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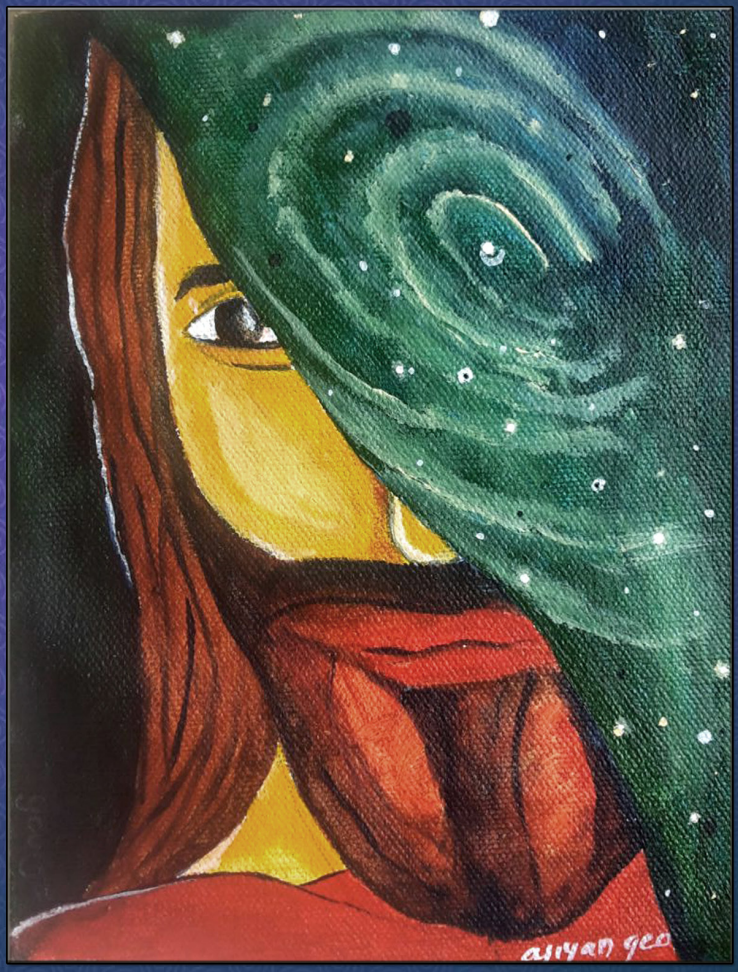

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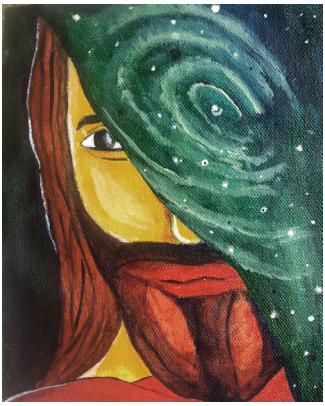

"Omnipresence"

by Ajiyan George | Acrylic on Canvas | 50x70 | 2018 |

"The heavens declare the glory of God; the skies proclaim the work of his hands.

Day after day they pour forth speech; night after night they reveal knowledge."
Ps.19:1-2

God dwells neither on earth nor elsewhere in the physical universe. (1 Kings 8:27). However, his presence is felt in each and every part of his creation. As the Psalmist said "that the stars and other creative works are declaring the glory of God."(Psalm 19:1). Hence, God does not inhabit his creation any more than an artist who lives in his painting. However, the painting still can tell us something about the artist who made it. Similarly, the visible world tells us about the Creator's invisible qualities, such as his power, wisdom, and love (Romans 1:20).

Editorial

Divine intervention is the involvement of God Almighty in the affairs of humans. It can either be direct, like the visual or auditory manifestation of God to humans or it can manifest indirectly, such as God's influence on nature.

In Christianity, visions and miracles are often considered to be forms of divine intervention, with believers feeling they have appeared in the midst of a crisis or in response to their prayers. It is the act of God that causes something good to happen or stops something bad from happening.

In this regard, the current issue of Hekamtho elaborates the various dimensions of the divine intervention in history. Each article provides a unique perspective of God's interference and narrates the human attitude towards it.

The first article, "Ephrem and Integrity of Creation" by Matthews Mor Antheemos Metropolitan illustrates St. Ephrem's discourses on the ontological chasm between the Creator and his creation, also to refute his theological opponents. He presents creation as the physical environment in which the history of salvation and human-divine interaction unveils.

Jobymon Scaria, in his article "Reimagining Moab and Ammon: Genesis 19:30-38 through Persian Imperialism", suggests an alternative reading of Genesis 19:30-38 based upon recent developments in the Postcolonial Biblical studies. This paper argues that Genesis 19:30-38 is an anti-colonial rhetoric of Achaemenid

Yehud. It seeks to subvert the concept of Moabite and Ammonite during the Persian imperial administration under Ezra and Nehemiah.

Third article, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Liturgy" by Binoy Alexander Thattankunnel deals with the formative and generative role of Jewish liturgy in the shaping of Christian liturgy. It also argues that the knowledge of the Jewish liturgical practices is essential to understand the early history of Christian liturgy as well as its theology.

Biju M. Parekkattil in his article, "Sacred Music in the West Syrian Tradition" examines historical development of West Syrian music. It also discusses various influential factors that led the sacred music system to remain as one of the most distinguished features of the West Syrian liturgy. It is described as the "sounding image of the Wisdom of God".

Anish K. Joy, in his article "Love can also be Abusive: Narrative re-reading of Psalm 12", gives an exegetical account of the text. It argues that the finest things or qualities within the order of creation are those most vulnerable to debasement or perversion.

In the final article "Indian Christians and the National Movements", Greger R. Kollannur attempts to trace out the role of Christianity in National Movements and its effects. It affirms that though the direct participation of Christians in national movements was very less, their unseen contributions towards the Indian independence must be treasured.

The article explains the origin, growth and present situation of Monasticism and also describes how the monasteries have been beacons of religion, learning, knowledge and a lasting token of culture and civilization.

Hope this issue of Hekamtho enlightens you on Gods divine intervention in the history of mankind!

- Fr. Dr. Ajiyan George
Editor

Contents

Ephrem and Integrity of Creation

Matthews Mor Anthimos[1]

Ephrem discusses creation in the context of promotion of Christian doctrines. The focus of Ephrem's discourses is – to draw the ontological chasm[2] between the Creator and creation, and to refute his theological opponents. He presents creation as the physical environment in which the history of salvation and human-divine interaction unveils, and as a medium of divine self-revelation and spiritual meaning. His *Creation Theology* also provides a sacramental view of the *Natural World* and *Integrity of Creation.*

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[1] H.E. Dr. Matthews Mor Anthimos is the Auxiliary Bishop of the Muvattupuzha Region and Patriarchal Vicar of UK and Ireland dioceses. He is also a professor in the department of Theology and Patristic Studies at MSOTS.

[2] The ontological chasm is about the difference between Creator and the creation. According to Ephrem, human intellect cannot sideline this gulf between *the Maker and the Made*. For him, this division is a reality, but it never conflicts. So he places angels, demons, human beings and entire living beings on the one side and the Creator on the other side. As Divine word is not a created reality, it locates on the other side of the chasm. Cf. BROCK, The Luminous Eye 26.

Kees den Biesen continues,

> … in Ephrem's view, God's self-revelation in both creation and Scripture is not just of a temporal, but first of all of an ontological order. It is inscribed in the symbolical structure of reality itself as a potential revelation that awaits the actual discovery by the human luminous eye, of which it is the ontological basis. The history of revelation is identical with the history of the human reception of that revelation.[3]

Sebastian Brock too substantiates Ephrem's understanding of creation as a sacramental reality and that only through symbolic language it can be expressed adequately.[4] However, this sacramental view of creation, which is fundamental to the understanding of the Patristic Theology, is common to early Christian writers.[5]

Creation

Ephrem presents a vibrant vision of creation. For him, creation is the marvellous representation of the invisible Creator. In the beginning, God brought everything into existence in purity, beauty and goodness.[6] Ephrem explains about created works and the Creator's splendid creative activity. He explicitly reveals that the *keys of doctrine* unlocked and revealed before him the *Book of Creation* (Genesis) which *envisioned all His craftsmanship and made manifest His works of art*.

> *This is the book [Genesis] which, above its companions,*
> *has in its narrative*
> *made the Creator perceptible*
> *and transmitted His actions;*
> *it has envisioned all His craftsmanship,*
> *made manifest His works of art*.[7]

Here, Ephrem is crystal clear – Genesis portrays *His actions*, *His craftsmanship* and *His works of art*. The acknowledgment

[3] den BIESEN, Simple and Bold 29.
[4] Cf. BROCK, World and Sacrament 685-696.
[5] Cf. den BIESEN, Simple and Bold 23.
[6] Cf. Hymns on Faith 35:7 (Gen. 1:31). Hymns against Heresies 20:1 (Gen 1:31).
[7] Hymns on Paradise 6:1

that Ephrem places in the first section of the above hymn cannot be sidelined. He acknowledges that nothing but the *keys of doctrine* unlock the *Book of Creation* before him. This argument, silently but loudly proclaims that what he is going to reveal from the *Book of Creation* is authentic before the *eye of doctrine*. He further says that creation is a demonstration of *His rich wisdom* and these freely created works were given to Adam.

[God] demonstrated, further His rich wisdom,
when he adorned, arranged, beautified
and completed [His work],
He also demonstrated His goodness,
when he freely made the beautiful created works,
which he committed to Adam/ man.[8]

Ephrem advocates that it is through the Son that the Father fashioned creation[9] and "… He [Son] Who makes all things grow".[10] In the *Commentary on Diatessaron*, Ephrem exemplifies Christ's relationship to the creation by interpreting the Wedding at Cana.[11]

Syriac Christianity views *Creation*, *Revelation* and *Incarnation* as ingredients of one divine process which inclined to the *Scripture and Faith* rather than mere philosophical speculations. Hence, the creation cannot be de-linked from God's self-revelation. Therefore, for Ephrem, hidden God is manifested

[8] Hymns against Heresies 28:8.

[9] Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 19:17.

[10] Hymns on Nativity 26:6.

[11] "… the Son is the mediator through whom all beings came into being [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 18:22]. It is through the Son that the Father fashioned creation [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 19:17]. Because the Son serves as a mediator for created beings, he does not introduce a new creation during his life time on earth. In contrast, he transforms the creation according to his will [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 5:12]. The commentator [Ephrem] illustrates Christ‟s relationship with the creation by interpreting the wedding at Cana. Instead of creating new wine out of nothing [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 5:12], Christ transforms the water poured into the jars into wine [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 5:6.] when the wine ran out. In the commentator‟s eyes Christ demonstrated through that transformation that he is the lord of creation. [Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron 5:6]". LANGE, The Portrayal of Christ 89.

in the creation and the creation in turn is filled with pointers to God who is far away.

> *Had God not wished to disclose Himself to us*
> *there would not have been anything in creation*
> *able to elucidate anything at all about Him.*[12]

God is hidden in His revelation whether *far away or near* and God cannot be far away, when creation depends on Him. Therefore, creation expresses the mysterious nature of God's revelation to human beings. Hence, everything in creation is a symbol of the Creator and "… in it (creation) and through it (creation) the Invisible is seen, the Unknowable known, and the Omnipresent and Eternal experienced within the limits of space and time".[13] To be precise, according to Ephrem, creation is *symbolic-full*, because the *visible realities* of the creation not only signify, but also contain the *invisible realities*.

1.1. Heaven, Earth, the Abyss of Waters and the Elemental Pillars of the World

Ephrem's commentary on the events of the first day of creation directly follows the narrative sequence of Genesis 1:1-5.

> In the beginning God created heaven and earth (Genesis 1:1). At this point these comprised the only things that had been made, for there was nothing else created along with heaven and earth. Even the elements that were created on that day had not yet been created. If the elements had been created along with heaven and earth, Moses would have said so. But he did not, lest he give the names of the elements precedence over their substances. Therefore, it is evident that heaven and earth came to be from nothing because neither water nor wind had yet been created, nor had fire, light or darkness been given their natures, for they were younger than heaven and earth. These things were created things that came after heaven and earth and they were not

[12] Hymns on Faith 44:7.
[13] den BIESEN, Simple and Bold 22.

> self-subsistent beings for they did not exist before (heaven and earth).[14]

Ephrem's *Commentary on Genesis* provides a comprehensible vision of his thoughts on cosmology,[15] concerning the overall structure of the universe, expressed by means of blend of exegetical, theological and philosophical discussions. His conception of the universe[16] corresponds to biblical conventions, as an orderly and systematic whole composed of three layers – heavens, earth and the abyss of waters. Ephrem expanded the basic cosmic order – heavens, earth and abyss of water – to accommodate his moral and spiritual vision of the creation, fall and redemption of humanity. In *Hymns on Faith*, Ephrem refers to these elements as the *pillars of the world*,[17] a designation that draws from the biblical cosmology.[18] Ephrem chooses five elements (heaven, earth, fire, wind and water) in order to demonstrate that these elements are *created beings*. They were brought into being on the first day of creation.

> Heaven, earth, fire, wind, and water were created from nothing as Scripture bears witness, whereas light, which

[14] Commentary on Genesis I:2.

[15] "Bou Mansour suggests two paradigms which provide analytical models of the importance of Ephrem's theological cosmology for his discussion of salvation history: 'Paradise-Earth-Paradise' and 'Heaven-Earth (Sheol)-Paradise'. The first, 'Paradise-Earth-Paradise', plots the history of humanity's creation, fall and redemption along a horizontal axis from the cosmogonic past, through the present, to the eschatological future and corresponds to the trajectory of salvation history which Bou Mansour discerns in Ephrem's theological poetry, and especially in his Hymns on Paradise. The second model, 'Heaven-Earth (Sheol)-Paradise', charts the history of salvation vertically, tracing the movement of Jesus' incarnation, death descent to Sheol, resurrection and ascension as the means by which humanity, assumed by Christ, is returned to the Edenic Paradise". BUCHAN, Blessed 36.

[16] "Ephrem's notion of the universe essentially resembles biblical cosmology: Beneath the world is the underworld (Prose Refutations I 49:40f), above the world is the vault of heaven (Commentary on Genesis 1:6, 13). He states the necessity of a support structure repeatedly in the context of rejecting Bardaisan's thesis that the world is located in empty space (Prose Refutations I 58-60)". POSSEKEL, Evidence of Greek 99f.

[17] Cf. Job. 9:6; Psalms 75:3.

[18] Cf. POSSEKEL, Evidence of Greek 99

> came to be on the first day along with the rest of the things that came to be afterwards, came to be from something. For when these other things came to be from nothing, [Moses] said, God created heaven and earth. Although it is not written that fire, water, and wind were created, neither is it said that they were made. Therefore, they came to be from nothing just as heaven and earth came to be from nothing.[19]

The visible created order of heaven and earth gives way to three invisible regions of the universe – Paradise, Sheol and Gehenna – situated outside the ordinary spatial and temporal order. Ephrem's visions of these cosmic regions (Paradise, Sheol and Gehenna) are "…strongly informed by his reading of Scripture... nuanced by his Mesopotamian context … closely related to the human phenomenological experience of the cosmos".[20] Each region is directly related, morally as well as spiritually, to the spatial and cosmic order within which the history of divine-human interaction unveils.

To sum up, Ephrem's spiritual vision of the cosmology is very evident in the *Commentary on Genesis*[21] and

> …the structure of the cosmos is further elucidated in Ephrem's poetic theological reflection, we find the same basic cosmic order, outlined above as consisting of Heaven, Earth, and the Abyss of Waters, further expanded to accommodate Ephrem's moral and spiritual vision of the creation, fall, and redemption of humanity.[22]

2. Vegetative World and Animal World

Ephrem, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, states that *the earth gave birth to vegetation*.

> For it says, 'The trees were not in existence and the vegetation had not yet sprouted, seeing that the Lord had not caused rain to fall on the earth. A fountain went up from the

[19] Commentary on Genesis I:14. Cf. Commentary on Genesis I:15.
[20] BUCHAN, Blessed 35.
[21] Cf. KREMER, St. Ephrem"s Commentary 227.
[22] BUCHAN, Blessed 35.

> earth to irrigate the surface of the earth' (Gen. 2:5-6). Since **everything was and is born through the interaction of water and earth**, Scripture took care to indicate that trees and vegetation were not created at the same time as the earth, seeing that rain had not yet fallen. But after the great fountain of the great primordial deep had gone up and irrigated the entire surface of the earth, then, once the waters had been gathered together on the third day, the earth gave birth to all sorts of vegetation on the very same day.[23]

However, his view about the creation of the vegetative world is quite different from the biblical narrative. His diverse view states that the fountain (water) went up from the earth and irrigated the surface of the earth, the earth then produced vegetation with the interaction of water.

