

In regard to Hippolytus and Tertullian I have at present formed no judgement. But if originally *The Rule of Truth* is a thing so elastic as we have found, it would be no wonder if later its meaning may have been modified.

In the Danish *Theologisk Tidsskrift* I have tried to prove more in detail the opinion stated shortly here, and I have examined some points of the history of the interpretation of Irenaeus from Erasmus to the present time. As this Danish periodical will be found in few public libraries, I shall be glad to send this article to scholars on application.

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### THE BOOK OF LIFE.

THE publication in 1903 of Dionysius Bār Ṣalibī's commentary on the Jacobite liturgy<sup>1</sup> brought to light the fact that besides the diptychs of living and dead, recited after the Epiclesis in connexion with the Intercession, certain other diptychs were formerly read in that rite at an earlier point of the service, in connexion with the kiss of peace, and that this document was known in Syriac as the *Book of Life*.

This discovery has, perhaps not unnaturally, raised a question as to the original position of the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James. Thus Mr Brightman writes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (Jan. 1911, p. 321): 'As to the Greek S. James, it is true that its diptychs are now within the anaphora; but no doubt this is only a Byzantinism, for in the Jacobite rite the *Liber vitae*, when it was in use, was recited before the kiss of peace (Barsalibi *Expositio* 8).'

What follows here is an attempt to account for this feature in the service of the Syrian Jacobites by the aid of fuller evidence. And I must begin by explaining how it is that I come to be in possession of this additional evidence.

Before leaving England in the summer of 1911, to resume his post in the Ceylon Civil Service, Mr H. W. Codrington left in my keeping several manuscript books containing copies made by him of a number of Syriac liturgical documents. These documents relate for the most part to the rites of the Syrian Jacobites, and most of them are contained in MSS of the British Museum. But one or two were copied in the East and are, to say the least, not generally known in Europe. Being unable himself to undertake an edition of any part of them, owing to enforced and prolonged absence from England, Mr Codrington most

<sup>1</sup> H. Labourt *Dionysius Bar Ṣalibī: Expositio Liturgiae*. In *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Scriptores Syri, series secunda, tomus xciii).

generously left them in my hands to make what use I liked of them. In consenting to avail myself of his generosity I made one condition, viz. that in the event of my publishing a selection from his transcripts his name should appear on the title-page as that of joint author. I felt that I could not in any other way make an adequate acknowledgement of his part in the work; for though most of the documents are, as already stated, accessible in the British Museum, the credit of having discovered the special interest of their contents belongs to him; while for purposes of study the advantage of having at hand a careful copy of them is obvious. Such a selection I hope before long to publish; and the present paper was originally written in the form of an appendix to this proposed volume. It has, however, seemed to me advisable to print it separately, that I may have the opinions and criticisms of competent scholars before embodying my conclusions in a book. If the nature of the case now precludes the coupling of Mr Codrington's name with my own—for I am alone responsible for the arguments and views here put forward—yet it is to be understood that all the fresh evidence cited in this paper is drawn from Mr Codrington's transcripts. This said, it is unnecessary to emphasize further how much is due to Mr Codrington of whatever value the paper may possess.

The Syriac writers now known to me who mention the reading of the *Book of Life* are the following:—

1. George bishop of the Arab tribes.<sup>1</sup>
2. The author of a commentary entitled *The Breaking of the Eucharist* (ܩܠܒܘܨܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܚܪܝܫܬܐ). See below.
3. Moses Bār Kēphā.<sup>2</sup>
4. Bār Ṣalībī (saec. xii).
5. Simeon Ignatius, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who in 1648 gave orders for a copy of the *Book of Life* to be made for the church of Aleppo. A MS of this document exists in the Vatican Library

<sup>1</sup> In a short commentary on the rites of Baptism, the Holy Eucharist and the consecration of the Chrism, Brit. Mus. MS *add.* 12154. The work bears the title 'Exposition of the Offices of the Church, made by a certain Bishop named George'. It is written in a good estrangela hand of the eighth or ninth century (so Wright *Catalogue* p. 985). Dr Wright, with some probability, assigns the work to George of the Arabs, 'the pupil and friend of Athanasius II and Jacob' [of Edessa], who flourished about 687-724 (Wright *Syriac Literature* p. 156). The Exposition begins on fol. 184 a. The mention of the *Book of Life* occurs at the end of the exposition of the liturgy, fol. 189 a. This passage was extracted by Mr Codrington; the rest of the work I have copied, and hope soon to publish.

