

The Early Syriac Creed.

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It is my purpose in the following pages to try and throw some light on the subject of the early Syriac Creed, i. e. the Syriac Creed before it came under the influence of the Nicene and post Nicene definitions. The documents upon which I shall mainly rely for evidence in this matter are, 1. the *Homilies* of Aphraates,¹ 2. the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (ed. Wright), and, 3. the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips). Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents* will also be referred to, as well as some works of a later date.

For an adequate treatment of the subject a thorough examination of St. Ephraim's works and of the early Martyrologies would be essential; but, though I have not attempted this, I have hopes that the present study may prove of use, if only to point out some clues which it would be worth the while of a competent scholar to follow up.

In date the *Homilies* of Aphraates are post-Nicene (A. D. 337—345). But I think their teaching has been shewn to be quite independent of Nicene language; and any traces of a Creed-formula found in them may safely be set down as ante-Nicene. The *Acts of Thomas* are now recognized to be an original Syriac composition, thanks to the acute criticism of Professor Burkitt, and not a translation from the Greek, as Wright thought. When they received their present form is not known; but even Dr. Wright, whilst regarding the Syriac as a translation, assigned the text, as we have it, to the 4th century. In regard to the *Doctrine of Addai*, its theology has been pronounced post-Nicene. However my working base is Aphraates, and I shall only admit the testimony of other writings in so far as they bear out the language of the *Homilies*. If we find in Aphraates creed-like passages, agreeing in general character with early Creeds known to us—especially Greek

¹ References will be to Parisot's ed., *Patrol. Syr.*, I.; but for Hom xxiii (wanting in Par.) to Wright's ed.

Creeds—and at the same time displaying marked individual peculiarities; and if we find these peculiarities reproduced consistently in other Syriac writings, and even in formulas of Faith, there will be a strong *prima facie* presumption that the passages in Aphraates contain allusions to an actually existing Symbol.¹

I shall give below three tentative reconstructions of the Syriac Creed, from Aphraates, the *Acts of Thomas*, and the *Doctrine of Addai* respectively, citing before each the passages upon which I rely as evidence. To these will be added a few more or less formal statements of Faith of later date, viz., one from Philoxenus, a couple from Isaac of Antioch, and an extract from an 'Apology concerning the Faith', which forms part of the upper writing of Cod. Sin. Syr., and would seem to belong to the later 5th or the 6th century (see Mrs. Lewis' *Introd. to The Four Gospels in Syriac*, pp. viii ff.).

But I must first draw attention to what I believe to be a misreading of the evidence in Aphraates. Towards the end of the first of the *Homilies*, that on Faith, we read as follows (I give the passage in Professor Burkitt's translation: *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 48): the italics are my own, and will be explained below): 'For this is Faith:—When a man shall believe in *God, the Lord of all, That made the heavens and the earth and the seas and all that in them is*, Who made Adam in His image, Who gave the Law to Moses, Who sent of *His Spirit* in the Prophets, Who sent *His Messiah* into the world; And that a man should believe in *the bringing to life of the dead*, and believe also in *the mystery of Baptism*: This is the faith of the Church of God. And that a man should separate himself from observing hours and sabbaths and months and seasons . . . These are the works of the Faith that is laid on the True Rock, which is the Messiah, upon whom all the building doth rise' (Hom i, 19).

This passage, as far as the word 'Baptism' (inclusive), is thought by Bert, Hahn and Burkitt to comprise the text of Aphraates' Symbol of Faith. Kattenbusch, on the other hand (*Das Apostolische Symbol*, i, p. 249), thinks there is nothing in the *Homilies* that indicates knowledge of a Creed. In regard to the first of these positions, I do not think we can take Aphraates quite so strictly at his word as to conclude that, when he says 'this is the Faith', he undertakes to write out the text

¹ In what follows I use the words 'Symbol' and 'Creed' in the same sense, to signify generally a fixed formula of Faith.

of his Creed. Anyone who was inspired by the title of the first Homily with the hope of hearing from the writer a statement of his doctrinal position would be doomed to disappointment: until he has almost reached the end he does not dwell upon a single article of belief—not upon the unity of God, not upon the Messianic character of our Lord, not upon Baptism, not upon the Resurrection of the dead. He is considering Faith from a totally different point of view. Faith, he says, is like a building, and Christ is its foundation; and since Christ also is to dwell in the building, it must be furnished with suitable adornments, to wit, good works, of which he gives a considerable list.

Thus Faith is treated entirely from the moral standpoint, as one of the virtues; precisely in the same way as the writer goes on in Homilies ii, iii and iv to treat of Charity, Fasting and Prayer. I prefer, therefore, to look upon the passage as a short summing up of the whole argument, wherein Aphraates' mentions a few of the leading articles of the Faith only to set overagainst them a list of moral obligations—the works of Faith. Regarded as a formal statement of Faith it is altogether inadequate to represent Aphraates' teaching on the fundamental truths of Christianity. If the Homily on Faith were all we had of his writings we should know next to nothing of his real doctrinal position.

But there are literary considerations as well which tell against the view that the passage in Hom i, 19 is a very ancient Symbol of Faith.

The apocryphal correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians, which was embodied in the Acts of Paul (cf. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, p. 73 ff.), was received as part of the Syriac N. T. in the time of Aphraates and St. Ephraim. The latter commented on it together with the Pauline Epistles.¹ Moreover the passage from Letter II (Paul to the Corinthians) where it is said that "the Lord Jesus was born of Mary [the Virgin]², who was of the seed of David", is quoted by St. Ephr. (*Com. in Evang.*, Moes., p. 16), and by Aphraates (xxiii, Wright, p. 472), as the testimony of "the Apostle". The sentence, "He distributed and sent of His Spirit in the prophets", is cited by Aphr. in Hom vi, 12: "And the blessed Apostle said: God divided of the Spirit of His Messiah and sent (It) in the prophets" (see Harnack, *Gesch. der Altchrist. Lit.*, i,

¹ *S. Ephr. Syri Com. in Epist. D. Pauli* (a Lat. transl. from the Armenian, by the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice), p. 117 ff.