> So 'the fountain went up from the earth', as Scripture says 'and it irrigated the surface of the entire earth'. The earth then produced trees, vegetation and plants.[24]

This *difference in perspective* apart from the Scripture, is clarified by himself. He says that it was *His Will* that earth should bring forth vegetation through the agency of water.

> It was not the case that God was unable to generate everything from the earth in any other way, but, because it was **His will** that the **earth should give birth through the agency of water**, He provided an initial beginning for this process, corresponding to the way in which it would be carried on until the end.[25]

And this process, i.e. vegetation through the interaction of earth and water "would be carried on until the end".[26] Therefore, in his view, "…it was His will that the earth should give birth [to vegetation] through the agency of water".[27] He also says that the

[23] Commentary on Genesis II:3. (*emphasis mine*)
[24] Commentary on Genesis II:3.
[25] Commentary on Genesis II:3. (*emphasis mine*)
[26] Commentary on Genesis II:3
[27] Commentary on Genesis II:3.

sun and moon (their light) have had their contribution to give fruits to the vegetation.

> Just as the sun, which rules the day by the fact that it gives light to the earth (Gen.1:17), actually causes the fruits of the earth to ripen, so too does the moon, which rules the night and tempers the strength of the night by its brightness, also brings forth, according to its first nature, fruits and vegetation.[28]

Thus, through **light and water the earth brought forth everything**. While God is able to bring forth everything from the earth without these, it was **His will** to show that there was nothing created on earth that was not created for the purpose of [Adam/humanity] mankind or for his service.[29]

In the above cited two passages (Commentary on Genesis I:10 and II:3), the very purpose of God *to bring vegetation from the earth* is because of *His will*. Ephrem says that there was nothing created on earth that was not created for the purpose of Adam/(humanity) or for their service(I:10) and the earth should give birth through the agency of water (II:3). So, *His* (Divine) *Will* brought forth the vegetation through the agency of earth, water and light (sun and moon), says Ephrem.

God *fashioned* wild animals and birds *by combining of earth and water*. (However, he also says that animals are *from of the earth* and *birds out of water*).

> … And God said, "Let the **earth bring forth living creatures** according to their kinds: cattle and reptiles and beasts" (Gen. 1:24).[30]
>
> 'The Lord fashioned **out of the earth all the wild animals**, and the birds of the sky; and He brought them to Adam to see what he would call them' (Gen. 2:19).[31]

[28] Commentary on Genesis I:9.
[29] Commentary on Genesis I:10. (*emphasis mine*)
[30] Commentary on Genesis I:27. (*emphasis mine*)
[31] Commentary on Genesis II:9. (*emphasis mine*)

> They were not actually "fashioned", **for the earth produced the animals and the water the birds** (Gen. 1:20). By saying "fashioned" Scripture wishes to indicate that all animals, reptiles, cattle and birds came into being as a result of the **combining of earth and water**.[32]
>
> *Fish are both conceived and born in the sea*.[33]
> *At creation the Spirit hovered over the waters;*
> *they conceived gave birth to reptiles, fish and birds*
> (Gen. 1:2).[34]

Here also Ephrem's interpretations have a slight deviance from the Scriptural narration and he gives emphasis to the combination of *earth and water* for the creation of the animal world.

Regardless of *brought forth* (vegetative world) and *fashioned* (animal world), in Ephrem's analysis, *His* (Divine) *Will* ultimately resulted in the creation of vegetative world and animal world with the *combination of both earth and water*. Furthermore, Ephrem's exegesis highlights that earth is a *created co-creator*.

3. Adam

Having spoken about what had been omitted and left untold on the first day, Scripture reverts to the description of Adam's fashioning as follows: "And Adam was not there to work on the earth" (Gen. 2:5). Indeed he was not in existence during all the days prior to the sixth, because it was on the sixth day that he was created (Gen. 1:26-27, 31).[35]

Ephrem depicts pre-existential days before the creation of Adam.[36] It was on the sixth day God *fashioned* Adam. This implies that there was a *living* for the *vegetative world* and *animal world* prior to the human existence, i.e. creation were *living* before the entry of Adam to the creative sphere – "...creatures

[32] Commentary on Genesis II:9. (*emphasis mine*)
[33] Hymns on Faith 20:5.
[34] Hymns on Epiphany 8:15.
[35] Commentary on Genesis II:4.
[36] Commentary on Genesis I:3.

were before Adam…",[37] and "… 'Adam was not there to work on the earth'. Indeed he was not in existence during all the days prior to the sixth…"[38] On the sixth day, God fashioned Adam out of the dust (earth).

> And God said, "Let us make man in our image" (Gen. 1:26).[39]…He [God] breathed the breath of life into his [Adam's] nostrils, and Adam became a living being.[40]

According to Ephrem, Adam is an image of God, made/formed in divine love, mercy and glory, and having authority over other created beings.[41] In *Hymns on Faith*, says Ephrem, "… *from the very beginning God opened up the treasury of His Mercy when He formed Adam*".[42]

> *That Adam was the cause [of creation] is older*
> *than the creatures that were established for him.*
> *For the whole time the Creator was creating*
> *His regard was for Adam*.[43]

Here, Ephrem's exegesis depicts God's (exclusive) *love/regard* for Adam and this theme which promotes God's (exclusive) *love/regard* for Adam is well-known in a number of Ephrem's writings.[44] On the other side, that this (exclusive) *love/regard* is not to be taken as granted for Adam"s supremacy over other creations, can be also seen in Ephrem's writings.

3.1. Adam: Made/Fashioned out of the Dust/Earth

So on the sixth day "the Lord fashioned dust from the ground into Adam, and He breathed the breath of life into his nostrils, and Adam became a living being" Gen. 2:5).[45]

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[37] Hymns on Nisibis 38:10.
[38] Commentary on Genesis II:4
[39] Commentary on Genesis I:29.
[40] Commentary on Genesis II:4 (Gen. 2:7).
[41] For details, see KRONHOLM, Motifs from Genesis 45-66.
[42] Hymns on Faith 67:19.
[43] Hymns on Nisibis 38:9.
[44] See KRONHOLM, Motifs from Genesis 57-81.
[45] Commentary on Genesis II:4.

God has *fashioned* the first Adam from *the dust of earth*.[46] There is a resemblance of the word Adam to *earth,* linking the creation of man out of the dust.[47] Therefore, the very name *Adam*, which was given to man, designated as the *one who is taken out of the earth*. Ephrem frequently uses the word *dust* to describe the material out of which Adam is created. Hence, the name *Adam* is very meaningful and dynamic as it is closely associated with the earth. In fact, *Adam was made out of existing material* (dust/earth), while *earth was created from nothing*.[48]

The creation of Adam represented by all earthly materials leads to Ephrem's very idea of Adam as a "true microcosm".[49]

The Salt that seasoned itself
to prevent losing its savor (Matt. 5:13)
had been scattered all over the world
by the hand of the Creator.
Just as His hand took from every quarter
and created Adam,
so has he now been scattered
in every quarter.
The hand now gathers what had been scattered,
and scatters what had been gathered,
for progression is from the universe to Adam,
and then from him to the universe.[50]

In Adam all earthly materials are represented, and all outfits of Adam are *fashioned* by God, *the hand of the Creator took from every quarter and created*, says Ephrem.[51] So, in Ephrem's perspective Adam truly represents *the whole earth*.

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[46] Cf. Hymns on Paradise 6:24; 13:3. Hymns on Nativity 17:15. Commentary on Diatessaron II:2. Hymns on Nisibis 41:14; 43:19; 69:1.
[47] Cf. Hymns on Faith 3:8; 60:11.
[48] Commentary on Genesis I:2.
[49] KRONHOLM, Motifs from Genesis 53.
[50] Hymns on Paradise 6:21.
[51] "In the interpretation of some church fathers, the dispersion of humanity over the earth was also a dispersion of personality, *ADAM* becoming *Anatole*, *Dysis*, *Arktos* and *Mesembria*, i.e. East, West, North and South". MIHOC, Aspects of the Biblical Theology 96.

God's curse on Adam due to the transgression of *Divine Commandment* follows, "… Since you originate from dust and you forgot yourself, you shall return to your dust".[52] The curse depicted in the Scripture follows the order – the serpent, then Eve and lastly Adam, and Ephrem too follows this same order in his commentary. However, it is quite noticeable that God's curse *you shall return to your dust* was only to Adam, even though the curse was pronounced to Eve after serpent's turn. This further underlines that *Adam was made out of the dust* and Eve became a part of the earth via Adam (Eve was made out of Adam's rib[53]). This further reveals that, Adam is made out of the dust, and Eve and the humanity (including second Adam/Christ) is created out of Adam and in turn out of the dust.

Yet Grace [Christ] clothed itself [Himself]
in his likeness [of Adam/(humanity)]
in order to bring him [Adam/(humanity) to the likeness of itself [Himself].[54]

From **the thirsty earth He [Christ] sprouted**.[55]

In *Hymns on Nativity*, Ephrem clarifies this by comparing the birth of Adam and Christ (second Adam).

The virgin earth gave birth to Adam, head of the earth;
the Virgin today gave birth to [second Adam], head of heavens.[56]

Adam, Eve and humanity (including second Adam) were made out of the dust (earth). The *earth* gives birth to both Adams – Adam and Second Adam (Christ) – again shows Ephrem's exegesis which highlights the importance given to *earth* and humanity *taken out of dust*. *Adam was taken directly out of the dust*, *while humanity including Second Adam out of the dust via Adam*. Therefore, in Ephrem's *Creation Theology*, the creation of

[52] Commentary on Genesis II:31.
[53] Cf. Commentary on Genesis II:12.
[54] Hymns on Paradise 11:6. (*emphasis mine*)
[55] Hymns on Nativity 26:6. (*emphasis mine*)
[56] Hymns on Nativity 1:16.

Adam *out of the dust* (earth) has acquired a unique significance. To sum up, humanity is closely linked with the dust (earth).

3.2. Adam: The Representative of the Whole Humanity

Adam, who is formed out of the dust, is not only the first man, but also *the representative of whole humanity*.[57] According to Ephrem, Adam's status is the material source of all human persons, irrespective of male and female. In *Hymns on Nisibis*, Ephrem explicates Adam's status as, "... that fountain from whence flowed all races of men".[58] Death identifies Adam as "... him in whom are buried all the dead; even as when I received him, in him were hidden all the living".[59] Eve has Adam as *father and mother*, states Ephrem.[60]

According to Ephrem, Adam was both one and two, on one side he was Adam and on the other he was created as male and female, therefore two.

> … God then took her and brought her to Adam who has both one and two: he was one because he was Adam, he was two because he was created male and female.[61]

Ephrem himself clarified this, by saying that, Eve was in the body of Adam although she was not in his mind. Moreover, she was taken out of the rib of Adam implies that Eve was inside him. Therefore, she had a soul and spirit with him before her birth and because of that God fashioned Eve from the rib of Adam.

> Then [Moses] said, male and female He created them (Gen. 1:27), to make known that Eve was inside Adam, in the rib

[57] Adam represents the whole humanity. "The freedom with which, in Semitic thought, the individual can merge into the collective, and the collective into the individual, is familiar to all students of the Old Testament. This way of thinking is very much present in Ephrem's writings, above all when he is talking of Adam: 'Adam' in Ephrem may refer to the individual in the Genesis narrative or to the human race in general, or indeed to both simultaneously. Adam is Everyman [sic]". BROCK, The Luminous Eye 30f.

[58] Hymns on Nisibis 35:9.

[59] Hymns on Nisibis 36:17.

[60] Cf. Commentary on Diatessaron II:3.

[61] Commentary on Genesis II:12.

> that was drawn out from him. Although she was not in his mind, she was in his body, and she was not only in his body with him, but she was also in soul and spirit with him, for God added nothing to that rib that He took out except the structure and the adornment. If everything that was suitable for Eve, who came to be from the rib, was complete in and from that rib, it is rightly said that male and female He created them.[62]

He opines that in Adam, God didn't make two males nor two females and this is to teach that *the one* (Eve) is bound to *the other* (Adam), and this again proves that Adam was created as male and female.

> *He placed Eve on the [one] scale, and Adam on the other:*
> *He did not form two [male beings], nor did He make two [female beings]*
> *in order to teach that the one is bound to other.*[63]

To sum up, Ephrem blends two Creation accounts (Gen. 1:27 and 2:22), i.e. "male and female He created them"[64] and "[Eve] who came to be from the rib [of Adam]".[65] Therefore, "Adam is not only Adam the protoplast, but he is also Adam the model and progenitor of the entire human race".[66] Moreover, "He [Ephrem] claims that Eve had somehow a full physical and spiritual existence in Adam's rib before its separation from his body, although Adam was not conscious of the fact".[67] Therefore, Adam was created as an *androgynous creature*, both male and female, until woman was taken out from his body. So Adam was *both one and two*, the *one* is the primordial man and the *two* is both male and female. Hence, Adam's status is a symbol of status of humanity comprising of both male and female.

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[62] Commentary on Genesis I:29.
[63] Hymns against Heresies 8:5.
[64] Commentary on Genesis I:29. (Gen. 1:27).
[65] Commentary on Genesis I:29.(Gen. 2:22).
[66] Mathews Jr., What a manner of Man? 121.
[67] KOFSKY-RUZER, Justice 319.

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____ Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und contra Julianum (Syriac text and German translation in CSCO 174/175; SS 78/ 79; Louvain 1957).

____ Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania) (Syriac text and German translation in CSCO 186/187; SS 82/ 83; Louvain 1959).

____ Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Carmina Nisibena I (Syriac text and German translation in CSCO 218/219; SS 92/93; Louvain 1961).

____ Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Carmina Nisibena II (Syriac text and German translation in CSCO 240/241; SS 102/103; Louvain 1963).

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Kofsky, Aryeh and Ruzer, Serge. Justice, Free Will, and Divine Mercy in Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis 2-3. LM 113 (2000). pp. 315-332. [*KOFSKY-RUZER, Justice*]

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Reimagining Moab and Ammon: Genesis 19:30-38 through Persian Imperialism

Jobymon Scaria[1]

Introduction

Genesis 19:30-38 depicts the Moabites and Ammonites as the offspring of an incestuous union of Lot and his daughters.[2] Scholars analyses this narrative from various perspectives. Traditional source criticism understood it as a Jahvistic document composed in 10th century BC.[3] Accordingly, it is seen as a political wit to belittle Israel's traditional enemies in the early

[1] Rev. Fr. Jobymon Skaria is a PhD candidate in the school of Theology, Philosophy and Music at Dublin City University, Ireland.

[2] Wayne T. Pitard, "Ammon," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, eds. Bruce M. Metzger, Michael David Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 23, Randall C. Bailey, "They're Nothing But Incestuous Bastards: The Polemical Use of Sex and Sexuality in Hebrew Canon Narratives," in *Reading from this Place: Social location and biblical interpretation in the United States*, eds., Fernando F. Segovia, Mary Ann Tolbert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 131.

[3] Craig W. Tyson, *The Ammonites: Elites, Empires, and Sociopolitical Change (1000-500 BC)* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 142, Brian Neil Peterson, *What Was the Sin of Sodom: Homosexuality, Inhospitality, or Something Else? Reading Genesis 19 as Torah* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2016), 65.

monarchic period.[4] Nahum Sarna, Walter Brueggemann and Claus Westermann, however, push back against the foundations of such ethnocentric assumptions.[5] Sarna, a representative of these dissenting voices, clarifies that the proposals of the source critics that Genesis 19:30-38 humiliates Israel's enemies are hard to digest:

> If this were the motivation, then surely a scandalous origin for Esau-Edom, the inveterate and implacable national enemy, would also have been invented, rather than have him be the son of Isaac and Rebekah. Nothing in our story suggests hostility. The daughters do not act out of lust. Lot, who is entirely unaware of what is happening, receives no blame. The later hostility to Moab and Ammon finds expression in the law prohibiting Israelite intermarriage with them, but the proscription in Deuteronomy 23:4f is conditioned on Israel's wilderness experience and is not based on the incestuous origin of these peoples.[6]

Van Seters guides the scholarly discussion of Genesis 19:30-38 to another perspective. He interprets it as a post-exilic composition. He suggests that this narrative is an origin myth of

[4] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Chico: Scholars, 1981), 262, N. K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 151, Gerhard Von Rad, *Genesis. A Commentary*, trans., J.H. Marks (London: SCM Press, 1963), 218–219, Song-Mi Suzie Park, "Israel in Its Neighbouring Context," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Ancient Israel*, ed. Susan Niditch, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), E. L. Greenstein, "Genealogy as a Code in Genesis," in *Approaches to Teaching the Hebrew Bible as Literature in Translation*, ed. B. N. Oslen and Y. Feldman (New York: Modern Language Association, 1989), 104.