<sup>2</sup> In his exposition of the Liturgy, Brit. Mus. MS *add.* 21210 (A. D. 1242), fol. 146 b seqq. Bār Kēphā was born about 813, made bishop of Mosul, &c., about 863, died 903. Much of this work is embodied, without acknowledgement, in Bār Ṣalībī's *Exposition*. The whole was copied by Mr Codrington, and I hope to publish it together with the commentary of George of the Arabs.

(cod. xxxix), and is fully described in the Catalogue of S. E. and J. S. Assemani (vol. ii p. 275). Another copy is among the papers left with me by Mr Codrington. This is apparently only a transcript of the Vatican MS, since the folios exactly correspond; though Mr Codrington has left no note to indicate its origin. Its contents will be described presently.

With regard to the second of the five authorities enumerated a few words of explanation are needed, as the document is unpublished, and probably unknown in Europe. A few years ago Mr Codrington paid a visit to Mgr Rahmani in his monastery at Sharfeh on the Lebanon, and he found this work in the library there. Unfortunately he had not time to transcribe the whole of it; but he was able to make an abstract of its contents by copying out the various liturgical citations or points of ritual selected by the author for comment, and a few of the actual comments also. Finding some remarks on the *Book of Life*, and realizing their importance, he transcribed them (with perhaps one small omission) as they stood. This abstract of the *Breaking of the Eucharist* is among the papers left in my hands by Mr Codrington last year. His notes give no indication as to the author's name (the work is probably anonymous), the date of composition, or the age of the MS; but there can be little doubt that the work was composed before Bār Kēphā's Exposition, for while the two documents are sometimes in verbal agreement, the *Breaking of the Eucharist* appears to be a shorter and simpler composition than that of Bār Kēphā, and there are not wanting positive indications that the latter is the borrower. It is to be hoped that Mgr Rahmani will some day give us an edition of this work. As Mr Codrington's extracts were necessarily made in haste, and are in any case merely extracts, it does not appear advisable to publish them as they stand, so long as there is a possibility of the whole work being edited from the MS.

Before proceeding to discuss the relation of the *Book of Life* to the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James, I must now quote in full what the above-mentioned authorities say as to its use, that the reader may have the whole of the available evidence before him. The translations are my own.

1. George of the Arabs (saec. vii?).

'The Book of Life, which is read upon the altar before the consecration of the mysteries, shews a commemoration of the Saints, and their fellowship with Christ, and that their names have been written in the book of life which is in heaven'<sup>1</sup> (fol. 189 a).

2. *The Breaking of the Eucharist* (earlier than the commentary of Bār Kēphā): following immediately upon a comment on the kiss of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Phil. iv 3.



The first and second of these corrections, viz. **ܩܘܪܒܐ**, 'time', for **ܩܘܪܒܐ**, 'feast', and **ܩܘܪܒܐ**, 'we assent', for **ܩܘܪܒܐ**, 'we have completed', are not doubtful, and they restore the original word-play: the 'time' is that of the *Pax* (*shēlāmā*), and by reading the names of the dead at this time 'we assent' (*shālmīnan*), &c.

The following is a translation of the passage:—

'The Book of Life which is read at this time of the Peace on feasts of our Lord. Since the feast days are holy, and whenever the eucharist is performed it is full of holiness, they [? the fathers] appointed that they [the names in the Book] should be read on feast days, that they might distinguish the feasts from the rest. They appointed that they should be read at this time [sc. of the Peace], because hereby we teach that we assent to their divine teachings and the lofty *θεωρία* that are therein concerning the incarnation and the rest. But apart from the feasts they appointed that the diptych [=the Greek word] should be read by the deacon; since in these canons<sup>1</sup> there is a commemoration both of the fathers and of those who have travelled in their footsteps. And therefore when these, both or one,<sup>2</sup> are read: when the diptych is appointed, the deacon reads only three canons from it; for both in these and in that there is a declaration concerning the memory of the pious and holy ones, who have piously and holily arrived at the end, that they are living and not dead. . . .<sup>3</sup> Therefore, when their memory is celebrated here, they enter in with Him: even as they were joined<sup>4</sup> (with Him), who in their lives were cleaving to the holy things and were performing service with Jesus, so also after their departure they are with Him; as He said: "Where I am, there shall my minister also be".'