² I quote from the Lat. transl. of an Armenian MS., given by the Whistons at the end of their *Mosis Chorenensis Hist. Armen.* The *Acta Pauli* and Ephr. (Moes., p. 16, *Com. in Paul.*, p. 120) om. "the Virgin".

p. 38). It may be added that §§ 12 and 13 of the same Homily contain clear references to this passage. It seems certain, therefore, that in the "creed"-passage (Hom i, 19) the words "and He sent of His Spirit in the prophets" are a quotation from the same source.¹

This literary connection between Aphr i, 19 and the pseudo-Pauline letters leads us on to a comparison of the contents.

In the letter of the Corinthians to Paul the Apostle is informed that certain men had come to Corinth teaching: 1. that the prophets ought not to be read; 2. that God is not almighty; 3. that there is no resurrection of the flesh; 4. that man was not created by God; 5. that Christ was not born in the flesh of Mary the Virgin; 6. that the universe was not the creation of God, but of some angel. The Apostle, in his answer, asserts: 1. that "the Lord Jesus was born of Mary [the Virgin], who was of the seed of David, according to the announcement of the Holy Spirit, sent to her by the Father from heaven"; 2. that man was created by the Father; 3. that "God, who is the Lord of all, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who made the heaven and the earth, 4. sent first the prophets to the Jews . . . (and) distributed and sent of His Spirit in the prophets"; 5. that "those who say that neither heaven nor earth is the work of God, the Father of all", are "sons of wrath"; 6. that those who say that there is no resurrection of the flesh "shall not themselves rise up unto life everlasting". The possibility of the resurrection is then illustrated by examples: the seed sown in the earth; Jonah preserved in the belly of the fish; the dead raised through contact with the bones of Elisha; the dead raised by Elijah.

Aphraates, in i, 19, says that the Faith demands belief in God as 1. Lord of all, 2. and Creator of the universe, 3. and Creator of man, 4. and giver of the Law and inspirer of the prophets, 5. and sender of the Messiah into the world; and 6. in the resurrection of the dead. The statement of the virgin birth is omitted (but, as we have seen, is formally

¹ It may be that the opening words of the "creed"-passage in Aphr. are a reminiscence of ps.-Paul v. 12: "God, who is the Lord of all . . . who made the heaven and the earth". In viii, 11 Aphr. cites the miracles wrought by Elijah, and by the bones of Elisha, in defence of the resurrection; similarly ps.-Paul. Compare also Aphr. viii, 19: "It were well for them if they did not rise, according to their belief", with ps.-Paul v. 24: *qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem carnis, illi quidem non sunt resurrecturi ad uitam aeternam*; and Aphr. viii, 25: "receive and believe that in the day of the resurrection thy body shall arise in its entirety", with ps.-Paul v. 32: *quanto magis vos . . . illo die resurgetis, integro corpore*. I number the *v.* for convenience as in Harnack's text.

quoted in Hom xxiii), and belief in Baptism is added. Apart from these two points the resemblance is a striking one. Now the false doctrines said to have been taught in Corinth are stated by Ephraim to have been those of the school of Bardaisan. After enumerating the different headings of heretical teaching, he says: "Now this is the teaching of the Doctors of the following of Bardaisan; and so it is that the Daisanites did not place this letter in their Apostle" (*Com. in Paul.*, p. 118). May not this very well supply the *raison d'être* of the strange "Creed" of Aphraates? A friend had written to him for instruction on the Faith; and Aphraates must, it seems to me, have had a special reason to state the Faith for him in the light of the errors of a particular school: probably that of the Syrian Bardaisan. However this may be, the fact that the passage in Hom i, 19 contains a quotation from the apocryphal letters and shows also a close agreement with their argument must greatly discount its claim to represent the Creed of Aphraates' Church. It points to the conclusion that the passage was composed by Aphraates himself; and, although it doubtless contains extracts from, and is thrown into the form of, a Creed, the contents are due to his selection.

Are there any traces of a more elaborated Creed in Aphraates? I believe there are; and I proceed to transcribe a number of passages in support of my view. The words, or clauses, in italics will be drawn upon in the ensuing attempted reconstruction.

1. For this is Faith . . . mystery of Baptism (cited above, p. 203).

2. He is the *First-born Son*, the *offspring of Mary*: let us receive His littleness, that we may rejoice in His greatness; and He it is that *suffered and lived* (again) and *ascended to the height*: let us believe in Him in truth, that we may receive *His coming*; and He is the *Judge of the dead and the living*, who *sitteth upon the throne and judgeth* all generations (xiv, 39).

3. Nevertheless it is affirmed by us that Jesus our Lord is *God, Son of God, King, Son of the King, Light from Light, Son*,¹ and Counsellor; and Guide, and Way, and Saviour, and Shepherd, and Gatherer, and Door, and Pearl, and Lamp; and by many (such) names is He surnamed; but we shall leave aside all (the rest) of them, and prove concerning Him that He is the *Son of God, and God* who from God came forth (xvii, 2).

¹ Syr. **ܩܝܡܐ**. Parisot and Gwynn translate 'Creator', as if it were *Bārē*; but 'Creator' would naturally be *Bāryā*, or *Bārōyā*, and since Aphr. does not elsewhere ascribe creation to the Son it seems necessary to read the word as *B'rā* 'Son'.

4. But for us, we affirm that Jesus is *God, Son of God* (xvii, 8).

5. This brief argument I have written for thee, beloved, that thou mayest make a defence against the Jews concerning this, that they say that God has no Son, and concerning this, that we call Him *God, Son of God, and King, and First-born of all creatures* (xvii, 12).

6. Though He is *God, and the Son of God*, yet He took the likeness of a servant (vi, 9).

7. He is our lifegiver, *our Lord Jesus Christ*, who came and put on *our manhood*, and suffered, and was tempted in the *body which He took from us* (iii, 16).