[5] Nahum Sarna, *Genesis: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 139, Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1982), 176, Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (London: SPCK, 1986), 312 for more information.

[6] Sarna, *Genesis: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS*, 139.

Israel's neighbouring tribes.[7] Similarly, Gershon Hepner illustrates this story through a post-exilic optic. He concludes that this narrative opposes the restoration of the Davidic dynasty since Genesis 19:30-38 highlights that the ancestors of David conceived as a result of the violation of the Holiness Code.[8] Joseph Blenkinsopp describes this narrative as a post-exilic interpolation to disqualify the Ammonites and Moabites from the Israelite Assembly.[9] Randall C. Bailey departs from the above recommendations. He contends that this story is a Deuteronomistic composition.[10] The Deuteronomistic school wanted to label Moab and Ammon as "incestuous bastards."[11] His proposal is hard to digest. As Westermann clarifies, the Deuteronomistic school has a positive outlook on the land of Moab and Ammon.[12] Deuteronomy 2:9 and 2:19, for instance, stipulates that the Moabites and Ammonites were to be treated with respect.[13] Similarly, Deuteronomy announces that God has given the land to the descendants of Lot in a way similar to His gift of Canaan to Israel.[14] Thus, Bailey's proposal seems to challenge the spirit of the Deuteronomistic school. So too, this school, as will be seen, do not link its ban against Moab and Ammon to Genesis 19:30-38.

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[7] John Van Seters, Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 202-204.

[8] Gershon Hepner, Legal Friction: Law, Narrative, and Identity Politics in Biblical Israel (New York: Peter Lang, 2010). 879.

[9] Joseph Blenkinsopp, Judaism, the First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009), 41.

[10] Randall C. Bailey, "They're Nothing but Incestuous Bastards: The Polemical Use of Sex and Sexuality in Hebrew Canon Narratives," in Reading from this Place: Social location and biblical interpretation in the United States, eds. Fernando F. Segovia, Mary Ann Tolbert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 129-130.

[11] Ibid., 131.

[12] Westermann, Genesis 12-36, 315.

[13] Peter C. Craigie, The Book of Deuteronomy (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1976), 110.

[14] J. Gordon McConville & Stephen N. Williams (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), 108, Thomas W. Mann, The Book of the Former Prophets (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2012), 96.

Thus, there exist some propositions to clarify the composition and purpose of Genesis 19:30-38. However, a close survey of the references to Moab and Ammon in the Hebrew Scriptures show that the historical conflicts among the trio were the main reason for the reservations against them. Similarly, Genesis 19:30-38 does not play a significant role in developing the Jewish attitude to the Moabites and Ammonites. The Hebrew canon does not mention this narrative apart from Genesis 19:30-28. It does not associate Genesis 19:30-38 with any of the reservations against the Moab or Ammon.[15] Even Ezra and Nehemiah show no awareness of this narrative. The first reference to this infamous account, as will be seen, occurs in the book of Jubilees. Such a context demands to analyse the composition and purpose of Genesis 19:30-38 afresh based on the lack of references to Moab and Ammon in the First Testament.

1. Reference to Genesis 19:30-38 in the Hebrew Scriptures

Moab and Ammon were two small countries east of the River Jordan.[16] They were racially homogenous people, organised and governed by a form of tribal kingship.[17] Their origins and social and religious developments were similar to Israel in many respects.[18] The Hebrew Scriptures recount many contacts between Israel, Moab and Ammon. They denied Jews a passage through the southern Transjordan when the Jews returned from Egypt (Numbers 22-24 // Deut.2:9-37). Balak, the King of Moab, sent Balam to curse Israel (Num. 22-24). Later, during the time of Judges, Eglon –the King of Moab –oppressed Israel (Jdg. 3:12-30). The mutual relations deteriorated further during Saul's reign

[15] Harlan J. Wechsler, "Beyond Particularity and Universality: Reflections on Shadal's Commentary to Genesis 18-19," in *Universalism and Particularism at Sodom and Gomorrah: Essays in Memory of Ron Pirson*, ed. Diana Lipton (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 199.

[16] John D. W. Watts, The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 169.

[17] John Rogerson, Philip Davies, The Old Testament World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77.

[18] Ibid.

(1 Sam. 14:47). Moab and Ammon became vassal states under the rule of King David (2 Sam. 8:2). Moab rebelled against Israel during Jehoshaphat's rule (2 Kings 3:4-27). Moab supported Babylon and attacked Judah after Jehoiakim's revolt (2 Kings 24:2). The Ammonites and Moabites attacked Judah during the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 20). The Ammonites cheered at the destruction of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 25:3-6).

Deuteronomy, in turn, groups the Moabites and Ammonites with those having deformed male genitalia (23:1) and the bastards (23:2). It forbids them from the Assembly of Yahweh until the tenth generation (Deut. 23:3).[19] We do not know what this prohibition means precisely! It could be a ban on conversion. Alternatively, it could be a veto against entering the Temple of the Israelites or enrolment in the military.[20] Donald P. Moffat, Suk Yee Lee and Shaye J. D. Cohen, however, clarify that Deuteronomy 23 has nothing to do with marriage. They suggest that Deuteronomy 23 regulates who can be a member of the assembly.[21] Whatever be the instance, it is clear that this command restricts Israel's contacts with Moab and Ammon because of their hostilities with Israel.[22] However, such warrants do not include the incest story narrated in Genesis 19:30-38.[23]

[19] Erich S. Gruen, *The Construct of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Gmbh, 2016), 96.

[20] Erich S. Gruen, Rethinking the Other in Antiquity (Princeston: Princeston University Press, 2011), 280, Larry R. Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide for New Testament Students* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2002), 171, Bradford A. Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance: A Canonical Reading of the Esau and Edom Traditions* (New York: T & T Clarke, 2011), 169.

[21] Donald P. Moffat, *Ezra's Social Drama: Identity Formation, Marriage and Social Conflict in Ezra 9 and 10* (New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 76, Suk Yee Lee, *An Intertextual Analysis of Zechariah 9-10: The Earlier Restoration Expectations of Second Zechariah* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 81, Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 250.

[22] Erich S. Gruen, Rethinking the Other in Antiquity, 280.

[23] Arie Versluis, *The Command to Exterminate the Canaanites: Deuteronomy 7* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 164, Gary Edward Schnittjer, *The Torah Story: An Apprenticeship on the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 508, Peter C.

Some scholars claim that the incest narrative is one of the underlying reasons for the misgivings against Moab and Ammon.[24] Calum M. Carmichael, for instance, argues that the sequence of Deuteronomy 23:3 that prohibits Eunuchs, bastards and then the Ammonites and Moabites from membership in the community of Yahweh derives from Genesis 19:30-38.[25] Such a claim is unconvincing since Deuteronomy does not mention Genesis 19:30-38.[26] I think the author of Deuteronomy 23 would have mentioned Genesis 19:30-38 if had known this narrative because he mentions two motives for excluding Moabites and Ammonites from the Assembly of Yahweh.[27] Carmichael does not describe why Deuteronomy excluded Genesis 19:30-38 from its list.[28] The author of Deuteronomy does not exhibit awareness of this story.[29] In fact, no other canonical reference to Moab and Ammon connect them to this narrative.[30]

Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Compnay, 1976), 297.

[24] Kenneth A. Mathews, "God's People and the Also Peoples," in *The Post-Racial Church: A Biblical Framework for Multiethnic Reconciliation*, eds. Kenneth A. Mathews, M. Sydney Park (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2011), 108, Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdamans Publishing Company, 1976), 297, Weston W. Fields, *Sodom and Gomorrah: History and Motif in Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 129.

[25] Calum M. Carmichael, *The Laws of Deuteronomy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 173-174.

[26] Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible: A New Interpretation of Their Stories (New York: Schocken Books*, 2002), 419, Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 184.

[27] Johanna Stiebert, *Fathers and Daughters in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 136, Mark A. Awabdy, *Immigrants and Innovative Law: Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the* גר (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 148.

[28] Bernard M. Levinson, "*The Right Chorale*": *Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Tubingen: Mohn Siebeck, 2008), 249.

[29] A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1979), 122.

[30] Randall C. Bailey, "They're Nothing but Incestuous Bastards: The Polemical Use of Sex and Sexuality in Hebrew Canon Narratives," in *Reading from this Place: Social location and biblical interpretation in the United States*, eds. Fernando F. Segovia, Mary Ann Tolbert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 129.

The allegations against Moab and Ammon documented by the pre-exilic prophets like Amos 1:13, Isaiah 15, 16 and Jeremiah 48 also do not link Moab and Ammon with Genesis 19:30-38. So too, Prophet Zephaniah who lived during the reign of Josiah (640-609 BCE) criticise Moab in political terms (Zephaniah 2:9-11).[31] The prophet accuses them of insulting and mocking the Jews in stereotypical language. Zephaniah expresses the typical Jewish discontent to Moab and Ammon in political terms.[32] However, such representations do not include Genesis 19:30-38. Similarly, Ezra and Nehemiah who attempted to expel Moabite and Ammonite women from Achaemenid Yehud did not discredit them based on their incestuous origin. This narrative would have served Ezra and Nehemiah more than anything else to promote their policies against Moab and Ammon.

1. 1. Moab and Ammon in Second Temple Period

Moab and Ammon were Persian provinces in the Second Temple Period.[33] As noted, Israel, Ammon and Moab were traditional enemies. However, there is another aspect to this story. Ammon was a refuge for some Jews when Nebuchadnezzar had attacked Israel (Jeremiah 40:11).[34] 1 Samuel 22:3-4 indicates that the King of Moab protected David's parents. Deuteronomy 2:9 narrates how Yahweh protected Moabites from Jewish aggression. Hence, there are indications of hostilities as well as

[31] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Studying Prophetic Texts against their Original Backgrounds: Pre-Ordained Scripts and Alternative Horizons of Research," in *Prophets and Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, ed. Stephen Breck Reid (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 127.

[32] Daniel Hojoon Ryou, *Zephaniah's Oracles Against the Nations: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Zephaniah 2:1-3:8* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 316.

[33] Louis C. Jonker, Defining All-Israel in Chronicles: Multi-levelled Identity Negotiation in Late Persian-Period Yehud (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016)190, Bruce K. Waltke, An Old Testament Theology: An Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 773.

[34] Philip R. Davies, John William Rogerson, The Old Testament World (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 45-46.

peaceful co-existence between the trio.[35] Ezra and Nehemiah discarded the moments of co-operation and initiated a program to expel the Moabite and Ammonite women from Yehud.[36] Ezra, for instance, asked the Jews to divorce their Moabite and Ammonite partners based on his interpretations of Deut. 23:3-6 and Deut. 7:1-4. His command seems to be suspicious since the Hebrew Scripture has many instances of marriages outside the tribe.[37] Esau, for instance, had two Hittite wives (Gen. 26:34). Joseph had married an Egyptian woman (Gen. 41:45). Moses had a Midianite (Exod. 2:21) as well as a Cushite wife (Num. 12:1). David had Calebite and Aramean (II Sam. 3:3) wives. Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, a Moabite, Ammonite, an Edomite, a Sidonian and a Hittite (1 Kings 11:1; 14:21).[38] These instances clarify that there were no legal warrants against marrying a Moabite woman at the time of Solomon. Therefore, Ezra's initiative extends far beyond earlier traditions. Furthermore, such instruction seems to be a misinterpretation of the Deuteronomic laws. They do not call for the dissolution of mixed marriages.[39] Further, the Deuteronomic stipulations do not forbid marriage with foreigners.[40] The prohibition in Deuteronomy was limited to

[35] Lawrence M. Wills, Not God's People: Insiders and Outsiders in the Biblical World (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 36.
[36] Erich S. Gruen, Rethinking the Other in Antiquity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 281.
[37] John H. Choi, Traditions at Odds: The Reception of the Pentateuch in Biblical and Second Temple Period Literature (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 209.
[38] Mark A. Throntveit, Ezra-Nehemiah (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 56.
[39] John H. Choi, Traditions at Odds: The Reception of the Pentateuch in Biblical and Second Temple Period Literature (New York: T & T Clarke 2010), 208, J. Blenkinsopp, Ezra-Nehemiah (London: SCM Press, 1988), 176, Victor P. Hamilton, Handbook on the Historical Books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008)518, H. G. M. Williamson, Ezra, Nehemiah (Waco: Word, 1985), 130-132, L. Batten, Ezra and Nehmiah (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 1980), 331.
[40] Victor P. Hamilton, Handbook on the Historical Books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 518, Peter H. W. Lau, Identity and Ethics in the Book of Ruth: A Social Identity Approach (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 180.

seven Canaanite tribes (Exod 34:11-16; Deut 7:1-4). Ezra re-interpreted them to include Moab and Ammon.[41]

Nehemiah who replaced Ezra as the Persian Governor of Yehud also followed Ezra's policy. He asked Jews to divorce their Moabite and Ammonite partners. He based his arguments on the example of King Solomon.[42] Unlike Ezra, Nehemiah chooses an example from the political leadership to advance his cause.[43] Nehemiah's example is unfounded since Rehoboam, Solomon's son with the Moabite wife, became a King of Israel (1 Kings 14:21).[44] Similarly, Nehemiah overlooks the fact that Ruth, the great-grandmother of David and Solomon was a Moabite woman. Zelek, the Ammonite is mentioned as a man of honour in David's court (2 Sam 23:37).[45] Furthermore, some scholars challenge Nehemiah's motivation. Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley, for example, notes that Nehemiah used Solomon's example to justify his attempts to eliminate his political rivals.[46] Whatever be the intention, it is essential to note that Ezra and Nehemiah do not mention the incestuous origin of Moab and Ammon. Genesis 19:30-38 would have helped them to advance their cause more than Deuteronomy 23 and Solomon's example. Why did Ezra and Nehemiah disregard such a vital information? Perhaps, this narrative emerged after Ezra and Nehemiah. We decipher a clue to this claim from the book of Jubilees, an extra-biblical work

[41] Steven L. McKenzie, All God's Children: A Biblical Critique of Racism (Louisville: Westinster John Knox Press, 1977), 57, Robert R. Duke, The Social Location of the Visions of Amram (4Q543-547) (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 53.

[42] Sean Burt, The Courtier and the Governor: Transformations of Genre in the Nehemiah Memoir (Gottingen: Hubert & Co, 2014), 159, Raymond B. Dillard, Tremper Longman, An Introduction to the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 172.

[43] Jon D. Levenson, "Between Ezra and Isaiah: Exclusion, Transformation and Inclusion of the "Foreigner" in Post-Exilic Biblical Theology," in Ethnicity and the Bible, ed. Mark G. Brett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 127.

[44] Lawrence M. Wills, *Not God's People: Insiders and Outsiders in the Biblical World*, 36,

[45] Ibid.

[46] Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley, Empire, Power and Indigenous Elites: A Case Study of the Nehemiah Memoir (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 236.

composed in the second century BC.[47] It reports that Lot and his daughters:

> … sinned against the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam until his time; for the man lay with his daughters. Behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation (Jubilees 16:8-9).[48]

The book of Jubilees departs from the Biblical traditions reported until Nehemiah. It connects prohibitions against Moab and Ammon with the incest narrative in Genesis 19:30-38. It depicts an alternate version of Genesis 19:30-38. Where did the author of Jubilees get the document to connect Moab and Ammon with the incest narrative? As noted, there is no reference to the union between Lot and his daughters until the marriage reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. It may be possible that the traditions behind Genesis 19:30-38 and Jubilees 16:8-9 emerged in the period between the marriage reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah and the composition of Jubilees. The authors (composers/final editors) of Genesis and Jubilees borrowed those traditions to communicate their message. If that is the case, the emerging tendency to read the Abraham narrative as a product of Achaemenid Yehud might offer clues to understand Genesis 19:30-38.[49] Such a proposal

[47] Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1.

[48] Jubilees 16 - Pseudepigrapha, Apocrypha And Sacred Writings, http://www.pseudepigrapha.com/jubilees/16.htm (accessed November 08, 2017).