Further on, in connexion with the diptychs (after the consecration), the author makes clear a point which he has already stated rather obscurely.

'The deacon proclaims the diptychs. . . Now the diptychs are three of the living and three of the dead; and when the Book of Life is read let not those of the dead be said by the deacon.'

### 3. Moses Bār Kēphā (saec. ix).

'Concerning the Book of Life which is read upon the altar. The Book of Life is read upon the altar for these reasons. First: because it proclaims before us those who have piously and holily arrived at a holy end. Secondly: that it may shew that they are living and not dead: and this appears from the fact that they are proclaimed with

<sup>1</sup> So the diptychs are sometimes called by the Jacobites.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently, when there is question of reading both the diptych canons and the *Book of Life*, or only one of the two: the phrase is awkward.

<sup>3</sup> These dots in the copy perhaps mark an omission.

<sup>4</sup> The word is conjectural: see no. 10 in the above *apparatus* to the Syriac text.

Jesus, according to that: "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God." Thirdly: because in their life they cleaved to the holy things, it is right that after their death also they should be proclaimed over the holy things. Fourthly: again, in that they are read upon the altar, it makes known that they are with Jesus always, according to that: "Where I am, there shall my minister also be"; and according to that: ["May they be one in us"].<sup>1</sup> Fifthly: it shews also by this that there is a holy remembrance of them. Sixthly: by proclaiming them it [or he: ? the reader] urges us to imitate their holy conversation and their right faith, that we also may be worthy of their blessed end, and after our decease may be proclaimed upon the altar, as they are proclaimed"<sup>2</sup> (fol. 154a).

Bār Kēphā, like the author of the *Breaking of the Eucharist*, returns to the subject of the *Book of Life* in speaking of the diptychs (fol. 165a).

'It is right to know that the diptychs which the deacon proclaims are six, three of the living and three of the dead. And whenever the Book of life is not read upon the altar it is not right for him to omit anything from them.'

And again (fol. 165b), having said that the people ought to answer *Kyrie eleison* after the diptychs, and not 'For all and because of all', he continues:—

'But if the Book of Life is read, in which he who reads reckons and recites all the diptychs, appropriately and fittingly the people answer: "For all and because of all".'

4. Bār Ṣalībī (saec. xii) (*op. cit.* p. 40; versio latina p. 60).

'Concerning the Book of Life. Nowadays the reading of it has ceased everywhere. On the Book of Life which is read upon the altar: for these reasons.' [The rest is merely a verbal transcript of Bār Kēphā. The latter's remark on the diptychs is also taken over by Bār Ṣalībī, *ibid.* p. 71, versio latina p. 83.]

5. Simeon Ignatius's copy of the *Book of Life*. [I give an analysis on the lines of that in Assemani's Catalogue vol. ii p. 275.]

*Title.* 'The Book of Life, according to the custom of the church of the Mother of God which is in the city of Beroea [Aleppo]. The book was written by the command of Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch of Syria, who is Simeon, in the year of the Greeks 1959' [A. D. 1648].

*Proem.* 'By the power of the holy and adorable Trinity, equal in essence, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one true God, we begin to write the writing of the Book of the names of the holy (and) just fathers and priests, prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors

<sup>1</sup> Illegible in the MS, but supplied from Bār Ṣalībī, who incorporates this passage.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison of this passage with the foregoing one from the *Breaking of the Eucharist* can leave no doubt as to which is the earlier.

and holy fathers and true shepherds and teachers of orthodoxy and priests and heads of churches and heads of monasteries and solitaries and ascetics and priests and deacons and monks and nuns, and the rest of the faithful, lay folk, men and women, great and small, and of all ages and conditions of the sons of the holy catholic and apostolic Church, which is called the Book of Life, and is read on Sundays and feasts of our Lord at the time of the mysteries on the right hand of the table of life by one of the approved priests, in Jerusalem and in the great sees and in the celebrated cities and famous convents, and is also read from time to time at the door of the altar for the good profit and laudable emulation of the true faithful ; and it is to be set on the table of life always, even as God spoke to Moses that he should write the names of the tribes of Israel on tables of stone and set them in the tabernacle of witness for a goodly memorial of piety. And let every believing man or woman whose name is written in this holy book believe without doubting that he is written in the book of life which is above, in the church of the firstborn which is in heaven, if only he shall have been a fulfiller of God's commandment.'