8. Joseph's father put on him a priestly tunic, and Jesus' Father put on Him a body from the Virgin (xxi, 9).

9. And when Jesus, the slayer of Death, came and put on a body from the seed of Adam, and was crucified in His Body, and tasted death, and when he (Death) perceived that He had come down unto him, he was shaken from his place and agitated when he saw Jesus (xxii, 4).

10. Because Mordecai sat and put on sackcloth he delivered Esther and her people from the sword; and because Jesus put on a body, and humbled Himself, He delivered the Church and her sons from death (xxi, 20).

11. And Jacob begat Joseph, and Joseph was called father to Jesus the Messiah. And Jesus was born from Mary the Virgin of the seed of the house of David, from the Holy Spirit, as it is written: Joseph and his betrothed were both of the house of David;¹ and the Apostle beareth witness: Jesus the Messiah was (ܐܘܘܨ) from Mary, of the seed of the house of David, by the Holy Spirit.² Joseph was called father to Jesus

¹ The reading of the Old Syr. in Lk ii, 4; see Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, vol. i, p. 253.

² As already stated, this quotation is from the pseudo-Pauline letter to the Corinthians. But in the letter the mention of the Holy Spirit is introduced differently: secundum annunciationem Spiritus Sancti, a Patre e coelo in eam missi: cf. Ephr. *in loc.* Again Aphraates gives the passage twice over; the first time not as a direct quotation from the Apostle, whom he proceeds to cite in support of his statement. In this first passage he introduces "the Virgin", which apparently was not in his text of "the Apostle". Were we dealing with a Greek writer of, say, the 3rd cent., we should not hesitate to characterize these changes as approximations to the language of a Creed. And as I am persuaded on independent grounds that Aphraates was acquainted with a Creed which followed the general lines of early Greek formulas, I shall feel justified in inserting this passage provisionally in my reconstruction of his Creed. The idea that Mary was of the seed of David appears to be connected with the language of a Creed by

although He was not born of his seed; but the name of fatherhood was passed down from Adam to Joseph, sixty-three generations; and the name of fatherhood was taken from Joseph and laid upon the Messiah. From Joseph he received the name of fatherhood, and from John the name of priesthood, and *from Mary He put on a body*, and received the name of birth (xxiii, Wright, p. 472).

12. Of all (men) born, who have *put on a body*, one alone is innocent, even *our Lord Jesus Christ* (vii, 1).

13. For our Lord *suffered and rose and dieth now no more* (xii, 13).

14. He was delivered from destruction, and *went up from the midst of Sheol*, and *lived* (again), and *rose the third day* (xvii, 10).

15. Joseph's brethren cast him into a pit; and Jesus' brethren *sent Him down to the place of the dead* (ܠܥܘܠܡ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ) (xxi, 9).

16. They cast Daniel into the pit of lions, and he came up from the midst thereof acquitted; and Jesus they *sent down to the pit of the place of the dead*, and *He came up*, and death had no authority over Him (xxi, 18).

17. Ananias and his brethren were cast into a furnace of fire, and it became cool as dew upon the righteous (men); and Jesus *went down to the place of darkness*, and broke the gates thereof and brought out the prisoners (xxi, 19).

18. Thou *didst send Him down to Sheol* when we constrained Thee not (xxiii, Wright, p. 488).

19. When our Saviour *went down to the place of the dead* He quickened and raised up many (vi, 13). [xii, 6, 7 is devoted to proving that Christ was three days with the dead (ܠܥܘܠܡ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ)].

20. But Christ is not fallen, because *He rose the third day* (v, 9).

21. Moses went up into the mountain and died there; and Jesus *went up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of His Father* (xxi, 10).

22. Elijah went up in a chariot to heaven; and our Saviour *went up and sat on the right hand of His Father* (xxi, 14).

23. For Christ *sitteth at the right hand of His Father . . . He sat on the right hand of His Father* (vi, 10).

Isaac of Antioch (Bickell, iii; Bedjan, lxiv): "Fire from Fire (*nūrā men nūrā*, clearly a pun on *nūhrā men nūhrā*, "Light from Light"). came down, flame tabernacled in flesh: even God from God, *in a woman of the house of David*". Again, in the exposition of the Faith found in the over-writing of Cod. Sin. Syr. the Incarnation is thus described: "And He came down from His heavenly throne, without separating from the hidden bosom of His Father, and dwelt in the pure womb of a holy and glorious *virgin*, our Lady *Mary*, the God-bearing, *she who was of the seed of the house of David*" (below, p. 222).

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(ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ)

(Son, and Counsellor, and Guide,
and Way, and Saviour, and She-
pherd, and Gatherer, and Door,
and Pearl, and Lamp,)

ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
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and First-born of all creatures,
3. Who came and put on a body
from Mary the Virgin (of the
seed of the house of David, from
the Holy Spirit),

ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
(ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ)

and put on our manhood,
4. and suffered, or, and was crucified,
5. went down to the place of the
dead, or, to Sheol,

ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
(ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ)

and lived again, and rose the
third day,
6. and ascended to the height, or,
to heaven,

ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
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(ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ)

and sat on the right hand of
His Father,
7. and He is the Judge of the dead
and of the living, who sitteth on
the throne;

[ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ]
ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ [ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ]

8. [And in the Holy Spirit;]
11: [And I believe] in the coming to
life of the dead;

ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ
(ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ)

10. [and] in the mystery of Baptism
(of the remission of sins).

Notes on the above.

Article I. Compare the opening words of the Creed of Irenaeus
(*Contr. Haer.*, i, 9): 'the faith in one God the Father Almighty, who hath
made heaven and earth, and the seas and all things that in them are';¹
also the *Acts of Sharbil* (*A. S. D.*, p. 50): 'I confess one God who made
the heaven and the earth, and the seas and everything that therein is;
and the Son who of Him is Christ the King'.

Lord of all. Syr., ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ; the form ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ is also used
by Aphr. (ii, 19); cf. Gal. iv, 1, ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ ܩܘܪܝܢܘܨ, i. e. κύριος πάντων.