[49] K. Hoglund, Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1992), N. Sternberg, Kinship and Marriage in Genesis: A Household Economics Perspective (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), Judith E. Mckinlay,"Sarah and Hagar: What Have I Do with Them?" in Her Masters Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse, eds. Caroline Vander Stichele, Todd C. Penner (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005) 171ff, E. Ben Zvi, "The Memory of Abraham in Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah," in Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Period: Social Memory and Imagination, eds. Diana V. Edelman, Ehud Ben Zvi (Oxford: Oxford

presupposes that this narrative informs more about the time of its final editing, the Persian Yehud, than some pre-exilic 'past,' narrated in the text.[50] This trend analyses the Abraham narrative through the political and social conflicts of Yehud.[51] It requires scholars to revisit Genesis 19:30-38 as a text emanating from the imperial contacts between the Persian Empire and its subjects.[52] It will suggest how colonial ideology, stigmatisation and negative portrayals and assumptions against Moab and Ammon informed and influenced the composition of Genesis 19:30-38.[53] Such a study might help the interested reader uncover the lost voices and causes which are distorted or submerged in this text.[54]

2. Persian Imperialism and the Ethnocentric Policies of Ezra and Nehemiah

As noted, Genesis 19:30-38 developed after the divorce policies of Ezra and Nehemiah. An analysis of the policies of Ezra and Nehemiah and their impact upon the members of the Second Temple Period will help us clarify the function of this narrative. Scholars have already recognised the Persian imperial mechanism submerged in the ethnocentric policies of Ezra and Nehemiah. Richard A. Horsley, for instance, suggests that the prohibition of intermarriage in Ezra and Nehemiah was part of Persian imperial tactic to keep the landed property under the control of the Babylonian returnees.[55] So too, Gale A. Yee links

University Press, 2013), 3-37, Francesca Stavrakopoulou, Land of Our Fathers: The Roles of Ancestor Veneration in Biblical Land Claims (New York: T & T Clarke, 2010), 29.

[50] Philip R. Davies, The Origins of Biblical Israel (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 4.

[51] William H. Stiebing Jr., Ancient Near Eastern History and Culture (London: Routledge, 2009), 255ff.

[52] R. S. Sugirtharajah, The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 251.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Richard A. Horsley, Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 24.

the intermarriage ban in Nehemiah with socioeconomic life.[56] Nehemiah might have feared that the Jews were in danger of losing their political existence and religious identity because of intermarriages with the Moabite and Ammonite women.[57] Such intermarriages alarmed Nehemiah against the possibility of foreign influence on Judah's internal affairs also.[58] Moreover, Nehemiah feared that the land could be transferred from the Jerusalem elite into outsiders through marriage with foreign women.[59] Furthermore, the practice of intermarriage with foreign women prevailed among the priestly class could lead to external influences on the affairs of the Jerusalem Temple.[60]

There could be a more serious dimension to the reservations against Moab and Ammon. Sanballat and Tobiah opposed the construction of the walls of Jerusalem. Sanballat was a native of Horonaim, a city of Moab and Tobiah was an Ammonite (Nehemiah 2:7).[61] Those ethnic backgrounds of the political rivals might have alarmed Nehemiah more than anything else (Nehemiah 4:7).[62] Thus, the political leadership of the Second Temple Yehud had reservations against Moab and Ammon. How did such prejudices influence the social and political life in Achaemenid Yehud might be worth following.

2. 1. Colonial Strategies against Moab and Ammon

As seen, Ezra and Nehemiah had some reservations about Moab and Ammon. It is possible that they might have projected Ammonites and Moabites as a colonial Other to Achaemenid

[56] Gale A. Yee, Poor Banished Children of Eve: Woman as Evil in the Hebrew Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 146.
[57] Denzil Chetty, Divorce Discourses: A Biblical Dilemma (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2007), 71.
[58] Gale A. Yee, Poor Banished Children of Eve: Woman as Evil in the Hebrew Bible, 146.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Craig W. Tyson, *The Ammonites: Elites, Empires, and Sociopolitical Change (1000-500 BCE)*, 113.
[62] Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley, Empire, Power and Indigenous Elites: A Case Study of the Nehemiah Memoir (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 236.

Yehud. Ingeborg Mongstad-Kvammen clarifies that an imperial power requires 'the Other' as someone to subjugate and as the negative contrasts to the colonial master.[63] Similarly, Wietske de Jong-Kumru, Shaun L. Gabbidon and Jane M. Jacobs contend that colonialism tends to breed a culture of portraying other cultures and peoples negatively.[64] Furthermore, Colonialism enlists people and cultures hierarchically in colonial world order according to colonial aspirations.[65] It perceives its victims as people who need to be saved from their shortcomings. It places the colonist at the centre of the colonised world and portrays other cultures negatively.[66] Such representations impact the public. Musa W. Dube clarifies how colonial ideologies control public understanding from her African perspective. The popular media like TV and movies, for instance, represent Africa by poverty, disease, war or wild animals while highlights North America and Britain with White House and Westminster's golden parliament.[67] Similarly, the Persian regime in Yehud vilified, demonised, trivialised, exoticised, mystified and represented Moabites and Ammonites as vicious and seductive.[68] Such representations

[63] Ingeborg Mongstad-Kvammen, Toward a Postcolonial Reading of the Epistle of James: James 2:1-13 in Its Roman Imperial Context (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 216.
[64] Wietske de Jong-Kumru, Postcolonial Feminist Theology (Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2013), 83, Shaun L. Gabbidon, Criminological Perspectives on Race and Crime (New York: Routledge, 2015), 179, Jane M. Jacobs, Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City (London: Routledge, 1996), 2.
[65] Wietske de Jong-Kumru, *Postcolonial Feminist Theology* (Berlin: Lit Verlag GmbH & Co., 2013), 83.
[66] Musa W. Dube, "Postcoloniality, Feminist Space, and Religion," in *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse*, eds., Kwok Pui-Lan, Laura E. Donaldson (London: Routledge, 2015), 104.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Igor Maver, "Post-Colonial Literatures in English ab origine ad futurum," in Critics and Writers Speak: Revisioning Post-colonial Studies, ed. Igor Maver (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 11, Marek Tesar, Te Whāriki in Aotearoa New Zealand: Witnessing and resisting neo-liberal and neo-colonial discourses in early childhood education, ed. Veronica Pacini-Ketchabaw, Africa Taylor (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 100, Tezenlo Thong, Progress and Its Impact on the Nagas: A Clash of Worldviews (London: Routledge, 2016), 156, Tan Chung, Across the Himalayan

impacted the lives and identities of the second temple community.[69] This phenomenon has many parallels in a modern colonial context as well. In a similar but Indonesian context, Abidin Kusno points out how a national culture of fear formed in the urban spaces of Postcolonial Indonesia. This postcolonial apprehension, Kusno explains, is not merely bewilderment against the state, but a sense of fear in regards to other groups with whom they live side-by-side.[70]

Thus, the imperial representation of Moab and Ammon as a colonial Other influenced socio-political aspects of Achaemenid Yehud.[71] Some scholars have already suggested how the Persian representation of foreign women from Moab and Ammon impacted social life in Yehud.[72] Kristin Moen Saxegaard notes that it split family bonds between husband and wife and father and children.[73] Likewise, it resulted in a culture of suspicion within and beyond the boundaries of Yehud.[74] Moreover, the economic and social prospects for a divorced foreign woman and her children must have been practically nil.[75] Hence, the policies of Ezra and Nehemiah disturbed the social life of Achaemenid Yehud.

As seen, it created an outsider in inter-Yehud and intra-Yehud relationships. It divided the class layers sharply and deeply within Yehudites. This policy of colonial othering strengthened

Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998), 85.

[69] Barbara Bush, Imperialism and Postcolonialism (London: Routledge, 2006), 155.

[70] Abidin Kusno, Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia (London: Routledge, 2014), 165.

[71] Michael David Coogan, The Oxford History of the Biblical World (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8.

[72] Jeremiah W. Cataldo, Biblical Terror: Why Law and Restoration in the Bible Depend Upon Fear (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017), 86.

[73] Kristin Moen Saxegaard, Character Complexity in the Book of Ruth (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 46.

[74] There might have been many innocent victims like Abimelech and Sarah, who were affected by the culture of suspicion.

[75] Ibid, It is true that Nehemiah, unlike Ezra, did not ask the Jews to divorce their Ashdodite women.

the hostility and intense opposition to an internal minority such as the Moabite and Ammonite wives.[76] The concerns of the less fortunate are significant to interpret some parts of the First Testament. Mary Douglas suggests that Leviticus and Numbers is a counter-text to the exclusivist policies of the Persian administration in Yehud.[77] Wes Howard-Brook claims that the Third Isaiah (Isaiah 56-66) is a call to come out of the ethnocentric policies of the Empire.[78] Likewise, the book of Ruth functions as an inclusive voice of the Post-exilic Yehud.[79] This paper, as will be clarified, proposes that Genesis 19:30-38 is a similar text. This narrative seems to be a counter-text to the imperialist policies of Ezra and Nehemiah. How this narrative challenges Ezra and Nehemiah is evident from the structure and language of Genesis 18-19.

3. The Structure of Genesis 19:30-38

Genesis 19:30-38 belongs to a more extensive literary unit encompassing Genesis 18:1-19:38.[80] This episode begins with the promise of Isaac's birth (Gen 18:1-16) and concludes with the story of the birth of the eponymous ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites (Gen 19:30-38).[81] The structural pattern of this narrative is an important clue to interpret it.[82] There are four

[76] Yoon Kyung Lee, "Postexilic Jewish Experience and Korean Multiculturalism," in Migration and Diaspora (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 12.
[77] Mary Douglas, "Responding to Ezra: The Priests and the Foreign Wives," BibInt 10/1 (2002): 1– 23.
[78] Wes Howard-Brook, "Come Out My People!": God's Call Out of Empire in the Bible and Beyond (New York: Orbis Books, 2010), 264.
[79] Caroline N. Mbonu & Ngozi N. Iheanacho, "Women & Intercultural Communication," in Intercultural Communication and Public Policy, ed. Iheanacho, Ngozi (Port Harcourt: M & J Grand Orbit Communications, 2016)177.
[80] J. A. Loader, A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish and Early Christian Traditions (Kampen: Peters Publishers, 1990), 15, Robert Ignatius Letellier, Day in Mamre, Night in Sodom: Abraham and Lot in Genesis 18 and 19 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), Timothy D. Finlay, The Birth Report Genre in the Hebrew Bible (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 199.
[81] Wenham, *Genesis 16-50* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1994), 42.
[82] Elizabeth Black, *Pragmatic Stylistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006), 36.

structural patterns in Biblical narratives, based on the repetition of its structural elements. They are a parallel pattern (A-A'), ring pattern (A-X-A'), chiastic pattern (A-B-B'-A') and concentric pattern (A-B-X-B'-A').[83] J. A. Loader has suggested that Genesis 19:30-38 has a concentric structure:[84]

A 18:1-16 Three men visit Abraham
B 18:17-33 Abraham's question about Sodom
C 19:1-26 God's wrath over Sodom
1-11 Two messengers visit Lot
12-22 Rescue from Sodom
23-26 Destruction of Sodom
B'19:27-29 Abraham Witnesses the destruction
A' 19:30-38 Lot and his daughters

A concentric structure has three basic functions. The central element is the most important feature in a concentric structure. It informs the reader about the communicative intent of the narrative. Its outer layers hold opposing ideas in tension with one another for the audience. The outer layers of the concentric structure may also serve to interrelate ideas more than permitted in a non-symmetrical structure.[85] As the concentric structure suggested above shows, Genesis 18:1-16 and Genesis 19:30-38 present opposing ideas in tension for the intended audience.[86] This paper agrees with scholars who acknowledge that Genesis 18:1-16 is an instance of a formal annunciation delivered to Abraham and Sarah that guarantees the end of Sarah's

[83] Simon Bar-Efrat, "Some Observations on the Analysis of Structure in Biblical Narrative," in *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in Old Testament Literary Criticism*, ed. Paul R. House (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 202.
[84] J. A. Loader, A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish and Early Christian Traditions, 15.
[85] Casey W. Davis, Oral Biblical Criticism: The Influence of the Principles of Orality on the Literary Structure of Paul's Epistle to the Philip [?] (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999),100.
[86] J. A. Loader, A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish and Early Christian Traditions, 44.

barrenness.[87] Genesis 19:30-38, on the other hand, narrates how Abraham's relatives acquire their offspring.[88] Some scholars, as clarified in the introduction of this paper, viewed this narrative as an attempt to condemn Moab and Ammon. Scholars like Robert S. Kawashima claim that the names of Moab and Ammon – "from the father" (mo- 'ab) and "son of my kin" (ben-'ammi) reminds of the incestuous act.[89] However, Genesis 19:30-38 does not condemn Lot and his daughters, even though the book of Genesis had already cursed Ham for his indiscretion in a similar situation (Genesis 9:20-27).[90] The text defends Lot and his daughters by noting their exceptional circumstances (19:31).[91] Lot was innocent and unaware. The daughters sought to keep the family lineage alive in the only way that seemed left to them.[92] Thus, Genesis 19:30-38 does not criticise their actions either.[93]

[87] Susan Ackerman, "The Blind, the Lame, and the Barren Shall not Come into the House," in *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature*, eds. Candida R. Moss and Jeremy Schipper (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 36, Kenneth A. Mathews, Genesis 11:27-50:26 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2005), 208, Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Day in Mamre, Night in Sodom: Abraham and Lot in Genesis 18 and 19* (Brill: Leiden, 1995), 33, George W. Coats, *Genesis, with an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 127, Jerome T. Walsh, *Style and Structure in Biblical Hebrew Narrative* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 65..

[88] J. A. Loader, *A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish and Early Christian Traditions*, 16.

[89] Robert S. Kawashima, "Gender and Sexuality," in Reading Genesis: Ten Methods, ed. Ronald Hendel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 90.

[90] Gordon Wenham, *Story as Torah: Reading the Old Testament Ethically* (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 2000), 95, George W. Coats, "Lot: A Foil in the Abraham Narrative," in *Understanding the Word*, eds. James T. Butler, Edgar W. Conrad, Ben C. Ollenburger (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 127.

[91] Hennie J. Marsman, *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 285, Alice Ogden Bellis, *Helpmates, Harlots, and Heroes: Women's Stories in the Hebrew Bible* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1994), 79.

[92] Erich S. Gruen, *The Construct of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*, 96, Mark G. Brett, *Genesis: Procreation and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 2000), 68-69.

[93] Ed Noort, "Abraham and the Nations," in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, eds., Martin Goodman, Geurt Hendrik van Kooten, George H. van Kooten (Leiden: Brill, 2010),

Similarly, Harlan J. Wechsler notes another possibility. The names of the eponymous ancestors of Moab and Ammon do not recommend Lot's incest. On the other hand, it highlights that Lot's daughters were proud of their children's heritage.[94] Likewise, Brueggemann contends that "no stigma is attached to the action of the mothers in this narrative."[95] He concludes that the story treats Lot and his daughters as members of the family of promise.[96] Benno Jacob clarifies further that Lot's daughters act not out of lust but of the desire to fulfil their womanly destiny and preserve their lineage.[97] Likewise, there would have been no Moab, Ruth, or David without the incest of Lot.[98] The text seems to designate Lot's daughters as a proud "royal ancestress" because of the connection between Genesis 19:30-38 and the Davidic lineage.[99] Such a reading offers imperatives for analysing the function of Genesis 19:30-38 in Achaemenid Yehud from a different point of view.

4. Communicative Intent of Genesis 19:30-38

As noted, Genesis 18:1-16 and 19:30-38 communicate the birth of the eponymous ancestors of the Jews, Moabites and Ammonites. Genesis 18:1-16 recounts the birth of Isaac through Abraham and Sarah under challenging physical conditions. Genesis 19:30-38, on the other hand, tells how the ancestors of the Davidic dynasty born out of Lot and his daughters in an extremely adverse social situation. In their present literary

15, Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible: A New Interpretation of Their Stories*, 202.

[94] Harlan J. Wechsler, "Beyond Particularity and Universality: Reflections on Shadal's Commentary to Genesis 18-19," 199.

[95] Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1982), 176.

[96] Ibid., 177.

[97] Benno Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Thora: Genesis* (Berlin: Schocken, 1934), 464. Quoted in Johanna Stiebert, Fathers and Daughters in the Hebrew Bible, 134.

[98] André Lacocque, *Ruth: A Continental Commentary*, trans., K. C. Hanson (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 119.