*The commemorations.* (1) 'First, the commemoration of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ. We commemorate the memorial of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of all His saving dispensation for us; and particularly the annunciation of His conception, and His holy birth, and His legal circumcision, and His entry into the temple, when the aged Simeon bare Him upon his arms and besought Him, saying.' [The whole Gospel narrative is gone through in brief, and that of the Acts as far as the account of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. This occupies fully half of the document. It continues :]

'And they cast lots, and (the lot) came up for Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles; and the number of the twelve apostles was completed. And from hence they made a beginning of fasting. And on the second day (of the week) they built a church; and on the third day they consecrated the chrisam and the altar; and on the fourth day James the brother of our Lord offered the oblation (*qurbānā*). This is the first *Qurbānā*<sup>1</sup>: and he said that he heard it and learned it from the mouth of our Lord; and he added not nor did he take away one word from it. And on the fifth day Peter baptized Lazarus, and John the evangelist received him; and John the evangelist baptized the Mother of God, Mary, and Mary the sister of Lazarus received her; and again he baptized the sisters of Lazarus, and Mary the Mother of God received them; and on Friday at the ninth hour Simon and John went up to the temple to pray, and they gave health to

<sup>1</sup> The word here means 'Liturgy', as often.

the paralytic, and he leaped and stood up and entered with them into the temple, and those who saw the miracle which was wrought gave glory to God ; and on that day about five thousand souls believed ; and on the sabbath day each one was sent to the place which was allotted to him, and they began to preach and to teach and to baptize all peoples in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit unto life everlasting, Amen.'

(2) 'And after we have spoken of the saving dispensation of our Lord in the flesh, we add and commemorate the names of the former fathers : first, our father Adam.' [Follows a list of patriarchs, &c., from Adam to the last of the prophets.]

(3) 'Again, we commemorate the names of the priests and levites of the Old Testament' [from Aaron to John the Baptist].

(4) [Names of virtuous kings of Israel and the king of Nineveh.]

(5) [Names of the 12 apostles in the order of St Matthew's Gospel, with Matthias for Iscariot.]

(6) [Names of the four evangelists in the usual order.]

(7) [Names of the 72 disciples : Paul, Addai, Aggai, &c.—the rest mainly collected from the Acts and St Paul's Epistles.]

(8) [Names of 'holy women in order : first, our Lady Mart Mary the Mother of God, her mother Anne, Elizabeth' : other names from the N.T., then Sarah, &c., from the O.T.]

(9) [Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus.]

(10) [Christian kings : Abgar, Constantine, Helena, Jovian, Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius the younger, Theodora, Zeno, Anastasius.]

(11) [Patriarchs of Antioch from St Peter down to quite late times. The full list is printed by Assemani from this MS in *B.O.* ii p. 325.]

(12) [Names of 'holy fathers and orthodox teachers'. The first name is said by Assemani to be that of Linus of Rome ; but Mr Codrington's copy puts 'Dionysius the Great' first, then 'Nilus (*sic*) of Rome'. The list is very long, and is a chronological jumble of all the well-known pre-Monophysite bishops of all countries, followed in equal disorder by Monophysite ones.]

(13) [Names of monks, solitaries, &c., first St Ephraim, followed by Syrian ascetics ; then the Egyptians, Paul, Antony, &c.]

(14) [Martyrs and confessors.]

(15) [All ecclesiastical orders.] 'Heads of churches, heads of convents, heads of monasteries, chorepiscopi, periodeutae, visitors, presbyters, archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, readers, psaltae, singers, interpreters, exorcists, monks, nuns : with the rest of the orthodox clergy, from this (place) and every place and city and village and hamlet, of the right faith and orthodox ; and especially those who are of our own right faith, the enviable Syrian Jacobites. May God pardon them all together, and

us by their prayers: Amen and Amen. Remember, Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned, by Thy grace and Thy many mercies: Amen and Amen. Remember, Lord, in Thy mercies those who have been careful and have toiled. May the Lord pardon them.'