¹ Cf. Harnack. *Patr. Apost. Op.*, p. 135.

Both ܕܢܐ ܪܝܘܢ and ܕܢܐ ܪܝܘܢ occur in *Acts of Thomas*. In Clem. Rom., xxxiii, δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων is rendered by ܕܢܐ ܪܝܘܢ (Bensly, p. 25); and in Apraates' Creed 'Lord of all' probably stands for δεσπότης (or κύριος) τῶν ἀπάντων, and not for παντοκράτωρ, the regular Syr. rendering of which was ܕܐ ܦܢܘܪ, or ܦܢܘܪ ܕܐ.

Article 2. *God, Son of God* is evidently an early Syriac equivalent of Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ; it is used side by side with 'God from God' by Isaac of Antioch. It is of such frequent occurrence in early Syriac writings as to suggest strongly that it was known in a formula of Faith: it occurs about four times in Aphraates; in *Acts of Thomas*, pp. 187 and 188—the Greek translation in both cases being Θεὲ ἐκ Θεοῦ (Bonnet, p. 164, ll. 5 and 16)—and p. 199; in *A. S. D.*, pp. 37 (*bis*), and 92 (*bis*); in *Addai*, p. 17.

King, Son of the King is on the same model as the preceding, and evidently comes from βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, which occurs in the Lucianic Creed of Antioch. Of the same type again is ܦܘ ܕܝ ܦܘ, 'One Son of One', in Isaac of Antioch (Bedj. i p. 804), for μόνον ἐκ μόνου (also found in the Lucianic Creed). A still further adaptation to the Semitic idiom is seen in 'Living, Son of the Living' (ܕܢܝܘܢ ܕܦܢܝܘܢ), in *Acts of Thomas*, p. 204, doubtless from ζῶν ἐκ ζῆς (cf. the Creed of Euseb. of Caesarea).

Light from Light: Φῶς ἐκ φωτός also belonged to the Creed of Caesarea; and has come down to us through the Nicene and 'Constantinopolitan' formulas. It is a non-Scriptural expression, and its mere occurrence in Aphraates as a title of the Son would be enough to raise a strong probability that he knew it in a Creed-formula, and one of Greek origin.¹ This probability is increased almost to certainty when we find it following upon two other Greek Creed-clauses (see passage 3, above).

Son . . . Lamp: these titles, which follow in xvii, 2 (see passage 3) immediately upon the clause 'Light from Light', may be an expansion due to Aphraates himself, though some, if not all, of them may well have been familiar to him through his Creed; three of them, 'Way',

¹ Jordan, *Die Theol. der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians*, p. 62, quotes Tertul., *Apol.*, 21: Nam et deus spiritus. Et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius nec separatur substantia sed extenditur. Ita de spiritu spiritus et de deo deus ut lumen de lumine accensum. Also Hippol., *contra Noet.*, c. 10: καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός γεννῶν προήκεν τῇ κτίσει κύριον τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν. And c. 11: ἕτερον δὲ λέγων οὐ δύο θεοὺς λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός. But the use of 'Light from Light' in Aphr. is quite different from this: he employs it as a recognized title of the Son.

'Shepherd', and 'Door', are found again in the Creed attributed to Lucian the Martyr and put forward as his by the Council of Antioch (A. D. 341). Now the second article of the Creed, as represented by Aphraates, bears a considerable resemblance to that of the Lucianic Creed; and, considering the close connection which the Church of Edessa—the headquarters of Syriac-speaking Christianity—had with that of Antioch at the end of the 2nd century, it is not improbable that the earliest Syriac Creed was derived, at least in part, from the latter Church. The Lucianic Creed describes the Son as 'the Only-begotten God' (cf. Hort, *Two Dissert.*, pp. 61 ff.), by whom are all things; begotten before the worlds of the Father, *God of God*, *Whole of Whole*, *Only of Only* (compare the 'One, Son of One' of Isaac of Antioch, above, p. 211), *Perfect of Perfect*, *King of King*, *Lord of Lord*; the living Word, the living Wisdom, the true *Light*, the *Way*, the Resurrection, the *Shepherd*, the *Door*; the unchangeable and unalterable Image of the Godhead, both of the essence and will and power and glory of the Father (cf. *Acts of Thomas*, pp. 187f.: 'and Ye are one in power and in will and in glory and in essence'); *the First-born of every Creature*. The last clause, 'First-born', etc., is not in Aphr. xvii, 2 (passage 3), but is given in a similar context at the end of the same Homily (see passage 5).

Article 3. *Put on a body*: this is the regular early Syriac mode of describing the Incarnation (see the Creeds from *Acts of Thomas* and *Addai*, below). After the rise of the Christological controversies it would seem to have been replaced in formal statements of Faith by ܡܘܕܝܢܐ, 'became incorporate' (see formulas from Isaac of Antioch and Philoxenus, below). ܡܘܕܝܢܐ, 'became incarnate', was also used; but 'put on a body' was still kept, e. g. by Isaac. It is also the regular phrase of St. Ephraim, and was evidently the earliest, as it was the most idiomatic, Syriac equivalent of *καρνωθεῖς*.

From Mary . . . Spirit: on the probabilities of this passage having a connection with a Syriac Creed see note 2 on p. 207, above. The virgin birth is clearly taught in Aphr., Ephr., *Acts of Thomas*, and *Addai*.

And put on our manhood:—the *suscepit hominem* of the Western Church—it occurs also in *Acts of Thomas* (p. 216). 'Became man' (ܡܘܕܝܢܐ ܚܘܡܐ), which appears in *Acts of Thomas*, *Addai*, and Isaac of Ant. in the expression 'put on a body and became man' (see below, pp. 218, 220, 221), I have not noticed in Aphr. The two phrases appear to have been collateral renderings of *ἐνανθρωπήσας*.

Article 4. *Suffered*: cf. passages 2 and 7. *Acts of Thomas* and *Addai*, 'was crucified' (see pp. 218, 220, below); so Aphr. in passage 9.