[99] Esther Marie Menn, *Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) in Ancient Jewish Exegesis: Studies in Literary Form and Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 100.

context, they aim neither to idolise the descendants of Abraham nor to denounce Lot's progeny. Some scholars have challenged this claim. James McKeown and David McLain Carr, for instance, had already compared Genesis 18:1-16 and 19:30-38. For them, these narratives contrast between the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites through the incestuous relationship (19:30-38) and Abraham's progeny through divine intervention.[100] However, Genesis 19:30-38, as explained above, does not criticise Lot and his daughters. It invites readers' attention to the adverse situations that might have compelled Lot's daughters to undertake desperate measures. Similarly, the Annunciation in 18:1-16 does not follow the birth narrative of Isaac.[101] Genesis narrates the birth of Isaac in 21:1-6 only. An interim episode in Genesis 20 narrates how and why Abraham exchanges Sarah to Abimelech for his safety. It challenges the legitimacy of Isaac.[102] Moreover, there are similar instances of the incestuous relationships in the Bible as well as in the literature from other parts of the world. Genesis 38 depicts the inception of Israel's royal lineage through the incest between Judah and Tamar. Adam and Eve, who is formed from Adam's body (Gen 2:21-23) stand at the beginning of the human race. Abraham and Sarah (Abraham's paternal half-sister (Gen 20:12)) are the ancestors of the Hebrews. Egyptian sibling gods Osiris and Isis, whose union produces Horus, is another example.[103] Therefore, a contrast

[100] James McKeown, *Genesis* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 208, David McLain Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 191.

[101] Esther Fuchs, *Sexual Politics in the Biblical Narrative: Reading the Hebrew Bible as a Woman* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 52.

[102] George Jochnowitz, for instance notes, "except for the denial in verse 4, which can be explained as an attempt by Abimelech to protech himself, the rest of Chapter 20 is clearly telling us that Abimelech had sexual relations with Sarah and was punished for it. Sarah then becomes pregnant" (George Jochnowitz, The Blessed Human Race: Essays on Reconsideration (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2007), 75.

[103] Esther Marie Menn, *Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) in Ancient Jewish Exegesis: Studies in Literary Form and Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63-64.

between Genesis 18:1-16 and Genesis 19:30-38 is not as simple as McKeown and Carr claim.

Genesis 18:1-16 and 19:30-38 function as two constituent parts of a concentric structure. These narratives, when reading as part of the concentric structure, do not stigmatise any of these ancestors because of their origin. They highlight that the Israelites, Moabites and Ammonites are distinct in their origin. However, they are connected through the family tree of Terah. Thus, Genesis 19:30-38 clarifies the Moabite and Ammonite "others" are Israel's brothers through Lot. Such a message had tremendous implications for the Second Temple Period. As noted, the Persian regime vilified Moab and Ammon. This imperial representation of Moab and Ammon had influenced the socio-political life of Achaemenid Yehud. It split many families. It created a culture of suspicion. Under such a situation, Genesis 19:30-38 might have attempted to subvert the concept of the Moabite and Ammonite Other circulated by the Persian imperialism.

Conclusion

The infamous account in Genesis 19:30-38 has long troubled scholars. This paper attempts to reread this narrative based on the change in the Jewish attitude to Moab and Ammon during the Persian administration. Such an analysis shows that this narrative might have emerged after the marriage reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. It might have attempted to reimagine the concept of the Moabite and Ammonite other proposed by the Persian imperial administration of the Achaemenid Yehud.

Jewish Antecedents of Christian Liturgy

Binoy Alexander Thattankunnel[1]

Introduction

Liturgy is the celebration of the mystery of salvation through signs and symbols. In the Christian sense, liturgy means "The public worship of the Church". The public worship of the Church is worship of God through actions, words and gestures that are instituted by Christ or by the Church. It is carefully noted that public work or exterior does not excluded the interior or sanctifying elements but that all the elements coalesce to form one, sole, concrete both as regards the minister and the recipient and the intrinsic power of sanctification of the act itself[2]. The items of public worship instituted by Christ are the Eucharistic sacrifice and the sacraments. Those items instituted by the Church are the sacramentals.

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[2] Ambrosius Verheul, Introduction to the Liturgy (London, 1968), 20.

In the Greek Septuagint (the Greek Version of the Old Testament), the word 'Leitourgeia' and the corresponding verb 'leitougein'[3] generally refer to priestly worship in the temple service, particularly the offering of sacrifices. The New Testament seldom uses the term, and when used it generally refers to Old Testament practice[4]. But the same meaning is found in the New Testament too (LK 1,23; Heb 9,21; 10,11). When Jesus Christ, the messiah and the High Priest (Heb7) offered Himself once for all, he abolishes the first-the bloodily Sacrifices – in order to establish the second – the bloodless sacrifice – in whom and by whom all the symbols of the old covenant were accomplished. It is clear in the central theme of the letter to the Hebrews, ie, Christ is "minister" (liturgist) in the sanctuary and the true tabernacle (8,2). Jesus has now obtained a more excellent 'ministry' (liturgy), and to that degree he is the mediator of a better covenant, which has been enacted through better promises (8,6). Other references that describe the ceremonial and sacrificial worship of the old covenant, can also be seen in New Testament, (Rom 9,4; Heb 9,1; LK 2,37; Acts 26,7; LK 1,75; Acts 24,14; Phil 3,3; Heb 9,14, Rev 7,15; 22,3 etc.)

Hence, the liturgy of the Christian Church is a religious service offered by the public to the Lord. It is not an individual activity, but a service of the community. It is not the private and subjective prayer of one or some individuals, but it is the prayer which is "together" and in common with the church. Liturgy, therefore, is a service of all for the One, the Lord. It is the unanimous prayer of the community, the organized cultic action of the church. Thus the church and liturgy are integral and interdependent. Because, as liturgy is the public prayer of the church, the voice of the body of Christ, it is a sign and indication of "The Communion of Saints" through the whole length of time

[3] Richard Paquier, Dynamics of worship (Philadlphia, 1967) 47.
[4] N. Kollar, "Liturgy", In Encyclopedic Dictionary of Religion, VI F-N (Washington, 1979) 2144.

and across the reaches of space. It constitutes one of the marks of the catholicity and ecumenicity of the church[5].

1. Liturgy – the terminological meaning.

The word liturgy comes from the Greek term "leitourgia" which is a combination of two terms – 'leitos' and 'ergon'. The Greek term 'leitos', is an adjective which means 'pertaining to the people' and 'ergon' is a noun which means 'work' [6]. Etymologically, therefore, the word liturgy means 'any service done for the common welfare'. In the Christian perspective, the term liturgy is used both in the general sense of public service as well as in the spiritual sense of prayer and sacrifice. In the New Testament, it is employed as an act of service or ministry (Phil 2,30). The New Testament does not provide a detailed description of the worship of the early church, because worship was a regular element in the lives of the first Christians. It is clear that the Eucharist was of great importance in virtue of Jesus' institution at the 'Last Supper'. The early Christian Eucharist followed the pattern of the 'Last Supper':-Bread was taken, blessed, broken and distributed before a meal. And wine was taken, blessed and distributed after it.

2. Definition of Liturgy

According to Odo Casel "The Liturgy is the ritual accomplishment of the redemptive work of Christ in and through the Church"[7]. He further defines it as "a holy ritual action in which a salvific act is made present and brings salvation for the worshiping community, which participates in it"[8].

"Liturgy is a personal meeting under the veil of holy signs, of God with his church and with the total person of each one of her members in and through Christ and the unity of the Holy

[5] Richard Paquier, Dynamics of worship (Philadlphia, 1967) 51.
[6] John H. Miller, Fundamentals of the Liturgy (Notredame, 1959) 5.
[7] John H. Miller, Fundamentals of the Liturgy (Notredame, 1959) 9.
[8] John H. Miller, Fundamentals of the Liturgy (Notredame, 1959) 9.

Spirit"[9]. On the basis of this definition, we derive following aspects of the liturgy.

1) The liturgy is a personal meeting with God. ie theocentric character of the liturgy.
2) This takes place in and through the Mediator Christ. ie the theocentric character of the liturgy.
3) The ecclesial aspect of the liturgy is that which takes place in the living community of the Church.
4) Liturgy does not take place directly, but under the veil of signs and symbols.
5) The pnuematological aspect of the liturgy is that which takes place in union with the Holy Spirit.

Liturgy is the congregational worship of the Church, celebrated by Christ, the Eternal Priest, the Head of the Church, together with the faithful. Christian liturgical practice is derived from the Jewish worship practice. Studying Jewish background of Christian liturgy will help us understand the hidden meanings of Christian liturgy in a deeper level.

John Paul II once stated;

> Our common spiritual heritage (with Jews) is considerable. Help in better understanding certain aspects of the church's life can be gained by taking an inventory of that heritage, and also by taking into account the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as professed and lived now as well. This is the case with the liturgy. Its roots have still to be more deeply traced and above all need to be better known and appreciated by the faithful.[10]

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[9] Ambrosius Verheul, Introduction to the Liturgy (London, 1968) 19.

[10] From Pope John Paul II's address to the representatives of Catholic Bishops' Conference in March 1982. Quoted by, EUGENE J. FISHER, "Introduction: Jewish Liturgy and Christian Liturgy: Roots and Tensions" in EUGENE J. FISHER ed., *The*

This itself shows the importance of studying the Jewish background of Christian liturgy This is not an undemanding commission since certainty evades in many of the stuff and matters, concerning Jewish worship. Nonetheless, if there is foregoing and ensuing, we are in feel with these things in our liturgical revels, as later practices have much bearing and deportment on the profile of things in the beginning and the search must be reinforcing and worthwhile. Though evolved in later years Rabbinical literature gives a good volume of Jewish liturgy and certain monographs are good guides to this field and of course the Scriptures. Here I focus mainly on four areas of Jewish liturgy; Temple, synagogue, grace at meals and feasts. My intention is to take an inventory of those things which are considered as the generative and formative components of the Christian liturgy.

3. Sources of Jewish Liturgy

The early stages of Jewish liturgy are obscure.[11] Apart from Old Testament, most of the liturgical practices of Judaism are enclosed in *Mishna* and *Talmud*.[12] Old Testament contains the written Law and is the primary source of Jewish worship; especially a good portion of Pentateuch is liturgical stipulations.[13] Other documents on the reckoning are New Testament, and

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Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy (New York\Mahwah, 1990) 1. Hereafter FISHER, "Jewish Liturgy and Christian Liturgy".

[11] CECIL ROTH - GEOFFREY WIGODER, eds. in chief., *Encyclopaedia Judaica* II (Jerusalem, 1971) 392. Hereafter ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica*.

[12] Although contents of this collection are much earlier, it did not reach its definitive form until the end of the second century AD. See, A. GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford, 1992) 3. Hereafter GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer*.

[13] Priestly code for sacrifice is found in Leviticus chapters 1-7 and also in Ex. 12, 6. Paschal stipulations are seen in Ex. 12, 3-6. Stipulations for ritual purifications are found in Lev. 4, 67; 17-18; 16, 14 etc. Whole throughout the Pentateuch we find references for the cultic practices of Judaism. Cfr., ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica* V, 1158-1162.

writings of Philo[14] and Josephus.[15] Rabbinical literatures[16] are a further area of significance where liturgical materials are accessible.[17]

4. Scriptures

The priestly rites at the Jerusalem temple are treated in the Bible in great detail. Private prayers found in the scriptures show an attitude of praise and thanksgiving, confession and intercession;

> Regard your servant's prayer and his plea, O Lord my God, heeding the cry and the prayer that your servant prays to you today; that your eyes may be open night and day toward this house, the place of which you said, 'My name shall be there,' that you may heed the prayer that your servant prays toward this place. Here the plea of your servant and of your people Israel when they pray toward this place; O hear in heaven your dwelling place; heed and forgive. 1 Kings 8, 28-30.

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[14] Philo of Alexandria (20? B.C. – 40? AD) is Jewish philosopher. He has written on contemporary events, philosophical and religious essays and homilies on Pentateuch. MICHAEL J. COOK, "Philo of Alexandria" *in Encyclopedia Americana* XXI (Alan H. Smith ed. in chief., Danbury, 1984) 922.

[15] Josephus Flavius (37?-100AD) was Jewish historian. He was noted for his classic work on the history of the Jews and Judaism. MICHAEL J. COOK, "Josephus" *in Encyclopedia Americana* XVI (Alan H. Smith ed. in chief., Danbury, 1984) 179.

[16] Rabbinical literature is a modern scientific term used to describe the literature of *halakhah* which is based upon the oral law. They are homiletic and ethical in nature to give practical guidance to everyday life. Cfr., ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica* XIII, 1462.

[17] Writings in the inter-testamental period, such as Jubilees, Macabees etc contain liturgical matters. Other writings started to be written down in the end of the second century the date usually given to Mishna. Jewish prayer book appears only in the 9th c. B.T. BECKWITH, "The Jewish background to Christian Worship" in *The Study of Liturgy* (ed. Cheslyn Jones et al) 68-69. Hereafter BECKWITH, "The Jewish background". Cairo genizah contains fragments of Palestinian rites (genizah is a storage chamber of a synagogue, in which old documents are kept) PHILIP SIGAL ed., *Synagogue and Church: The Early Centuries* (Michigan, 1983) 8. Hereafter SIGAL, Synagogue *and Church*.

Psalms were recited or sung in the temple as adjunct to the sacrificial rite.[18] The prayers found occasionally in the Old Testament are spontaneous reactions to the personal experiences. We find a formal prayer in the Old Testament as confession to be recited when bringing the first fruits and the tithe;[19]

> You shall make this response before the Lord your God: "A wandering Aramean was my ancestor; he went down into Egypt and lived there as an alien, few in number... So I bring the first fruit of the ground that you, O Lord have given me"... Dt. 26, 5-15.

The New Testament bears abundant witness to the existence of the Jewish liturgy. The witness there is indicative rather than descriptive. It is because that the Apostles were familiar with the realities.[20]

Mishna

Most important source of Jewish liturgy is the *Mishna*, though compiled ca. 200 AD materials therein go back to much an earlier date. A. Cronbach opines;

> Though produced two generations later than NT time, the Mishna contains fairly reliable accounts of Jewish practices that prevailed during NT times. The authorities quoted in the Mishna were mostly persons who lived the first 130 years of the Christian era.[21]

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[18] ABRAHAM E. MILLEGRAM, *Jewish Worship* (Philadelphia, 1971) 56-60. Hereafter MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*.

[19] Hannah's prayer, is a prayer of personal experience; "O Lord of hosts, if only you will look on the misery of your servant, and remember me, and not forget your servant, but will give to your servant a male child, then I will set him before you as a nazirite..." (1 Sam. 1, 11). See, ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica*, 392.

[20] CARMINE DI SANTE, *Jewish Prayer: The Origins of Christian Liturgy* (trans. Mathew J. O'Connell, New York, 1991) 9. Shortened to SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*.

[21] A. CRONBACH, "Worship in NT times, Jewish", in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* IV (Nashville, 1962) 895. Shortened to CRONBACH, "Worship".

It was Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi who collected and edited the vast accumulation of tradition. The result was compilation of *Mishna* which later became the Core of *Talmud*.[22] *Mishna* derived from the word *'shanah'* meaning to repeat.[23] *Mishna* is divided in to six parts called 'Orders' and the 'Order' is again subdivided in to 'Tractates'.[24]

Talmud

Solomon Schecter says, *Talmud* as "Bottomless Sea with innumerable undercurrents".[25] *Talmud* is the critical commentary on *Mishna*. The word *Talmud* comes from the root, *'lmd'* which means to study. It has two parts first a reproduction of the *Mishna* and the second part is the analysis of the *Mishna* known as *Gemara* an Aramaic word meaning interpretation or completion.[26] The *Talmud* embodies approximately a thousand years of Jewish religious thought. Made up of teachings from Palestinian and Babylonian scholars, it exists in two versions, one edited in Palestine, 350-400 CE and the other edited in Babylonia, ca. 500-600 CE.[27]

***Siddur* or Prayer Book**

Siddur is the prayer book of Jewish liturgy in which all the official prayers are given. Though traditionally attributed to Moses the first historically attested book is that of Rav Amram Gaon in 785 AD known also as *'Seder'* coming from a Hebrew

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[22] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 126.

[23] BERNARD McGINN, ed. in Chief, *The Talmud: Selected writings* (trans. Ben Zion Bokser, New York\ Mahwah,1989) 10. Hereafter McGINN, *The Talmud*. Repetition is a means of teaching. *Mishna* can stand for both teaching and substance of teaching. See note 1 in HERBERT DANBY, *The Mishna* (Oxford, 1933) V. Hereafter DANBY, *The Mishna*.

[24] *Mishna* is primarily a juridical work and does not completely record synagogue or Domestic liturgy, SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 27.