Mr Codrington's copy ends here. In the Vatican MS there follows in Carshuni the rescript, or diploma, of the Patriarch Simeon Ignatius, dated Wednesday, March 2, 1648, stating that he had ordered this book to be written out for the church of the Deipara at Aleppo: 'ut in ipso nomina eorum referrentur, qui eidem Ecclesiae quidquam dono dedissent' (Assemani Catal. *loc. cit.*). Then comes a 'commemoration', or list of names, of those who have given books, chalices, patens, crosses, to the said church. Whether there is an actual list of names or only a place left for them, does not appear; the only actual entry given by the Assemanis is the following: 'Commemoratio bona fiat mortuorum Pauli, Hierosolymitana peregrinatione defuncti, eiusque patris et matris, et consanguineorum, qui Evangelium Arabicum argento ornatum legavit Ecclesiae Dominae: ut Deus Dominus istud ab eo Legatum suscipiat, precibus eiusdem Dominae, Amen.' Next comes a calendar: '*Nomina xii Mensium*: ubi in laterculis uniuscuiusque Mensis describuntur praecipua Sanctorum Festa, et Benefactorum nomina': i. e. of those who have undertaken to defray by annual subscriptions the expense of celebrating these feasts in the said church of Aleppo.

Was this document copied by order of the Jacobite Patriarch from an existing manuscript, or does it represent an attempt to restore the *Book of Life*, without the aid of an existing model, from the notices of such earlier writers as have been cited above? A full discussion of this question cannot be entered upon here. The document as it stands is of little use for a historical enquiry into the origin of the *Book of Life*, and accordingly it will not enter into the ensuing discussion.<sup>1</sup> Bār Ṣalībī also may be dismissed, since, apart from his testimony as to the general disuse of the *Book of Life* in the twelfth century, he adds nothing to the witness of Bār Kēphā.

From the evidence now before us two points stand out clearly: (a) that the *Book of Life* was a list of dead persons only; (b) that it was read 'before the consecration of the mysteries', as George of the Arabs

<sup>1</sup> In view of Bār Ṣalībī's assertion, that the *Book of Life* was everywhere obsolete in his day, we need not seriously consider the statement that in the seventeenth century it was in use at Jerusalem, and in fact in all Syrian Jacobite churches. If not a mere rhetorical exaggeration in regard of former usage, the statement is probably to be taken as indicating that steps had recently been taken to revive and bring the *Book of Life* again into general use.

expressly says. And we may safely follow the *Breaking of the Eucharist* and Bār Kēphā in placing it immediately after the kiss of peace, and not before it (as in Bār Ṣalībī, who wrote when it had already fallen out of use). Further, it was read on the altar, and no doubt (from the nature of the case) by one of the presbyters, if not by the celebrant himself.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the statements of the first three of our authorities, we find that Bār Kēphā has borrowed freely from the *Breaking of the Eucharist*; but that this was not the ultimate source of these comments will at once appear if they are read together with the passage of pseudo-Dionysius which begins in Migne *P. Gr.* iii col. 437 B. In that passage we have not only the source of several of these comments on the *Book of Life*, but also two of the features connected with its use: (a) the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite are those of the dead only; (b) they are read immediately after the kiss of peace. I shall have to return to the Areopagite later on. Here it is time to approach the main question as to the relation of the *Book of Life* to the Liturgy of St James.

I begin with the statement of a fact, which can be verified by any one who will read the Syriac text and compare it with the Greek, viz. that the 'Syrian Jacobite' rite, or more precisely the Syriac anaphora of St James,<sup>2</sup> is a translation, and even a pedantically literal translation, of the Greek anaphora of St James. I have made an examination of this point by the aid of the earliest fragments of the Syriac 'St James' in the British Museum, and it appears unnecessary to labour it here. Exactly when the Liturgy of St James was translated into Syriac we do not know. What we do know is that it became the normal rite of the Monophysite Christians owing obedience to the patriarch of Antioch: and as there is no reason to suppose that this liturgy was in use in early times outside Palestine, or at any rate the Province of Syria, it seems certain that its appearance so far east as Edessa, where we find it in the seventh century, was due to dogmatic causes, and not to any local use or tradition.<sup>3</sup> In a word the Syriac-speaking Monophysites adopted it because it had become the standard rite of their Greek-speaking co-religionists and neighbours. If this be so, we may surmise that the translation into Syriac took place towards the end of the fifth century;