Article 5. *Went down to the place of the dead*: this occurs in the Edessene document contained in the *Doctrine of Addai* and quoted by Euseb. (*Hist. Eccl.*, i, 13: κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾗδην). It is referred to seven or eight times by Aphr.; twice in *Acts of Thomas* ('Sheol'); by Ephr., *On our Lord* (Lamy, i, 148): 'this is He who descended to Sheol and ascended'; and is in one of the confessions made by Isaac of Antioch (given below). Apparently 1 Pet. was not included in the early Syriac N. T. Canon, which, according to the *Doctrine of Addai* (p. 40), comprised only the Gospel (i. e. Diatessaron), the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts. In agreement with the statement of *Addai* is the fact that Aphraates does not quote the Catholic Epistles. 1 Pet iii, 19 cannot therefore be cited as a source of the doctrine of the *descensus ad inferos* in the Syriac Church. On the other hand, the present Pesh. rendering of the verse may be due to the influence of a Creed. 'To the souls which were held in Sheol' is a mere explanatory paraphrase of τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι.

The clause would appear to have been used in the Syriac Creed as a substitute for the statement of the burial, and not in addition to it. The first Greek formulas which have it are those of the Arian Synods of Sirmium, Nicé in Thrace, and Constantinople, in the years 359 and 380 (see Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 56). In the West it appears first in the Creed of Aquileia, circa 400 A. D. It is just possible that the *descendit ad inferna*, etc., of Western Creeds was ultimately of Syriac origin. It would be more likely to originate in Syriac than in either Greek or Latin, notwithstanding the exclusion of 1 Pet. from the early Syriac Canon. It is true that *descendit in infernum*, or the like, is used to translate אֵלֶּיָהּ יָרַד (Swete, *Ibid.*, p. 59); but the language of early Creeds was, apart from the stress of controversy, drawn almost exclusively from the N. T.; and the Syriac versions, as we have them, are far more suggestive in this matter than either the Greek or the Latin. The regular Syriac rendering of ἐκ νεκρῶν, which occurs so frequently in the N. T., is ܟܕܝܢܐ ܕܘܫܘܥܐ; this will bear the meaning 'from among the dead'. But ܟܕܝܢܐ ܕܘܫܘܥܐ had also another meaning, 'the place (house) of the dead', and was synonymous with ܫܘܥܐ, 'Sheol', the Hebrew word taken over from the Old Testament. This at least is the sense which the early Syriac Church soon put upon it in the N. T. Thus the Syriac-speaking Christian was confronted in almost every book

of his New Testament with the notion of our Lord's ascent from Sheol, implying His descent. But this is not all: the Peshitta version of Rom x, 6—7, besides giving a peculiar turn to the whole passage, introduces an explicit mention of Sheol; it runs: 'But the righteousness which is by faith sayeth thus: Thou shalt not say in thy heart, Who hath ascended to heaven and brought down Christ? or, Who hath descended to the abyss of Sheol (ܐܘܒܝܬ ܫܘܘܠ ܕܡܝܬ) and brought up Christ from among the dead' (ܕܡܝܬ ܕܡܝܬ ܡܝܬ)? If we may suppose this to be an early Syriac rendering of the passage—it appears to have been the reading known to St. Ephraim—the meaning would be that the righteousness which is by faith forbids us to question either Christ's descent from heaven or His ascent from Sheol, the place of the dead, whither He descended.

Article 6. *Sat at the right hand of His Father*: in N. T. passages where the session at the right hand is recorded the expression is, 'at the right hand of God', or, 'of Power', etc.; never 'of the Father'. Our familiarity with the phrase 'at the right hand of the Father' is due entirely to the Creeds; when, therefore, we find that Aphraates invariably (five times) uses this form, we may reasonably infer that his ear was educated to it by its occurrence in his Creed.

Article 7. *Dead and living*: this characteristically Syriac order is found three times in Aphr., in *Acts of Thomas*, *Addai*, the Creed of Philoxenus, the Creed written over Cod. Sin. Syr., the Creed of a Nestorian baptismal liturgy drawn up about the middle of the 7th cent. (Diettrich, *Die Nestorianische Taufliturgie*, p. 31), and in the Nestorian Creed of to-day. Isaac of Antioch is the only Syriac writer I have met with who gives the order 'living and dead', and he clearly does so under the influence of Greek Creeds.¹ The MS. used by Mrs Gibson in her edition of the *Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (p. 21), and also the Latin version (Hauler, *Didascaliæ Apostolorum Fragmenta Latina*, p. 90), contain what was evidently the order of the original Greek (i. e. 'living and dead') in the well-known Creed passage; but it is significant that in Cod. Sangermanensis, edited by Lagarde, the scribe has reverted to the familiar Syriac order. The same thing has happened in another passage

¹ I find, however, that Ephr., *Carm. Nis.* lxxvi (*fin.*) has the order in the following passage: 'Praise from us all to Thee . . . who by the sacrifice of Thy Body hast given life to the living and the dead. Praise to Him who put on our body, and died and rose again'. Another case of the Syr. order is in Wright's *Contrib. to Apoc. Lit. of N. T.*, p. 20: 'He liveth who is about to come to judge the dead and the living'.

(p. ܘܕܡܘܢ), where the Greek author appends a quotation from his Creed to a passage from Matth (x, 33), thus: 'Whosoever denieth me . . . I will deny him before my Father who is in heaven, when I come to judge the living and the dead': the scribe of Cod. Sang. has again changed the order to 'dead and living'. Once more: in 1 Pet iv, 5 the Greek order, 'living and dead', is reversed in Pesh. In the other three N. T. passages the Syr. follows the Gr. order, and has 'dead and living' only once, viz. Rom xiv, 9: 'that He might be Lord of the dead and the living'. As this passage contains no mention of the Judgment it is out of the question to suppose that all these writers by a coincidence quote it in that connection, instead of Acts x, 42, or 2 Tim iv, 1 which both speak of Christ as the Judge, but have the other order. The only explanation I can see is that Aphraates and the authors of *Acts of Thomas* and *Addai*, equally with later writers, quote the words from a Syriac Creed.