[25] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship* 128. Comparative prosperity of the Diaspora Jews in Babylonia, led to collection and recording of tradition under academies in Babylonia by the end of the 8th c.

[26] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 26. If *Mishna* is taken as the core text of *Talmud*, *Gamera* is a supplement. See, McGINN, *The Talmud*, 10.

[27] McGINN, *The Talmud*, 9.

word meaning order. Now commonly known as '*Seder tefillot*' meaning order of prayers.[28]

5. Place of Worship

Rabbis taught that men should have a set place for their worship, the *Talmud* writes;

> Whosoever has a fixed place for his prayer has the God of Abraham as his helper…-now do we know that our father Abraham had a fixed place [for his prayer]? For it is written: *And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he had stood*. And 'standing' means nothing else but prayer.[29]

Temple

Priests and Levites were to carry out the services in the temple according to the designated plan.[30] The religious life of Jews revolved around temple. Cult of sacrifice was the center of temple worship. The animals offered are ritually either eaten at the sanctuary or burned on the altar. There are number of sacrifices for various purposes. In 70 AD the temple was destroyed and sacrificial cult came to an abrupt end.[31]

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[28] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 27-28. Cfr., EDWARD FOLEY, *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist* (Chicago, 1991) 17. Hereafter FOLEY, *From Age to Age*. *Siddur* is one of the most sacred books of Judaism, second only to the Scripture. The central core of the book is *Shema* and benedictions. *Tefillah* and readings from the Scriptures occupies the rest of the volume. See, MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 90.

[29] I. EPSTEIN ed., "Berakoth" in *The Babylonian Talmud* Vol I (trans. Maurice S.) 6b.

[30] It is important to see that Jesus did not oppose this temple cult. JOSEPH A. JUNGMANN, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (trans. Francis A. Brunner, Notre Dame, 1959) 10-11. Hereafter JUNGMANN, *The Early Liturgy*.

[31] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship* 41-49. Daily offering based on Ex. 29, 38-42 and Num. 28,1-8. The rule in these passages requires a burnt offering and a cereal oblation both morning and evening. The morning sacrifice was offered between dawn and sunrise, the evening between sunset and dark Ex. 29, 39. See C.W. DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (Westminster, 1964) 59. Hereafter DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue*.

Synagogue

There is no sense of certainty and exactitude, in the matter of the origin of Synagogue.[32] C. Travers writes;

> In all their long history, the Jewish people have done scarcely anything more wonderful than to create the Synagogue. No human institution has a longer continuous history, and none has done more for the uplifting of the human race.[33]

The synagogue originated in the exile. But we cannot sideline the other factors which necessitated the origin of the Synagogue; it was their desire that religion should penetrate more deeply into daily life that perpetuated the system of Synagogue.[34] The original object of the synagogue was to be a place of teaching and instruction, it tended to become, especially in places far distant from Jerusalem, a place of public worship also, and prayer gradually became a substitute for sacrifice.[35] The pattern of

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[32] The origin of the Synagogue is neither recorded in the Bible nor in the post Biblical records. A plausible conjecture is that it originated in the informal gatherings of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. See, MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 64. ROBERT E. WEBBER, *Worship Old and New* (Michigan, 1982) 27. Hereafter WEBBER, *Worship*. Julian Morgenstern asserted that it originates in pre-exilic time as a substitute for the 'high places' (bamoth) which were destroyed by Deutronomic reformation. SIGAL ed., *Synagogue and Chruch*, 6-7. KENNETH STEVENSON, The First *Rites: Worship in the Early Chruch* (Collegeville, 1989) 23. Hereafter STEVENSON, *The First Rites*.

[33] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 67

[34] SOFIA CAVALETTI, "The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy" in EUGENE F. FISHER ed., *The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy* (York\Mahwah, 1990) 7. Hereafter CAVALETTI, The Jewish Roots. It was Gamaliel II of Jamnia who brought some uniformity in the prayer life of Jews towards the end of the first century. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Chruch*, 7.

[35] The service held both evening and morning on the Sabbath (Saturday) and on the Tuesdays and Thursdays. DOM BENEDICT STEUART, *The Development of Christian Worship: An Outline of Liturgical History* (London, 1953) 9. Hereafter STEUART, *The Development of Christian Worship*. The congregation was lead by sheli-ah tzibbur, the messenger of the congregation. Ordinary people would listen to him and respond with 'Amen'. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 8.

worship followed is three times in a day called *shahrit* in the morning, *minhah* in the afternoon and *marriv* in the evening.[36]

Home worship

Home in Judaism was as well a center of worship. Parents had the duty of circumcising the children and the ceremony was performed at home. Parents had the obligation of instructing them too in religious tenets.[37] And house is the locus of celebrations like religious meals, Sabbath and Passover where liturgy draws finest manifestation.[38]

6. Time of Worship

Pious individuals seem to have prayed thrice daily.[39] The statutory daily services were consisted of *Shema* and *Tefillah*. The Services are known by the name *Shahrith* (morning) *Arbith* (evening) and *Minhah* the afternoon prayer which had only *Tefillah*. The *Talmud* assigns that the service originates with the three patriarchs;

> Abraham instituted the morning *Tefillah*, as it says, *And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he had stood,* and standing means only prayer… Isaac instituted the afternoon *Tefillah*, as it says, *And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at eventide*, and 'meditation' means prayer… Jacob instituted the evening prayer, as it says, *As he lighted* [wa-yifga '] *upon the place*, and 'pegi 'ah' means only prayer.[40]

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[36] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 170. ROBERT TAFT, *The Liturgy of Hours in East and West: The Origins of Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville/Minnesota, 1993) 7. Hereafter TAFT, *The Liturgy of Hours*.

[37] SHARON BURNS, "The Beginnings of Christian Liturgy in Judaism" in EUGENE F. FISHER ed., *The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy* (York\Mahwah, 1990) 41. Hereafter BURNS, "The Beginnings"

[38] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 141.

[39] ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica*, 392. Dan. 6, 10; 9, 21; Ps. 55, 17. STEVENSON, *The First Rites*, 23.

[40] I. EPSTEIN ed., "Berakoth" in *The Babylonian Talmud* I (trans. Maurice S.) ber. 22b.

But more likely explanation is that they correspond with the temple offering.[41] Scripture narrates a probable custom;

> Although Daniel knew that the document had been signed, he continued to go to his house, which had windows in its upper room open toward Jerusalem, and to get down on his knees three times a day to pray to his God and praise him, just as he had done previously. Dan. 6, 11.

Usually there were sacrifices in the morning and afternoon. On certain occasions there could be additional sacrifices.[42] The daily hours of individual prayers were three, connected with the hours of daily sacrifices in the temple.[43] One of the three hours as we know from Acts was the 9th hour (Acts 3,1) the time of the evening sacrifices the *Tamid* in the first century.[44]

7. Forms of Prayers

Carmine Di Sante reflects that the centre of Jewish prayer is the *Berakah*, and all other prayers circle around this structure. The main circles are *shema Yisra'el*, *tefillah* and *Qeri'at Torah*.[45] Performance of *shema, Tefillah*, priestly blessing and reading of the Scriptures requires a community and these were the elements of Sabbath Synagogue worship.[46]

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[41] DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue*, 13-15.

[42] ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica* , 394.

[43] "At evening sacrifice I got up from my fasting…", Ezra 9, 5. Daniel 9, 21; Judith 9, 1 also referrers to the evening sacrifice. "One day Peter and John were going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, at three o'clock in the afternoon", Acts 3, 1. Acts 10, 3 and 30 also referrers to the 3 o'clock prayer. "Now at the time of incense offering…" Lk. 1, 10.

[44] BECKWITH, *The Jewish background*, 72. See also MARTIN McNAMARA, "The Liturgical Assemblies and Religious Worship of the Early Christians" in *Concilium* 2-5 (February 1969)13. Hereafter McNAMARA, "The Liturgical Assemblies".

[45] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 33.

[46] PAUL F. BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (Oxford, 1992) 117-18. Hereafter BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*.

The *Berakah*

The *berakah* comes from the verb '*barak*' means to bless.[47]The *Berakah* is the inner pattern or architecture of Jewish prayer from where any extension is possible.[48] In the words of E. Garfiel;

> Neither minor variation nor the major additions for certain special occasions nor the prayers added by later generations can blur that pattern for those who understand the essential structure of the service.[49]

In *Berakah* the entire Jewish thought is summed up.[50] When a Jew pronounced a "blessing", he would offer praise to God as Creator of all things. Since God had been blessed and thanked, the person or object which was the motive for the prayer of blessing was thus made holy.[51] Thus *berakah* changes the profane in to sacred.[52] *Berakah* brings all things to the original goodness.[53] St. Paul writes;

> For everything created by God is good and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving for then it is consecrated by the word of God and prayer (1 Tim. 4, 3-4).

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[47] This simple anamnesis of God might be expanded into a more complex structure by the addition of other elements. Eucharist of Christians must be a perfect example for this if *barakah* is accepted as the formative nucleus of it. BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 16. Pathikulangara gives different shades of meaning like to kneel down, genuflect, to give account, to pay homage, to adore, to implore, praise, to give thanks, to consecrate, to invoke God's favor and son on, VARGHESE PATHIKULANGARA, *Qurbana*, 12.

[48] *Birkat ha-mazon* the blessing after the meals had tripartite structure. First a blessing for the gift of food, Then a *hodayah* or thanksgiving for the gift of land, covenant and the law. And a supplication for mercy for people, Jerusalem and the temple. BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 25.

[49] These words are those of E. Garfiel, cited in SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 34.

[50] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 34.

[51] DENNIS C. SMOLARSKI, *Eucharistia: A Study of the Eucharistic Prayer* (New York\ Ramsey, 1982) 13. Hereafter SMOLARSKI, *Eucharistia*.

[52] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer: The Origins of Christian Liturgy*, 42.

[53] LOUIS BOUYER, *Eucharist* (trans. Charles Underhill Quinn, Notre Dame\London, 1968) 58. Hereafter BOUYER, *Eucharist*.

An expanded *berakah* would include narrative of God's works; "… "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, who with his hand has fulfilled what he promised with his mouth to my Father David," (1 Kings 8, 15), and also supplication and intercession for continued action; "Blessed be the Lord, who has given rest to his people Israel according to all that he promised; not one word has failed of all his good promise, which he spoke through his servant Moses" (1 Kings 8, 56). Confession of faith and unworthiness are also found and this prompt for a doxology at the end.[54]

> Praised art Thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us to love the revered and awful Name-that was, is, and will be –to hallow thy name among the many. *Praised art Thou, O Lord, who hallowest thy name among the many*[55]

Parts of *Berakah*

Berakah consists of three parts; the stylized beginning, the statement of the motive for the praise, and, in the longer version, the concluding statement which would return to the theme of praise and blessing again. This last concluding statement is called the "*chatimah*" or seal. Longer *berakah* contained a proclamatory section also.[56] The following is the first benediction of the *marriv* service;

> Praised art Thou O Lord our God, king of the universe, who at thy word bringest on the evening twilight, with wisdom openest the gates of the heaven and with understanding changest times and variest the seasons, and arrangest the stars in their watches in the sky, according to thy will. Thou createst day and night; Thou rollest away the light from before the darkness, and the darkness from before the light; Thou makest the day to pass and the night to approach, and dividest the day from the night, the Lord of hosts is thy

[54] BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 16.
[55] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 92.
[56] SMOLARSKI, *Eucharistia* , 14.

name; a God living and enduring continually, mayest Thou reign over us for ever and ever. *Praised art Thou, O Lord, who bringest on the evening twilight.*[57]

Berakah is the basic structural element out of which Jewish liturgy is constructed. Millgram says; "The benediction is essentially an utterance of gratitude for God's manifestations in nature and for the privilege of performing the commandments of *Torah*".[58] Maimonides classifies *berakah* formulas in to three classes.[59] *Talmud* ascribes the origin of *berakah* to men of great assembly.[60]

Shema Yisrael

This is the first core unit of the Synagogue liturgy. It is an affirmation and profession of faith.[61] It is the creed, all men from their twelfth birthday has to recite it.[62] The *shema' Yisra'el* is composed of three Biblical passages. It got its formulations in the pre-Christian period.[63] The first scriptural passage, Deut. 6, 4-9 is the most important. The other two passages, Deut. 11, 13-21 and

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[57] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 93.

[58] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 92.

[59] 1) The benediction that is inspired by the reception of good things, starting with the formula: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe". 2) The second formula as this: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has hallowed us by thy commandments, and commanded us...", is for carrying out a prescription. 3) The third occasion is a petition or gratitude, most common and begins and ends with the same formula, "Blessed art thou, O Lord". SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 48. MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 93.

[60] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 94. Men of Great Synagogue are the body of teachers who taught Law after the period of Ezra. See HERBERT DANBY, *The Mishna* (Oxford, 1933) XVII. Hereafter DANBY, *The Mishna*.

[61] It derives its name from the initial word of the opening verse. *Shema* gave Jews courage to resist temptations and endure persecutions MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 97-101. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Chruch*, 11. PATHIKULANGARA, *Qurbana*. 22.

[62] PAUL F. BRADSHOW, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London, 1981) 1. Hereafter BRADSHOW, *Daily Prayer*.

[63] Must have been recited by Jesus and the early church. SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 49. This prayer is the supreme creed of Judaism. It is the first principle of thought and guide for the family and community. This prayer defines God as the One, See page 52.

Num. 15, 37-41 are variable.[64] *shema* succeeded and preceded benedictions.[65] *Mishna* presupposes that it is recited twice daily.[66]

Tefillah

Tefillah means prayer. It is recited immediately after the *Shema*. *Shema* and *Tefillah* forms a unit.[67] Since *Tefillah* comprises of eighteen benedictions it is called *shemoneh-esreh*.[68] *Tefillah* is also known as *amidah* which in Hebrew means standing. This prayer is recited in standing posture facing Jerusalem.[69] "A Tanna stated: The same rule applies to *Hallel*, to the recital of the *Shema*, and to the *Amidah* prayer... From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof [the Lord's name is to be praised]."[70] It was prayed by one on behalf of all called *hazzan*, the attendant of the Synagogue.[71] On weekdays all the eighteen are recited while on feast and Sabbath the number is open to reduction.[72] It was only after the destruction of the temple

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[64] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 58. In the morning shema there are two benedictions preceded and one followed while in the evening shema there are two each benediction before and after the shema. They are names after the opening words therefore we have in morning service the preceding benediction called the *yosar* (who forms light) and *ahavah rabbah*(with abounding love) and the concluding one *emet-we-yasiv* (true and firm). Same way the evening *shema* also has benedictions, the preceding two known as *mariv aravim* (thou who...bringest evening twilight), *ahvat olam* (with everlasting love), *emet we-emunah* (true and trustworthy) and *hashkivenu* (cause us ...to lie down). See pages 63-72.

[65] Temple Shema was preceded by *Yozer'Or* and followed by *Gaullah*. DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue*, 20. See. BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 18-19.

[66] BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 18. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 12.

[67] SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 11.

[68] From the fact that its contents came to be fixed at eighteen, BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 19. Early Palestinian rite had eighteen in number. While Babylonian form had nineteen in number. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 10.

[69] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 78-79. DAVID INSTONE-BREWER, "Eighteen Benediction and the Minim Before 70 CE", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 54-1 (April, 2003) 25.

[70] I. EPSTEIN ed., "Berakoth" in *The Babylonian Talmud* IX (trans. Maurice Simon) ber. 17d.

[71] PAUL F. BRADSHOW, *Daily Prayer*, 17.

[72] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 83. MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 101. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 8.

that the order of the benediction and exact wording of their concluding blessings were established.[73] *Mishna* says it is to be said three times a day.[74]

Composition of *Tefillah*

The *Shemoneh-esreh* is grouped in to three sections. The first three as an introduction is praise of God for His love, power and holiness. The thirteen intermediary benedictions are petitions for daily needs. The final three as conclusion is an expression of gratitude.[75] Contrary to the *berakoth* before the *Shema*, it has always been the role of a *hazan* to recite them, standing before the ark of the scripture and facing Jerusalem.[76] Its origin is traditionally attributed to the Men of Great Assembly.[77] This may be the forerunner of the intercessory prayers in Christian liturgy.[78]

Qeriat Torah

The third important part of Jewish liturgy is the *Qeri'at Torah* or reading of the *Torah* in the synagogue, on Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays and feast days.[79] The command for this

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[73] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 104. Petitions were generally avoided in the Sabbath. But there was an additional tefillah praying for the restoration of the temple. See page 106.

[74] BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 19.

[75] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 85-86. See also BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 70.