<sup>1</sup> The *Breaking* and Bār Kēphā several times allude somewhat pointedly to the reading of the diptychs by a deacon, as if in contradistinction to the case of the *Book of Life*.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. that part of the rite which begins with the prayer before the kiss of peace and extends, at least, to the communion.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps considerations of this kind that induced Dr Baumstark (see *Oriens Christianus* ii, 1902, p. 94) to say that 'the old Antiochene Liturgy seems in the course of the fifth century to have been ousted [at Antioch] by the Palestinian. For this latter was, when the Syro-Monophysite church came to be formed on Antiochene inspiration, in use in Antioch'.

not at least before the Council of Chalcedon. The extreme literalness of the translation offers in itself a strong argument for dating it not earlier than the latter half of the fifth century. In the first half of that century Syriac translators from the Greek shewed more consideration for their own idiom (as witness the Peshitta version of the Gospels): after the rise of the Christological controversies the desire to reproduce Greek theological language with accuracy led to an unidiomatic literalness which sometimes makes very difficult reading.

It follows that the Syriac 'St James' cannot be regarded as an independent witness to any practice or formula which may be supposed to have dropped out of the corresponding Greek rite before the middle of the fifth century. Any items peculiar to the Syriac will naturally be explained either as additions made from elsewhere after the time of translation, or as survivals from some native rite, current in Syriac-speaking quarters before the establishment of the Monophysite church. This *a priori* argument is capable of being tested to some extent by positive evidence.

St Cyril of Jerusalem (*Myst.* v 8, 9) tells us that in his rite immediately after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit there came a prayer for the peace of the Church and the world, for kings, soldiers, the sick and afflicted; and that this was followed by a commemoration of the dead, of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and then of deceased fathers, bishops, and of all the departed. These two elements correspond sufficiently to the Intercession and diptychs in 'St James', said at the same point in the service; and I can see no sufficient reason to doubt that they represent substantially the same *thing*. Moreover St Cyril says nothing about any other commemoration of the dead, but he chooses this point at which to refute an objection made in his time: What does it profit a soul to be commemorated in the prayer? τὶ ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ . . . ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται;); so that there would seem to be reasons for supposing, with Mr Edmund Bishop,<sup>1</sup> that he contemplates a recital of names here: but if here, improbably elsewhere also.

Nor can we with any greater show of probability trace the reading of diptychs outside the anaphora to Antioch; for in St Chrysostom's time at Antioch, as at Constantinople, the names of the departed were read out after the consecration.<sup>2</sup>

There is of course this possible alternative: an alteration in the position of the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James between the time at which St Cyril wrote and the date of its translation into Syriac. We have in this case to suppose the following fluctuations in this rite: about 350 the diptychs (on the supposition that names of the dead were recited) were read

<sup>1</sup> *Texts and Studies* viii, no. 1, p. 101, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1911, pp. 400-401.

in their present position, after the Invocation ; then, before (451 ?), they were placed just after the *Pax* ; later on they were restored to their former place, where they still remain. Of these changes no Greek record is to be found. The last must be supposed to have taken place before the middle of the seventh century ; for Jacob of Edessa, who takes special note of the position of the diptychs in the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria and compares it with that of his own rite (the Syriac 'St James'), could scarcely have failed to comment on such a divergence from his own use in the Greek 'St James' as that of reading the diptychs just after the kiss of peace. The difficulties besetting this view are such, and the suppositions it involves are so numerous and complex, that I cannot think it is likely to commend itself ; and we must, I think, look elsewhere than to a lost and unrecorded phase of the Greek Liturgy of St James for the source whence the *Book of Life* was derived by the Syrian Jacobites.

Dismissing then the Greek Liturgy of St James altogether, we may now enquire whether there is reason for believing the practice in vogue among these Jacobites of reciting the *Book of Life* after the *Pax* and before the anaphora is of native, that is of East Syrian origin.