Who sitteth on the throne: cf. passage 2; also *Addai* (p. 40), 'and He sitteth on the throne of righteousness and judgeth the dead and the living'. There seems to have been mention in the early Syriac Creed of Christ's sitting 'on the throne', as well as 'at the right hand of His Father'. We have the two ideas combined in the Creed of Philoxenus (given below): 'He sitteth upon the everlasting throne at the right hand of His Father, and will come to judge the dead and the living'; and it is possible that they may have been thus combined in the Creed known to Aphraates.

There is no evidence that Aphraates' Creed contained an article on the Church. For his idea of the Church as one cf. xii, 9: 'Understand then, beloved, concerning the pascal lamb, that the Most High gave command that it should be eaten in one house, and not in many houses. The one house is the Church of God'.

Articles 11, and 10. See passage 1, above; also the Creed from *Acts of Thomas*, below.

In justification of this attempt to reconstruct Aphraates' Creed it may be well to sum up briefly the evidence in support of the view that he was in fact acquainted with a formula of Greek origin. The points of primary importance are the following:—

1. In passage 2 reference is made to six articles of belief in the order in which we are familiar with them in Greek Creeds. On this Burkitt rightly, though rather paradoxically, observes: 'There are, it should be noticed, traces of a (baptismal) Symbol in Aphraates' (*Early Christianity*

outside the Roman Empire, p. 35, note).—This passage gives the framework of Aphraates' Creed for those articles which relate to the Son, and fully justifies us in reading in connection with a Symbol other creed-like expressions found in his writings.

2. In passage 3 Christ is called 'God, Son of God; King, Son of the King; Light from Light'. These expressions are clearly connected with the language of early Greek Creeds, and are not found in the same form in the Bible.

3. In the same way, it can scarcely be by a mere coincidence that Aphraates invariably employs the non-Scriptural 'sat (*or*, sitteth) at the right hand of His *Father*', which is almost universal also in Greek Creeds.

4. The ubiquity of the order 'dead and living' in native Syriac writings is not to be explained as in every case a quotation from Rom xiv, 9; but points to some other widely known and very early document as the immediate source. That document was doubtless based upon Rom xiv, 9; and if, as I suppose, it was a formula of Faith, it is not difficult to see how the phrase in Rom. got into it: it came in in company with two other articles of Faith contained in the same verse, thus: 'For this end Christ died, and lived *again*, (Pesh. adds, 'and rose'; so Ephr.) that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living'. Then, under the influence of Acts x, 42 and 2 Tim iv, 1, the expression was interpreted as referring to the Judgment. I can see no other way of accounting for the extraordinarily wide influence which the verse exercised in this connection upon Syriac writers.

5. The descent to Sheol, though not met with so consistently in Syriac as the order 'dead and living', yet is referred to frequently by Aphraates, and is found in *Acts of Thomas*, *Addai*, and St Ephraim, and finds a place in the Creed of Isaac of Antioch.

6. It has been pointed out above that the departure from the Greek involved in the explicit mention of Sheol, and in the order 'dead and living', in the Syriac of 1 Pet iii, 19 and iv, 5 respectively, may be due to the influence of a Syriac Creed. The Syr. rendering of iii, 21 and 22 comes very near to supplying positive evidence for the existence of such a Creed. The translator plainly interpreted the ἐπερώτημα of v. 21 as referring to a baptismal confession of Faith; and he changed the construction in this and the following verse so as to connect the references to Christ's resurrection, sitting at the right hand, and ascension with the confession, thus:—'by which same type you also are saved, (i. e.) by baptism: not when you wash the body from filth, but *when*

you make confession (of belief) in God (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܕܢܫܢܐ) with a clean conscience, and in the resurrection of Jesus Christ,—he who was lifted up to heaven, and is at the right hand of God'. I think any one who will compare this with the Greek will agree that the Syriac translator was influenced by the baptismal usage of his Church. Another witness to the existence of a baptismal confession among the Syrians is the *Acts of Sharbil*, A. S. D., p. 44): 'And because they were afraid of the persecutors, they gave him the seal of salvation, as he made his confession (ܐܘܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܢܫܢܐ) in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Spirit of holiness'. On p. 46 Sharbil speaks of, 'Christ, in whom I made my confession yesterday'.

Traces of a Creed in the Acts of Judas Thomas.

Passages.

1. And they have glorified the Father, *the Lord of all* (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܕܢܫܢܐ) and *the only(-begotten)* (ܐܘܘܪܘܢܐ) Son, who is of Him, and have praised *the Spirit*, His Wisdom (Wright, Engl. trans., p. 152).

2. Fear *one God, the Lord of all* (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܕܢܫܢܐ), and *Jesus the Messiah, His Son*, and ye shall live for ever and ever (p. 235).

3. To be glorified art Thou, *Lord of all* (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܕܢܫܢܐ), self-existent, unutterable (p. 245).

4. Glory to *the Only(-begotten)*, who (is) of the Father (p. 259).

5. To Thee be glory, *Living (One) who (art) from the Living (One)* . . . Thou art *God, the Son of God* (ܐܠܘܗܐ ܕܐܠܘܗܐ) (p. 199).

6. Jesus, born a man, slain, dead; Jesus, *God, Son of God* (Gr. Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ): Lifegiver and Restorer of the dead to life (p. 187) Jesus, who art in the Father and the Father in Thee, and Ye are one in power and in will and in glory and in essence, and for our sake thou wast named with names, and art the Son, and *didst put on a body*; Jesus, who didst become a Nazīr, and thy grace provides for all like *God, Son of God* most High (Gr. Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ὑψίστου), who *didst become a man* despised and humble (pp. 187—188).

7. I believe in Thee, *Jesus the Messiah, God*, that Thou art the *Living, the Son of the Living*, and *didst become man* (p. 204).