[76] BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 71.

[77] Original wordings are impossible to reconstruct, it is probable that there was no single official version, and these forms goes back before first c., DAVID INSTONE-BREWER, "Eighteen Benediction and the Minim Before 70 CE", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 54-1 (April, 2003) 25. Talmud states that the benediction was arranged by Simeon ha- Pakoli in the time of Gamaliel c. A.D. 80-120. See, DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue* , 23.

[78] The supplication was done by the faithful. After that the leader would sum them up. As years passed these extempore prayers became stereotyped. DUGMORE, *The Influence of the Synagogue*, 23.

[79] Bradshaw thinks the reading on Sabbath and Feast days was the regular feature of the Synagogue from the very outset. So this would have constituted the fundamental reason for the institution of the Synagogue. BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 21. Any room can become a synagogue when a Pentateuchal Scroll is brought in. *Torah* was read on Sabbath , festivals, High Holy days, *Hanukkah* and

practice can be seen in Deut. 6, 7 "And thou shalt teach them…".[80]

Study of the *Torah* was part of one's daily worship. To quote George Foot Moore; "The conception of collective and individual study as a form of divine service has persisted in Judaism through all ages".[81] The *Torah* was not read at random but divided in to *parashah* meaning parts or quantities. In Palestinian usage, *Torah* was divided in 153 parts and was completed in a cycle of three years.[82] The prayer elements of the Jewish worship developed around the teaching of *Torah*.[83]

8. Liturgy of the Reading

The following are the ritual elements connected with the reading. 1) The scroll is unrolled and held up in the sight of the congregation. 2) And people stand up. 3) Benedictions are recited before and after the reading. 4) The reading is being translated in the vernacular. 5) Explanation and homilies.[84] It is interesting to note the resemblance of these practices in the Christian liturgy of the Word.

Purim, New Moon and the intermediate days of the festivals. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 13.

[80] The *Talmudic* tradition assigns the origin of this custom to Moses. They take water as a synonym for *Torah*. As life is in danger if deprived of water for three days, Israel is in danger if for three days they are not fed by *Torah*. Reading of the *Torah* is the most important of the three structural units of the Jewish liturgy, because the other two *shema* and *tefilla* gets its origin and fullness in the *Torah*, SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 112-114.

[81] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 15-16.

[82] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 119. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 11. JOHN C., *The Breaking of the Bread: A Short History of the Mass* (London, 1960) 23.

[83] The ceremonial accompanying in the reading of the Torah at public service is the climax and the most impressive part of Synagogue liturgy. It was preceded and followed by a benediction. Mainly thanks giving for the benediction of *Torah*. There is also a call to worship, MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 109-110.

[84] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 70.

Haftarah

The reading of the Torah is followed by the reading from the passage of Prophets on certain days. This custom is known as *haftarah* interpreted as conclusion or opening.[85]

Derashah

The *parashah* and *haftarah* was followed by *derashah* or homily.[86] C. Perrot writes;

> The *Seder* [that is, *parashah*], the *haftarah*, and the homily, in which the *petihtot* are used are the three pillars of the scriptural liturgy. The elements are closely interrelated to form an organic unity that gives a distinctive character to each Sabbath and an original aspect to the entire cycle. [87]

Acts 13, 15 is a perfect example for stating that this practice was wide spread in the Christian era. After the reading of the law and the prophets, the officials of the Synagogue sent them a message, saying, "Brothers if you have any message of exhortation for the people give it. From our analysis a following structure can be suggested for the Synagogue liturgy of the word.

Call to worship[88]	
Shema	
Tefillah	Only seven on Sabbath and festivals
Reading from Pentateuch	Prophets on Sabbath and festivals
Sermon[89]	

[85] In early Christian congregations probably a portion from the NT formed as a *haftarah*, more or less like the current practice of reading Gospels and Epistles. SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 14.

[86] For the homily other scriptural passages from writings, Psalms and the like were quoted. The verses thus called for is known as *petihtot* (from root 'pth', to open). SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 120.

[87] Cited in SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 120.

[88] The daily morning service began with the readers call to worship: "Praise Ye the Lord who is to be praised," to which the congregation responded: "Praised be the Lord who is to be praised for ever and ever". MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 98-99.

[89] The structure is as formulated by, SIGAL, *Synagogue and Church*, 14.

9. House Liturgy

Jewish homes have a primary place when it concerns their liturgical celebrations. The home becomes a sanctuary and parents the officiating priests therein.[90] Home was an official place of worship. The prayers recited in the home constituted a substantial part of the established liturgy. Millgram writes; "The family table was regarded as an altar, each meal was a holy ritual, and parents were the officiating priests".[91] There are three principal celebrations connected with home. One is a daily celebration connected with meals, second weekly connected with Sabbath and the third annual connected with the Passover celebration.[92]

10. Liturgy for the Meals

Mishna says nothing is to be eaten without first God's blessing;[93] If a man ate figs, grapes or pomegranates, he should say the three Benedictions after them. R. Akiba says: 'Even if he ate but boiled vegetables for his meal he must say the three Benedictions after them. If he drank water to quench his thirst he should say, '[Blessed art thou…] by whose word all things exist'.[94]

For Jews family meal is a religious action. And meal is a time of God human encounter.[95] The meals came to take on the place and significance of sacrifice especially in the Qumran community.[96] The obligatory prelude is the ritual hand washing.

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[90] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 140.

[91] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 289-290.

[92] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 144.

[93] BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 24. Mishna directed that when three or more people ate together, one of them was to say the grace on behalf of all and it is prescribed before the prayer a formula of invitation and communal response. (Ber 7,1-3) See page 26.

[94] DANBY, *The Mishna*, 7.

[95] The benedictions recited before and after have a transfigurative function that is to take one from materiality of things to the reality of the creator SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 142.

[96] BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 79.

In the ceremonial meal they drank a first cup reciting the following blessing; "Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who givest us this fruit of the vine." This is the first cup mentioned by Luke in the last supper.[97] When the father breaks the bread and give to the participant, the meal begins officially; "Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth", It is general blessing for the whole meal. The courses and a cup of wine then follow. The lamp was brought in normally by the mother and a benediction is recited over it. Following this incense was burned with a proper blessing. Then there takes place the second hand washing. It is after these various preliminaries that the president with the cup of wine mixed with water before him solemnly invited those assisting to join in with the act of thanksgiving.[98] Steuart finds four elements in a ritual meal;

Preliminary course	Informal, eaten seated everyone blesses the food and drink for himself
Formal meal	Taken reclining, opened with blessing and breaking of the bread by the leader
Grace after the meal	Called food blessing, said by the leader, on special occasion said over a cup, known as cup of blessing
Kiddush cup	Common cup and blessed by one leader

One can look for the 'scheme' of the Last Supper in this description.[99] Dix writes, "The various formulae of blessing for

[97] BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 79.

[98] This could be the origin of the ancient Christian use of the lucernarium, which has survived in our own day in the blessing of the paschal candle. The one who presided received the water first from the hands of a servant, or in his absence from the youngest of the table. This explains to us John 13, 3 probably John brought the water. BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 80-81.

[99] The consecration of the bread would have taken place at the blessing and breaking of the bread by Jesus after the preliminary informal course. The meal proper then

the different kinds of food were fixed and well-known, and might not be altered".[100]

Birkat ha-mosi

The benediction before the meal is known as *birkat ha-mosi*; "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth". Jewish tradition calls the flesh of the sacrificed animals "the bread of God" (*lehem Elohim*); "They shall be holy to their God, and not profane the name of their God; for they offer the Lord's offering by fire, the food of their God; therefore they shall be holy" (Lev. 21, 6). It also recalls the manna. Therefore in a meal there is the nuances of the sacrificial act and reliving of the miracle of the manna.[101] And this benediction brings to their memory, past as well as future.

Birkat ha-mazon[102]

It is the blessing after the food or thanks giving after the supper.[103] This ritual is regarded as the oldest and most important. The basis for the benediction is Deut 8,10; "And you shall eat and be full, and you shall bless the Lord…". It is made up of three benedictions in which God is thanked for food, land and Jerusalem.[104] *Birkat ha-mazon* express the spirit of the universal providence of God for all the living things "thou nourishest and

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followed, and the consecration of the wine would have been during the grace-after-meals or 'food blessing'. As this Supper was a special occasion of joy, there was a cup of blessing. St. Paul uses explicitly the term 'cup of blessing' (1 Cor. 10, 16). St. Luke, mentions the first cup of wine before the supper proper began, speaks of the consecration of the bread, and then "in like manner the chalice" (Lk. 22, 17-20). The first cup was probably that of the preliminary course of the meal. St. Paul, too, expressly states that Our Lord blessed the chalice after supper. The whole rite ended, after the communion of the chalice, with the singing of the hymn (Mt. 26, 30; Mk. 14, 26), and the usual hand washing. STEUART, *The Development of Christian Worship*, 4-5.

[100] GREGORY DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945) 51.

[101] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 144-145.

[102] *'mazon'* means food. SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 145.

[103] PATHIKULANGARA, *Qurbana*, 21.

[104] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 145.

sustainest all beings".[105] This is the prayer that concludes the Jewish ritual meal and that is usually considered as the text from which the Christian Eucharistic prayer derives.[106]

Birkat ha-ares

In this second benediction God is thanked for the gift of the land; "We thank you...good and ample land". In the first benediction the approach is cosmic whereas here it is historical and particular.[107] The three initial benedictions of the *birkat ha-mazon* are among the most ancient prayers in the Jewish liturgy. The Rabbis emphasize their antiquity. *Talmud* says;

> Moses instituted for Israel the [first] benediction [of the grace] "who feeds" at the time when manna descended for them, Joshua instituted for them the [second] benediction of the land when they entered the land. David and Solomon instituted the [third] benediction which closes "who buildest" Jerusalem temple.[108]

When three or more participated in a meal it becomes a formal service with a leader and official call to worship.[109]

Bone Jerushalaim

This benediction has the taste of supplication, asking for being merciful towards Israel and rebuilding of Jerusalem.[110] The festive form of this *berakah* is noteworthy;

> Our God and the God of our fathers, may the remembrance of ourselves and of our fathers and the remembrance of Jerusalem, the city, and the remembrance of the Messiah, the son of David, thy servant, and remembrance of thy

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[105] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 145.
[106] T.J. TALLEY, "The Literary Structure of Eucharistic prayer" *Worship*, 58, (1984) 404-420.
[107] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 147.
[108] I. EPSTEIN ed., "Berakoth" in *The Babylonian Talmud* I (trans. Maurice Simon) 48, a-b. See also MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 293-294.
[109] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 295.
[110] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 148.

people, the whole house of Israel, arise and come, come to pass, be seen and accepted and heard...[111]

And here we can see the basic development of the Eucharistic anamnesis.

11. Worship on Important Feasts

From ancient on festivals became associated with important historic events. Thus festivals assumed additional religious significance and were endowed with transcendent importance.[112] Jews divide their feasts into three classes namely the Pilgrim feasts, Solemn feasts and Lesser feasts.[113]

Feast of *Pascha*

Originally an agricultural feast became the supreme remembrance of the redemption.[114] The *Seder* starts with the answer to children.[115] *Pascha* is the transliteration of the Aramaic form of the Hebrew '*Pesach*'. In biblical tradition it refers to the passage of Angels and for that reason it is regularly translated as Passover. It also refers to feast as a whole and the sacrifice itself.[116]

Temple Ceremony

In the afternoon in the Jerusalem temple a trumpet is blast that marks the beginning of the slaughter and dressing of the paschal lamb. The priests collect the blood of the sacrificed animals and splashes at the altar, Levites sang the *Hallel* (Ps. 113–118). The dressed lambs are returned to the worshipers.[117]

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[111] BOUYER, *Eucharist*, 84.
[112] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 200.
[113] In the pilgrim feasts the saving events of Israel is commemorated. Solemn feasts celebrate human events and lesser feasts are known in that name because they are not commanded by the Torah SANTE, *Jewish Prayer: The Origins of Christian Liturgy*, 189.
[114] SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 195.
[115] MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 302.
[116] THOMAS J. TALLEY, *The Origins of Liturgical Year* (Minnesota, 1991) second edition. 1. Hereafter TALLEY, *The Origins*.
[117] TALLEY, *The Origin*, 2.

12. The Structure of the *Seder* [118]

According to Philo Passover *Seder* is not to indulge the belly but to fulfill with prayers and hymns the custom handed down by the fathers.[119] Passover *Seder* is the most solemn celebration of the Jews. It is a ritual supper of narration and catechesis of the Paschal event in the families.[120] Unfortunately description of the *Seder* varies from book to book. Therefore I make an effort for the following construction of the pattern of the Seder compiling the orders given in different books.[121]

Kaddesh	Kaddesh means sanctification. This benediction is over a cup. In this is blessing of the day God is praised for giving festivals to Israel.[123]
	All the requisite foods are brought.
Rehazah	Means 'wash'. This rite is the ritual purification of the hands.
Karpas	Means 'greens' In this ceremony the parsley is dipped in to salt water.

[118] Passover is the most impressive domestic ritual. The symbolic meal celebrated recall the event of redemption from Egypt, the bitter herbs recalling the suffering, leg of the roast lamb recalls sacrifice of the Passover lamb and fruits and nuts recalls the joy of freedom. The text used for Passover supper is called *Haggadah* which means story or narrative. SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 159.

[119] GILLIAN FEELEY HARNIK, *The Lord's Table: Eucharist and Passover in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1981) 121.

[120] PATHIKULANGARA, *Qurbana*, 21.

[121] DANBY, *The Mishna*, 137-151. MILLGRAM, *Jewish Worship*, 304-306, JENNY ROSE, *Jewish Worship*, (Winston, 1985) 44-45. SANTE, *Jewish Prayer*, 160-161. ROTH- WIGODER, *Judaica*, 167-168. GILLIAN FEELEY HARNIK, *The Lord's Table: Eucharist and Passover in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1981) 121-24. CEIL & MOISHE ROSEN, *Christ in the Passover* (Chicago, 1979) 52-58.

[123] Also transliterated as *Kiddush*, customary for the head of a house to say prayer of sanctification of the day over a cup of wine which was drunk by him and the others who were present. See, A.J.B. HIGGINS, *The Lord's Supper in the New Testament* (London, 1964) 14.

Yahas	Here the middle *maztah* is divided in two and one half is hidden. This later potion is known as '*afikomen*', meaning the after meal, this is eaten at the end of the meal as the reminder of paschal lamb.
Maggid	*Maggid* means recitation. The *haggadah* or story of the Passover is recited. At this time a second cup is drunk
Rahazah	The ritual washing of the hands before the breaking of the bread.
Mozi	This means 'bringing forth' the grace before the meal is recited.
Maztah	Peaces of the top *Maztah* and the broken middle one are eaten.
Maror	The bitter herbs are dipped in the *harosat* and eaten.
Korak	Means binding, a sandwich is made of the pieces of the bottom *Maztah* and bitter herbs are eaten as a reminder of eating paschal lamp and unleavened bread.
Shulhan arukh	This means 'prepared table' the festive meal is eaten now.
Barak	Means Blessing, grace after the meals is recited and the third cup is drunk.
Hallel	This is psalms of praise (Ps. 115-118).
	It is customary to have on the *sedar* table a full cup of wine known as 'Elijah's cup' a hope for final redemption, Elijah being the herald of Messiah, is welcomed toward the end of the seder.

Conclusion

The investigation all the way through the liturgical sphere of Judaism was to mark out the ostensible resemblance, likelihood or milieu where Christian liturgy might have begun its first steps. We have seen that the three centers where Jewish liturgy was being celebrated were Temple, Synagogue and Home to which Jesus and the disciples were participants. Since Jesus and disciples were followers of Jewish religion Jewish worship was the model and pattern for them to articulate their new faith content. Therefore, from Jewish sources come the basic outlines

of the liturgy of the early church.[123] No one can start anything from a zero point. F.E. Warren argued that "the law of evolution would lead us to expect a natural continuity between Jewish and Christian worship". However, he has recognized the fact that there are difficulties, when it comes to deciding the specific resemblances.[124] It seems every shade of Jewish worship had a formative and generative role in the shaping of Christian liturgy together with unique teaching of Christ. Therefore, the knowledge of the Jewish liturgical practices is essential to understand the early history of Christian liturgy as well as its theology.

[123] CARL A. VOLZ, *Faith and Practice in the Early Church: Foundations for Contemporary Theology* (Minneapolis, ND) 94-95.
[124] BRADSHAW, *The Search for the Origins*, 27.