Mr Edmund Bishop<sup>1</sup> has pointed out the close agreement there is as to order between the early part of the service (from the dismissals to the reading of the diptychs) described by Narsai at Nisibis about the end of the fifth century and that described by the Areopagite. As regards the diptychs, however, he notes this difference, that while Narsai tells of the reading of names both of the living and the dead, the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite are those of the dead only ; and he throws out the suggestion that the presence of the living in Narsai's diptychs was due to borrowing from Antioch.<sup>2</sup> Such borrowing would from the nature of the case have been easy and natural. The early Nestorians had a close link of connexion with Antioch in the persons of Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorius. They possessed, moreover, at an early time a Greek Liturgy purporting to be that of Nestorius, and probably also another bearing the name of Theodore. Narsai himself, on his own admission, borrowed (or imitated) a formula of Intercession from Nestorius.<sup>3</sup> We have in any case an exact agreement as to position between the diptychs of Narsai, those of the Areopagite, and the Jacobite *Book of Life*. In other words this position (different from that in the Greek rites of western Syria) seems native in eastern Syria.

<sup>1</sup> *Texts and Studies* viii, no. 1, pp. 108, 111-112 (cf. pp. 90-91).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20 : 'Of all these the priest makes mention, imitating Mar Nestorius in his supplication.'

That Narsai's order for the diptychs (i. e. after the *Pax*) is merely that of the East Syrian Liturgy of Addai and Mari is not only shewn by the mediaeval commentators on that rite (Abraham Bār Līp̄heh and the so-called George of Arbela) but is also indicated by the modern printed text. The Urmi edition (pp. 11-12) has the following sequence: (1) the deacon says 'Give the peace', (2) a rubric 'and they give the peace to one another and say', (3) the prayer 'and for all the catholici', (4) rubric 'and they read the diptychs, which is the Book of the Living and Dead'. This order is kept in the S. P. C. K. translation, and is found also in the Chaldean (Uniate) text. Thus Mr Brightman's order needs to be corrected, since it places the diptychs before the *Pax*. All this so far is matter of fact.

Let us now consider the origin of the name 'Book of Life' as applied to diptychs of the dead. I have kept the translation 'Book of *Life*', both because it has already acquired a certain currency, and because I think it probable that, as a name for diptychs of the dead, it was originally employed in that sense. Thus George of the Arabs brings it into connexion with the scriptural phrase, and identifies it with the 'book of life which is in heaven'. But the Syriac expression, *sēphar ḥayyē*, as it stands may equally well be translated 'Book of the *Living*', since the Syriac words for 'life' and 'the living' (plur.) coincide exactly in form and pronunciation (*ḥayyē*); and in fact it will be seen that Bār Kēphā and the *Breaking of the Eucharist* appear to have understood it so. It is not perhaps of great interest to determine this point: but what is really of importance is that, as a name for the diptychs, 'Book of Life' appears to be of Syriac origin. Narsai calls the diptychs 'the book of the two (sets of) names, of the living and dead' (*sephrā . . . dhē-ḥayyē wē-mithē*). Here *sephrā* is the same word as *sēphar*, the difference in form being explained by the fact that Syriac has two ways of expressing the genitive relation. Abraham Bār Līp̄heh<sup>1</sup> takes us a step farther: he calls the diptychs, in the Liturgy of Addai and Mari, the '*Book of the living and dead*' (*sēphar ḥayyē wē-mithē*)<sup>2</sup>; and I have no doubt that this is the precise form of the title by which the diptychs in the same rite were known to Narsai also, and that his expansion of it is due merely to the fact that he wrote in metre. Putting now this East-Syrian, or 'Nestorian', title alongside of the Jacobite 'Book of Life' we get the following

<sup>1</sup> The date of this writer is a matter for conjecture. He is frequently cited in the work usually ascribed to George of Arbela (tenth century); but as the ascription of this work to George is more than doubtful the date of both treatises remains uncertain. I am inclined to place the former in the eighth or ninth century and the latter in the eleventh. Both are in course of edition in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.

