceedeth and with the Father and with the Son is worshipped and glorified (Cassian, omitt)

Who spake by the Prophets and by the Apostles (Cassian, omitt)

And in one Church Apostolic Catholic (τιμήθη)

We confess one (σάρματο) baptism

Omit and died D₁st F according as He willed (διὸ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν) in Glory DEQ δ ; non liq g

And in one Holy Spirit g δ [ε] Catholic Apostolic Dδ [ε] Add and Glorious (Διὰ τιμήθης) CEJQ (D is defective from this point) that baptism is one g
The Nestorian Form was published in Syriac by Caspari in his *Quellen i 113 ff* (Christiania 1866) under the title *Das Taufbekenntniss der Nestorianen* from a Munich MS of the Psalter, 'Orient.' Caspari states that the heading of the Creed in Caspari's MS runs: 'The Faith of the 318 Fathers the Bishops, who were assembled in Nicaea the city of Bithynia, in the time of Constantine the victorious king. The cause of their assembling was on account of Arius the wicked.'


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

¹ The Syriac version of the 'enlarged' Nicene was published by B. H. Cowper in 1857 from Brit. Mus. Add. 14528 (501 A.D.), and by Caspari in 1866 from Brit. Mus. Add. 12156 (562 A.D.). Cowper's MS omits the clause *Light of Light* and also the words *from heaven after came down*. The two MSS also use different synonyms in rendering *σαρκωθήτα*. 
The following table of difference illustrates the relative isolation of the Nestorian Form.

**TABLE I.**

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

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

**TABLE II.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Enlarged’ Nicene.</th>
<th>Psalter, Jacobite and Nestorian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Son of the being (ܐܒܢܐ ܢܚܐ ܐ ח) of the Father</td>
<td>Son of the nature ( ח) of His Father.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. Heb. i 3 ܐܒܢܐ ܢܚܐ ܐ ח (Pesh.), ויהי בורר אשוב.
NOTES AND STUDIES

2. and was made man (ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܗܐ) and became man (ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܗܐ)
3. as the Scriptures say (ܠܫܢܐ ܠܒܫܢܐ) as it is written (ܐܘܬܐ ܠܒܬܐ)
4. The Holy Spirit (ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܢܐ) One Spirit of Holiness (ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܢܐ)

The agreement of the Jacobite and Nestorian Forms in the first two points is all the more striking, since neither ܚܕܝܓ ܚܡܝܓ ‘nature’, nor ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܗܐ ‘and became man’, is found in the Peshitta. The former, in its theological application, is found in Ephraim, e.g. De Domino Nostro § 2 (ed. Lamy i 150), ‘He was born of Deity in accordance with His nature, and of humanity contrary to His nature’. For the second phrase the Peshitta uses ܐܘܠܗܐ ܠܚܡܝܓ ‘became flesh’, John i 14. The phrase used in the Psalter Creed seems to be modelled on this. The third phrase ܐܒܥܐ ܠܒܥܐ ‘as it is written’, on the contrary, comes straight from the Peshitta rendering of 1 Cor. xv 4, where the Harkleian gives ܐܘܠܚܝܝܐ ܠܒܥܐ ‘according to the Scriptures’. The fourth expression ܐܢܓܪܐ ܠܐܢܓܪܐ ‘Spirit of Holiness’, again comes from the Peshitta; the ‘enlarged’ Nicene on the contrary agrees with the Harkleian, ‘Holy Spirit’. The origin of the ܐܬܐ ܠܬܐ (‘One’) prefixed is perhaps to be sought in Creeds earlier than the Nicene. The Creed offered by Eusebius of Caesarea to the Nicene Council has ܐܬܐ ܠܬܐ ܕܝܢܘܢ, and the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem reads ܐܬܚܝܝܐ ܐܬܝܢܘܢ. Whether the points of agreement between the two Creeds of the Syriac Psalter point back to a common ancestor cannot perhaps be decided. Perhaps it is enough for the present to trace the Nestorian Creed to Antioch, and the Jacobite, through the ‘enlarged’ Nicene, to Jerusalem. But two characteristics of the Nestorian Form deserve notice. The first is its lack of arrangement in its statement of the Incarnation. The Antiochene basis follows a logical order, but the additional clauses have the effect of duplicating the statement, and disturbing the sequence. The other characteristic of the Nestorian Form is its close adherence to the language of the Peshitta. Under this head I have reckoned the use of ܐܬܚܝܝܐ for ‘was crucified’, while the Jacobite Creed has ܐܬܓܒܬܐ. It is true that the use of the root ܐܬܐ for ܕܬܘܡܬܢ is found in the Peshitta; see Luke xxiii 39 (= Old Syriac), xxiv 7 (= Old Syriac); John xix 6 (ܐܬܐ also in the same verse); 15; Gal. iii 1; [Apoc. xi 8, also in Gwynn’s Version]. The verb is used also in Addai (in the Protonice narrative which is perhaps an interpolation), in Aphrahat, and in Ephraim. In the Harkleian version, as far as I can discover, it is used invariably. On the other hand, ܐܬܐ greatly predominates in the Peshitta, and (cf. Prof. Burkitt, Evangelion vol. ii p. 305) in Syrım also. It predominates also in
Addai, occurring at least thirteen times, together with १५० ‘cross’ (sixteen times), and १५० ‘crucifiers’ (three times). It occurs in Aphrahat, and if we may judge from the Sermo de Domino Nostro it predominates with its derivatives in Ephraim. The Nestorian form of the Creed thus keeps the more usual term १५० for ‘was crucified’, while the Jacobite form chooses the rarer form १५० in company with the Harkleian Version and the Syriac translation of the ‘enlarged’ Nicene.