8. This (is He) who *came from on high*, and became visible *from*

¹ I have changed Wright's semi-colon after 'God' to a comma, connecting 'Son of God' with what precedes. This seems to be necessary, since each fresh invocation begins with 'Jesus'.

Mary the Virgin, and was called the son of Joseph (cf. passage 11 from Aphr.) the carpenter (p. 278).

9. Jesus who *didst put on the body, and become man* (ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ) (p. 210).

10. Glory to Thy Godhead, which for us *put on our manhood*. Glory to Thy manhood, which was made new for us, and *died* for us to give us life! Glory to Thy *Ressurrection* from the grave, that we might have *a resurrection and a rising up!* Glory to Thy *Ascension into heaven* (p. 216).

11. And He *came*, and *was crucified*, and *rose in three days* (p. 198).

12. Voice that *came from on high*, comforting the hearts of Thy believers . . . Physician without fee, (who) *was crucified* . . . Thou *didst descend into Sheol* . . . and Thou *didst ascend* with great glory (p. 288).

13. And Thou *didst descend to Sheol* . . . and bring out its prisoners, and *didst tread* for them the path (leading) above by the nature of Thy Godhead (p. 155).

14. But expect *the coming* of Jesus, and hope in Him, and believe in His name, because *He is the Judge of the dead and the living*, and He shall recompense every man according to his works at His last *coming* (p. 168). Also: *Lord of the dead and the living* (p. 169).

15. This is *the baptism of the remission of sins* . . . and the establisher of the new man in the Trinity, and which becometh a participation of *the remission of sins* (p. 267).

Of the above passages only nos. 8, 13, and 16 are extant in the Sinaitic palimpsest fragments published by Mrs Lewis; but in each of these cases the italicised words are supported by the older MS. (cf. *Horae Semiticae*, iv, pp. 235, 240, and 231).

Reconstruction of Creed from the Acts of Judas Thomas.

1. [I believe in] "one God, the Lord of all;
2. and in *Jesus the Messiah*, His Son" (p. 235),
"the Only-begotten" (pp. 152, 259, *et passim*),
"God, Son of God" (pp. 187 and 199),
"Living, Son of the Living" (p. 204, cp. p. 199),
3. "that *came from on high*" (p. 288),
"Who *didst put on a body*, and become man" (p. 210, cp. pp. 187, 216, and 204),
"from *Mary the Virgin*" (p. 278),

4. "was crucified" (p. 198),
 5. "didst descend to Sheol" (pp. 155, and 288),
"and rose the third day" (following "was crucified", p. 198),
 6. "Ascension into heaven" (p. 216),
 7. "He is the Judge of the dead and the living" (pp. 168, 169);
 8. "The Spirit" (p. 152; more probably, "the Holy Spirit", frequently);
 10. "Baptism of the remission of sins" (p. 267);
 11. Resurrection (p. 216).
- [The italics denote coincidences with the language of Aphraates.]

Traces of a Creed in the Doctrine of Addai.

Passages.

1. He humbled His exalted divinity by the body which He took, and was crucified and descended to the place of the dead (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ), and cleaved the partition which had never been cleft, and gave life to the dead by being Himself slain, and He descended by Himself, and ascended with many to His glorious Father (Phillips, pp. 8—9).

2. And he narrated . . . the signs of our Lord . . . and His ascension to His Father . . . and the resuscitation and resurrection, which is about to be for all men For except that there is a good end for faithful men, our Lord had not descended from heaven, and come to the birth, and the sufferings of death (pp. 9—10).

3. That many may understand that I believed rightly in Christ, in the Letter which I sent to Him, and may know that He is God, the Son of God (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ; p. 17).

4. But I am the disciple of Jesus Christ, the Physician of troubled souls, and the Saviour of future life, the Son of God, who came down from heaven, and put on a body (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ) and became man (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ); and He gave Himself and was crucified for all men. And when He was suspended on the wood the sun He made dark in the firmament; and when He entered into the grave, He arose and went forth from the grave with many . . . who if He had not wished, had not died, because He is the Lord of death, the exit (of all things); nor, again, would He have put on a body, for He is Himself the framer of the body. For the will which inclined Him to the birth from a virgin, also made Him condescend to the suffering of death, and He humbled the majesty of His exalted divinity, who was with His Father from eternity, He of whom the Prophets of old spake in their mysteries; and

they represented images of His *birth*, and His *suffering*, and His *resurrection*, and His *ascension to His Father*, and of His *sitting at the right hand* (pp. 18—19).

5. But we should worship Him and His Father, with His *Holy Spirit* (p. 22).

6. Because that although He *put on this body*, He was God with His Father (p. 27).

7. Peoples and creatures confess God, who *became man* (p. 27).

8. For He is *the King's Son*, and goes to receive a kingdom, and to return, and to come and make a *resurrection for all men*, and *He sitteth on the throne of righteousness*, and *judgeth the dead and the living*, as He said to us (p. 40).¹

Reconstruction of Creed from the Doctrine of Addai.

2. [I believe in] "*Jesus Christ . . . the Son of God*" (p. 18),

"*God, Son of God*" (p. 17),

[*"The Son of the King"* (p. 40),]

3. "*Who came down from heaven,*

and put on a body,

and became man" (p. 18, cp. p. 9),

"*The birth from a virgin*" (p. 19),

4. 5. "*And He was crucified,*

. . . entered the grave" (p. 18),

(or, more probably) "*was crucified and descended to the place of the dead*" (p. 9; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 13: καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾄδην),

"*He arose and went forth from the grave with many* (p. 18),

6. "*His ascension to the Father, and His sitting at the right hand*" (p. 19),

7. "*and He sitteth on the throne of righteousness and judgeth the dead and the living*" (p. 40),

11. "*and is to come and make a resurrection for all men*" (p. 40, cf. pp. 9 and 30);

8. "*Holy Spirit*" (p. 22, *et passim*).

[The italics denote coincidences with the language of Aphraates.]

¹ It cannot be maintained that the words and phrases in italics are the product of post-Nicene teaching: they mark no advance on the language of Aphraates.