<sup>2</sup> Exactly as in the modern Syriac text of Addai and Mari printed at Urmi (1890), p. 12 l. 7, and in the Chaldean text.

result (for the sake of clearness I omit the article, which does not exist in Syriac):—

Jacobite:	<i>səphar</i>	<i>ḥayyē</i>	
	‘Book-of	living’	
		or ‘life’	
Nestorian:	<i>səphar</i>	<i>ḥayyē</i>	<i>wə-mīthē</i>
	‘Book-of	living	and-dead’

We have seen that *səphar ḥayyē* can mean either ‘book of life’ or ‘book of living’; and so it needed only the addition of a single Syriac word (*wə-mīthē*) to turn the name for diptychs of the *dead*—those whose names were written in the *heavenly* book of life—into a name for diptychs of *living and dead*. And thus the ‘Nestorian’ title for the diptychs is nothing but the Jacobite ‘Book of Life (or Living)’ with the addition of ‘and dead’; and, if Mr Bishop’s suggestion is correct—that the reading of the names of the living in the so-called ‘Nestorian’, i. e. the traditional and native East Syrian, rite was borrowed from Antioch—the name for the original diptychs of the dead only was in all probability in this rite also simply ‘Book of Life’. I am not sure indeed that we may not legitimately turn the argument round, and say that as the *names* appear to have been at one time identical, the *things* probably were so too; and that Mr Bishop’s surmise thus receives the support of a very curious and significant piece of evidence. It may be added that *səphrā* (the ‘emphatic’ form of *səphar*) is not the only, or indeed the most common, Syriac word for ‘Book’; and since we have seen that Syriac has also two methods of indicating the genitive, it is clear that ‘book of living (life)’ might have been expressed in several different ways—a consideration which adds point to the exact verbal and grammatical coincidence noted above.

The conclusion to which I am led by the evidence is as follows: in the early part of the fifth century, before the establishment of the Nestorian and Monophysite schismatical churches, there existed, in regions lying to the north and east of the district in which the rite of Antioch prevailed, a common practice as regards the diptychs: they were still diptychs of the dead only; they were read after the kiss of peace; in Syriac-speaking communities they were called the *Book of Life*. A witness to this use in certain Greek-speaking churches lying within that north-eastern region—probably on the southern confines of Armenia—is pseudo-Dionysius. It is probably to this last-named district that Maximus of Constantinople alludes in the seventh century, when he speaks of a practice current (apparently still in his day) ‘in the East’ of reading the diptychs after the *Pax*. He does not refer to the farther-eastern, the Nestorian, churches, since they already had diptychs of the

living as well (so Narsai); and it is improbable that he is thinking merely of the Jacobite *Book of Life*, which did not engage the attention of his younger contemporary Jacob of Edessa. When noting the fact that the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite were of the dead only (*P. Gr.* iv 145A), and again that they were read after the salutation (the *Pax*) ὡςπερ καὶ ἐν Ἀνατολῇ (*P. Gr.* iv 136D), Maximus did not realize that these two points of difference from his own rite admitted of a very easy explanation, viz. that the Areopagite himself wrote 'in the East'.

I had already arrived at these conclusions when the following piece of evidence was brought to my notice. In the 15th chapter of his *Expositio*, in commenting on the diptychs (after the consecration), Bār Ṣalibī writes thus: 'Sed hic decet sermonem extolli ut vituperet Armenos qui non offerunt sacrificium pro vivis. Si enim in liturgia commemorationes tres priores propter vivos sunt: . . . quare vos inscitia quadam commemorationem vivorum super altare negligitis?'

We have traced the origin of the *Book of Life*, read after the *Pax*, to the borders of Armenia: here we find a practice of commemorating the dead only among the Armenians themselves in the twelfth century.

If it is asked why George of the Arabs (if he is really the author of our first document) mentions the *Book of Life* in the seventh century, while his earlier contemporary Jacob of Edessa had not the practice of reading it in his church, I should seek an explanation in the fact that the diocese of the former lay farther east than Edessa, and was thus less liable to be influenced by the usages of Greek-speaking churches. The same is the case with Bār Kēphā. But even so, it is to be remembered that George mentions the *Book of Life* only at the end of his commentary on the liturgy, as if by an afterthought, and not in its proper place; while the author of the *Breaking of the Eucharist* and Bār Kēphā expressly state that its use was only occasional.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

### 'WOMAN, WHAT HAVE I TO DO WITH THEE?'

WE must all have listened, at some time or other, to well-meant expositions explaining that the speech of our Lord to His Mother at the Marriage in Cana of Galilee was not as harsh as it sounds in English. I venture to think that the sense of harshness persists, notwithstanding the explanations, and I desire to submit an alternative exegesis of John ii 4. Of course, so far as the vocative γίναι is concerned, the