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

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

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

These differences, however, as far as they go, suggest that the Psalter Text is probably as a whole earlier in date than the Syriac version of the ‘enlarged’ Nicene. The १५० for १५०, a phrase based in form on John i 14, is surely older than the more technical १५० of the ‘Nicene’. Certainly १५० १५० for १५० १५० is earlier than the १५० १५० in which the feminine substantive is construed with a masculine adjective. This latter term is usually or always employed in the Harkleian. In the Peshitta (Old Testament and New Testament) I know of two instances only of its occurrence, both doubtful. It is the common reading in Ps. li 13, but the true reading there has the feminine substantive १५०. Similarly in Eph. iv 30 १५० is read in Brit. Mus. Add. 14480, a sixth-century MS of the Pauline Epistles. Both these passages are cited with the

1 Lamy, vol. i 145 ff.
feminine adjective by Aphrahat. The phrase \( \text{\textit{μητέρα}} \) occurs, moreover, in the Old Syriac Gospels (Syrm') in Mark xiii 11; Luke ii 25, 26; John xx 22; and Prof. Burkitt cites it in Evangelion i 172 from a sixth-century MS of the Acts of Thomas. But the phrase \( \text{\textit{μητέρα}} \), with the masculine adjective, is almost certainly later than the phrase \( \text{\textit{μήτρα}} \) which prevails not only in the Peshitta, but also in the Old Syriac Gospels, in Aphrahat and in Addai.

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

W. Emery Barnes.

THE MAGNIFICAT IN NICETA OF REMESIANA AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

Niceta witnesses to the traditions of the old Latin Church of the Danube when in his treatise \textit{de Psalmodiae Bono} he ascribes the Magnificat to Elisabeth: 'Nec Elisabeth, diu sterilis, edito de repromissione filio Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessavit' c. 9, 'Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat' c. 11. Mr Burkitt has stated that 'the reading is already well known to textual critics, being found in \( a, b, l \), and also in Irenaeus 235'. The reading in the Codex Vercellensis,

1 The only form besides \( \text{\textit{νόθως}} \) used absolutely which I have noticed in Ephraim is \( \text{\textit{νόθως}} \).

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

3 The Creed of Severus of Antioch (Brit. Mus. Add. 17109, fol. 147 a) confesses, 'He died for sinners \textit{according as He willed} and because He willed'.

4 Feminine, Acts x 44; xi 15; Heb. iii 7.

5 Burn Niceta p. cliii.