Creeds from Isaac of Antioch.¹

There appear to have been three Isaacs, the period of whose literary activity lay between the beginning of the 5th and the early years of the 6th century. As their writings have become confused the date of the metrical Homily containing the following passages (no. ii, in Bickell, no. lxiii in Bedjan) cannot be easily determined; but it may be placed in the latter half of the 5th cent.

The writer had been accused of being a Monophysite; he protests that he believes that:—

'The one God who is become incarnate (this is repeated as a refrain before each of the following clauses) was born of a woman, walked on the earth three years, was seized by the murdering Jews, was *crucified* by the people on Golgotha, was smitten with a reed, *suffered* on behalf of creatures, *went down to Sheol* and quickened the dead, *was raised* and quickened the buried, came into the upper room to his servants, was *lifted up to the height, is seated at the right hand of His Father*, is to come with glory at the last. The one God incorporeal came down and became incarnate *of Mary*. Lo, *God, the Son of God*, Him I preach incarnate. Lo, I do not deny His Body, as the liars misrepresent me . . . Bodily we have received Him, bodily we have known Him, even *God, the Son of God*, who is not to be searched out by man . . . From her (Mary) *he put on a body and became man*' (ܠܘܝܫ ܠܥܡ).

He goes on to say that he holds the same Faith as his bishop; and that the latter: 'Confesses God incarnate (this is repeated before each succeeding clause), who was born from a woman, who healed the diseases of mankind, who *was crucified* by the murdering people, who *died* and *lived* (again) and quickened us all, who *was raised* from the midst of the grave, who was *lifted up* in glory *to the height*, who *sits at the right hand of His Father*, who *is to come* with glory, who *Judges the living and the dead*'.

The writer of these passages is concerned only with the Christological controversies of his day. He is necessarily influenced by Greek formulas, and even conforms to the Greek order 'living and dead'; but he still uses some of the old watchwords found in Aphraates, e. g., 'went down to Sheol', was lifted up 'to the height', 'God, the Son of

¹ Bickell, no. ii; Bedjan, no. lxiii.

God', 'put on a body'; while the combined 'put on a body and became man' has already met us in *Acts of Thomas* and *Addai*.¹

*Creed from Philoxenus (Bishop of Mabbogh A. D. 485—523).*²

'Orthodox Christians, the children of the Holy Church, confess one nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And they believe that one of the Persons of this Trinity—the second Person of the Trinity—Himself came down from heaven, and was incarnate from *the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary*, and He took from her a body, but the incarnation made no addition to His Person, for as it was a Trinity, so it remained, even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, had become incarnate. And He in very truth was born and was made manifest in the world, and He ate, and drank, and was weary, and rested, and tasted sufferings in Truth, and He *was crucified*, and was buried, and *rose on the third day*, as it is written. And by the will of His Father, and by the will of the Holy Spirit, *He sitteth upon the everlasting throne at the right hand of His Father*, and He will come to *judge the dead and the living*, to whom, and to His *Holy Spirit* be glory, always, and for ever and ever, Amen'.

From Creed written over Cod. Sin. Syr.

This document begins with a statement of belief in the Trinity: 'I believe in one Holy Trinity, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, a glorious essence, and an exalted Godhead'. Further on: 'He the Creator of [his (i. e. Adam's)] nature, the Father and *Lord of all* (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ), spared His image, that it should not perish; and He sent His beloved Son, the Word, God the offspring of His nature, for us, and for our salvation. And He *came down* from the heavenly throne, without separating from the hidden bosom of His Father, and dwelt in

¹ Compare the following, from the famous poem on the parrot: 'I praised Him for His *death*, by which He bestowed new life; for He has authority over *death and life*, and by them He supplies helps. I praised Him for His setting free; for He *lay down among the dead in Sheol*, and thereby set free from the midst thereof all who were made subject to corruption. I praised Him for his *resurrection*, whereby our race was raised up . . . I praised Him for His *ascension*, whereby we ascended to heaven . . . I praised Him for His honour, which is *at the right hand of Him that begat Him*' (Bedj., p. 752—3).

St. Ephraim (Lamy, ii col. 743) makes mention in a single context of Christ's coming down from heaven, conception by Mary, putting on a body, descent to Sheol, resurrection, ascension to heaven, sitting on the right hand.

² Ed. Budge, vol. II, p. cxxxvii; Engl. trans., p. xlvii.

the pure womb of a holy and glorious *virgin*, our Lady *Mary*, the God-bearing, *she who was of the seed of the house of David*

He to whom all these things belonged *suffered*, and *was crucified* for our sakes in the flesh, in the days of Pontius Pilate, and He died and was buried, and *rose* from amongst the dead on *the third day*, and *ascended* to Heaven, and *sat on the right hand* of the Godhead in the highest heavens; and He is worshipped and glorified in the heights and the depths, and we look for His second coming, which shall be with *glory to judge therein the dead and the living*'.

In these few specimens of 5th, or early 6th, century creed language there is no indication that any of the more recent Greek formulas had yet been substituted bodily for the older Syriac Creed; though the latter was evidently undergoing a change. In the middle of the 7th cent. the Nestorian Catholicus Isho'yabh III, in the baptismal Liturgy which he drew up (see Diettrich, *op. cit.*, p. 30), adopted a confession of Faith substantially identical with the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed.¹ It, however, retained the clause 'First-born of all creatures', and kept the ancient Syriac order, 'dead and living', which survives to this day.

¹ I say 'substantially identical', because the 'Const.' Creed supplies the frame-work, and the Nicene theology is formally introduced. But it is clear that some other Creed formed the basis of artt. 2, 3 and 4. This was, apparently, the Creed of Antioch. Prof. W. E. Barnes prints (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vii, 441) a Creed, taken from Nestorian Psalters of cent. xiii—xix, which is identical with that of Isho'yabh. He exhibits the striking agreements (first noticed by Caspari), both in language and order, presented by the three articles in question with the extant fragment of the Antiochene Creed.