Sacred Music in the West Syrian Tradition

Biju M. Parekkattil[1]

Introduction

Hymns comprise a massive part of surviving literary records of the Syriac tradition and its distinctive way of singing reflects its unique spiritual heritage and its profound religious devotion. Today we encounter a huge diversity of the forms, styles and functions of the sacred music in the West Syrian liturgy. In this article, I would like to provide some basic information about its historical development, diverse categories and its practical application in the Syrian Orthodox liturgical tradition.

1. The Origin & Development of the Syriac Music Tradition

1.1. Music in the New Testament

In the New Testament we have many references that point to the existence of music and singing in the early Church worship. As the new aspect of his teaching, our Lord himself proclaimed adoration in the spirit (Jn.4:24). We read in the Gospels of St.

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Mark and St. Matthew: "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives" (Mk 14: 26; Mt. 26:30). St Paul urges to the Colossians: "Let the Word of Christ dwell in you richly in whole wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord." (Col. 3:16). He repeats it in other way to Ephesians: "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, sing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" (Eph. 5:19). The background of the church in the New Testament time was their constant participation in the worship of the temples (Acts. 2: 46; 5: 12, 42) and of their attendance upon the services of the Synagogue (Acts. 6: 9; 9:2; 13: 5, 14). Psalmody (مِزمورٌ) played a great part in the Synagogue worship.[2] When Christians organized themselves as independent groups, they followed the outline of Synagogue observance (Justin Martyr, Apology I. 65-67), that eventually produced pre anaphora of the Mass.[3] In these congregations, we must assume that they used not only lyrics of the familiar from the Old Testament and the post canonical literature of Judaism, but also the modes of performance traditional in the Oriental, and particularly in the Jewish, environment.[4]

1.2. Music in the Early Syrian Church

The existence of the religious songs among the Syrian Christians and in the Syriac literature attested even from the second century AD.[5] Odes of Solomon, the songs written by Bardaisanes (222.A.D), the portions of the musical and liturgical pieces from the Acts of Thomas etc. are from the second and third

[2] Carl H. Kraeling, "Music in the Bible", in *Ancient and Oriental Music* ed by. Egon Wellesz, (London :Oxford University Press, 1975), 304.
[3] Ibid, 304.
[4] Ibid, 307.
[5] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopaedia der Musik begruendet von Friedriche Blume. Sachteil IX Sy-Z,* Ludwig Finscher (ed) (Basel & London: Baerenreiter, 1998), 189

century.[6] The Syriac songs during this period reflect a great influence of the songs and music used in the Jewish Synagogue.[7] The seven-syllabic system of the hymns originated in Syria during this time and they reflected deep Gnostic influence.[8] So the Council of Laodicea (343-381) banned their use because of its heretic inclinations. Even though we can observe a kind of aversion in the use of music in the worship in the early Christianity, especially among the Alexandrian monasticism, because they considered music system as pagan, later music and poetry were considered as a suitable medium to fight against heretical teachings.[9] The poetical works of St. Ephrem can be considered as the first musical work composed for the liturgical purpose. He wrote *Memra* for narrative poetry in septa-syllabic couplets and *Madrasha* for lyric poetry written in stanzas.[10] St. Ephrem accepted music as a way to propagate the orthodox faith and theology and to defend the teachings of the Church against Arianism and Manicheism.[11] He has used about fifty different syllabic meters ranging from very simple to highly complex. He achieved greatest reputation among the Syrians and his works have a lasting influence on the Syriac music and literature. Clement of Alexandria(150), Tertullian (c 155-222), Origen (c.

[6] John A. McGuckin, "Poetry and Hymnography (2): The Greek World", in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 647; Sebastian Paul Brock, *Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition* (Kottayam : SEERI, 2005), 16-20; Sebastian Paul Brock, *A Brief Outline of the Syriac Liturature* (Kottayam : SEERI, 2009), 8-11. *Other collections from this heretic background are the Manichean Psalter, and of Valentinus, Bardesanes, and Marcion*.

[7] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 189

[8] *The use of syllabic form of verse construction later attained great importance not only in the Syriac literature, but it attained an utmost importance for Byzantine hymnody also. This principle of construction shows its origin even in fifth century BC.* See in, Carl H. Kraeling, "Music in the Bible", in *Ancient and Oriental Music* ed . Egon Wellesz, (London :Oxford University Press, 1975), 304.

[9] Johannes Quasten*, Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Washington : National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983), 94.

[10] Sebastian Paul Brock, A Brief Outline of the Syriac Liturature , 16.

[11] Philip Vysanethu, *Musicality Makes the Malankara Liturgy Mystical* (Kottayam : SEERI, 2004), 133.

185- c.254), Eusebius (c. 260-c.340), St. Athanasius (c. 298-373), St. Basil (c. 330-379) and St. John Chrysostom (345-407) considered singing as beneficial for spiritual life and encouraged singing in worship. The list of the Syriac poets is really long and Mor Ignatius Aprem I Patriarch provides us a good description about them and their literary activity.[12]

2. Different Syllabic Meters of Syriac Poetry

There are different types of syllabic meters used in the Syriac poetry. Hymns that have four syllables in a line are called *Tetra Syllabic* and Harmonius is considered to be the originator of this System. *Penta Syllabic* poems have five syllables in a line. Mor Balai composed his Bouto using the penta syllabic structure and therefore, it is also called Balaian Model (ܒܵܠܲܝܵܐ) . *Septa Syllabic* poems are third type of syllabic structure used in the Syriac poetry. In this form, there will be seven syllables in a line. It is named as Ephramian model (ܐܰܦܪܶܡܳܝܳܐ) because many of the poems written by St. Ephrem have this model structure. There are *Octa Syllabic* (Eight Syllabic) poems written by Anton of Tigrit, but they are no longer in use. *Dodecca Syllabic* system is a structure of a poem having twelve syllables in a line. This model is called also Jacobian Model (ܝܰܥܩܽܘܒܳܝܳܐ)because Bouso of St. Jacob Serug follows the *Dodecca Syllabic* System. Mor Ignatius Aprem I informs us that there are poems written in Syriac even up to 16 syllables.[13]

3. Usage of Psalms in the Syriac Liturgy

The usage of the Psalms in the liturgy is one of the main factors in the liturgy of the hours of the Syrian Churches. They are read, rather than sung, by the two halves of the choir alternatively. (This manner of system is known as *Antiphonal*

[12] Ignatius Aprem I, *Chithariya Mutthukal* (Mal) (Scattered Pearls), trans. Jacob Varghese Mannamkuzhiyil (Cheeram Chira, Changanassery : Mor Adai Study Centre, 2009), 91-95.

[13] Ibid. 86

Psalmody in the West).[14] Church historian Socrates (c. 380.A.D) informs us that St. Ignatius of Antioch(+107) introduced antiphonal singing into the Church as the result of a vision.[15] Hymn interpolated with psalm verses is a distinctive feature of the Syrian worship. Even from the time of the second century, the usage of songs interpolated with Psalms is attested among the Syrians.[16] All these interpolated hymnody is called "*enyono*" ܥܢܝܢܐ, which means "answer". The practice of using ܦܬܓܡܐ (*Pethgomo*), which means 'word' or 'saying', in the liturgy, (a text from the scripture especially from Psalms) reveals too the liturgical and musical usage of Psalms. *Pethgomo* can also refer to a line, verse, half verse or versicle. From the Book of Psalms itself, we find mentions about the melody.[17]

4. Different Poetic Forms of Syriac Hymns

4.1. Quqlion (ܩܘܩܠܝܘܢ)

Quqlion (κυκλουν) is a cycle of verses from Psalmody, sung with Halleluiah in the middle of every verse. *Quqlion* in commemoration of St. Mary, Saints, Holy Cross, departed clergy, and all Departed comprise it main categories.

4.2. Ekbo (ܐܟܦܘ)

Ekbo, which literally means 'heel' or end', is a short hymn at the end of certain liturgical sections.[18] It usually appears before Qolo, revealing the brief content of the following Qolo.

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[14] Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 2nd edn. Vol. 24*, Stanley Sadie(Ed)(London: Grove, 2001), 862.

[15] Historia Ecclesiastica, vi. 8; Eric Werner, "The Music of Post-Biblical Judaism", in *Ancient and Oriental Music* ed. Egon Wellesz, (London :Oxford University Press, 1975), 311.

[16] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 195

[17] *For instance, we read at the beginning of Psalm 22 (21), "on the tune of the doe of the down". Psalm 6th and 12th narrate its tune as "Sheminith*".

[18] Stephen Plathottathil, *Themes of Incarnation in the Sedre for the Period of Suboro-Yaldo According to the Mosul Fenqitho* (Kottayam : SEERI, 2009), 560.

4.3. Enyono (ܥܢܝܢܐ)

Syriac *Enyone* are series of strophes interpolated between the verses from Bible. In this case, it resembles Byzantine canons, which also accompanies Psalms.

4.4. Qolo (ܩܠܐ)

Qolo, which literally means "voice, sound, noise", is one of the categories of hymns used extensively in the liturgy and which found even in the 9th century manuscripts. These types have no refrain, but it can be sung both in responsorial and antiphonal.[19] In its simpler form, it is attested even from the fourth century in the East Syrian liturgy. The authors of the most *Qole* are anonymous.[20] *Quqoyo* (ܩܘܩܘܥܐ ܩܠܐ) is one of the widely used types of *Qole* used in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy and Simeon Quqoyo (the Potter) (485-536 AD) is attributed as the inventor of this model. *Qolo shahroye* (ܩܠܐ ܫܗܪܝܐ) are the chants used for vigils and they are dedicated to the the Virgin Mary, the saints, to penitence and the departed. *Qole ghnize* (ܩܠܐ ܓܢܙܐ) are the mystic hymns, but most of them were lost. Some of the *Qole*, used in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, have an additional 'ferial' melody besides the eight melodies. They are called '*shuchlofe'* (ܫܘܚܠܦܐ) which means 'variants'.[21] The themes of the *Qolo* consist mainly of St. Mary, Holy Cross, Saints, Patron Saints and the departed. In short, a Qolo is "*the smallest musical and rhythmical unity necessary for singer to sing all the following stanza's of a poem, in the same way i.e. the same melody. The first words of a Qolo are sufficient for a singer to apply its rhythmical melody to other compositions and so such a normative Qolo obtains a special*

[19] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 195.
[20] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 195.
[21] Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music", 863.

name viz. Rishqolo".[22] The first stanza of a madrosho is also called) ܪܫ ܩܘܠܐ)rish qolo.

4.5. Boutho (ܒܘܬܐ)

Boutho/bo-uso belongs to one of the major forms hymns used among the West Syrians, in addition to *Madrasha* and *Qolo*. Even though the word *Boutho* means supplication, the theme of the *Boutho* varies considerably. Though there are eight tunes in accordance with Syrian *Betgazo* ascribed to the *Boutho*, they have also *shuchlofe* (variant tunes) like the *qolo* in different occasions of the Church year. The *boutho* of Mor Ephrem, Mar Balai and Mor Jacob Serug are generally used in the Syrian Orthodox tradition,

4.6. Qanune Yaunoye (ܩܢܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ)

Qanune Yaunoye (Greek Canons) are the Syrian hymns translated from Byzantine canons mostly associated with the nine biblical canticles. John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete were famous for such Greek canons and their work were translated and used in the West Syrian liturgy.[23] Their presence is attested even among the Syriac manuscripts of 10th and 11th centuries.[24] The Greek canons have very much similarity with old *Eniyono* used in its style and its liturgical function.[25]

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[22] J. Sanders, "The Beth Gazo or the Octo-Echoes of the West Syrian Church", in *The Harp Vol. V*., 1,2,3 (Kottayam : SEERI, July, 1992), 22. *Sometimes the term causes much confusion. For example, "memra can also designate a prose discourse and a golo can denote, besides 'melody', also the syllabic metre used, and in a liturgical context, it can often refer to a whole stanzaic poem, or a collection of stanzas, later on it can also mean (musical) tune"*. See in, Sebastian Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac", in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 659

[23] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 198.

[24] Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music", 863.

[25] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 198.

4.7. Madrosho (ܡܕܪܫܐ)

The *Madrasho*, (means "instructions"), is categorised among the independent strophic hymns and is generally considered as the ancestor of the Byzantine *Kontakion* (κοντακιον). It is "*a series of lyrical strophes of didactic content, sung by a soloist (originally) as the choir repeated a refrain between strophes*." [26] The invention of *Madrasha* is attributed to St. Ephrem the Syrian.[27] The themes of the *Madrasha* vary greatly, and it often reflected the theological dialogues between the orthodox and the heretics. The West Syrians use *Madrasho* more occasionally with different melodies, while the East Syrian uses it only in their Night prayer of Sundays and feast days, during the prayers of Nineveh Fasting and in the funeral rites with its own tunes.[28]

4.8. Manitho (ܡܢܝܬܐ)

Manitho is one of the models of Syriac hymns existed especially among the Syrian Orthodox monastic worship. There is a collection of *maniatho* (290 chants) for the liturgical year written by or attributed to Severios of Antioch.

4.9. Onitho (ܥܢܝܬܐ)

The term *Onitho* or *Unnaia* is derived from the root (ܥܢܐ)'*ana'* 'to respond' or 'to answer'. It is a constant refrain in accordance with the form of a responsorial singing of Psalms as in the western tradition. Normally it is repeated after a verse of psalmody or of scripture. In the East Syrian tradition, a hymn chanted during the procession which goes out of the sanctuary to the bema is called '*Onitho d Quanke'* or ' the Anthem of the Rails' and the hymn recited during the transfer of the gifts .ie., bread and wine, and their deposition and veiling is named as '*Onitho d Raze'* or 'the Anthem of the Mysteries'. During the communion of the celebrant, the clergy and the faithful, the

[26] Alfred Cody, „The Early history of the Octoechoes in Syria", 100.
[27] Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music", 863.
[28] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 196.

antiphon sung by the choir is called '*Onita d Bema'* or ' the Anthem of the Bema'.[29]

4.10. Maurbo (ܡܥܘܪܒܐ)

Maurbo or magnificat is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In origin, it is the opening word in Syriac Magnificat, that is the song of Virgin Mary after getting the message from Angel Gabriel. All the oriental churches have the *Maurbo* in their liturgy of hours. The West Syrian *Maurbo* have eight tunes.

4.11. Mimro (ܡܐܡܪܐ)

Mimro is a popular genre of Syriac hymns, used as sermon in prose or verse. It is a sort of metrical sermon, didactic or narrative, with a refrain.[30] We can find *mimro* even among the works of St. Ephrem.

4.12. Sebelto (ܣܒܠܬܐ)

Sebeltho d'madroshe (ܣܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܕܪܫܐ) (ladder of hymns) is also a category of songs mostly inherited from St. Ephrem.

4.13. Sugitho (ܣܘܓܝܬܐ)

The *Sugitho* has the similar structure of the *madrasho*, but includes alphabetical acrostics to it.[31] The *Sugitho* (pl. *Sugiyotho*) "*is a series of lyrical strophes in which a past situation is conjured up and one or more persons in the scene so evoked then speak.*"[32] This type of hymns originated in the Hebrew and later it is imitated in the Syriac language both the Orthodox as well as the Gnostics.[33] The acrostic played an important part in Syriac hymnody and which seems to have introduced in imitation of the

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29 Geo Thadikkatt*, Liturgical Identity of the Mar Thoma Nazrani Church* (Kottayam :OIRSI, 2004), 260.

30 Alfred Cody, „The Early history of the Octoechoes in Syria", 100.

31 Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music", 863.

32 Alfred Cody, „The Early history of the Octoechoes in Syria", 100.

33 Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 196; Sebastian Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac", 664.

Psalms and the Lamentations of Jeremiahs. Most of the *Sugitho* follows a dialogue between two persons or things. The discussion between rivers of Paradise with Jordan, debate among the months about which month is better, argument between Cherub and the thief etc are good examples of such kind of *Sugitho*. The form of Monologue also can be seen both in East and West Syrian traditions. Most of the *Sogitho* were written by anonymous poets and they are sung antiphonally by two choirs.

4.14. Takshephto (ܬܲܟܫܶܦܬܳܐ)

Thakshephto means "supplications". *Thakshephto rabuloyotho* (ܬܟܫܦܬܐ ܪܒܘܠܝܘܬܐ) are the litanies of Rabulla, Bishop of Edessa (360-435 AD).

4.15. Tesbuhto (ܬܶܫܒܽܘܚܬܳܐ)

The name of the *Tesbuhto* (ܬܶܫܒܽܘܚܬܳܐ), (which means literally "praise"), is believed to be derived from the Great Doxology of the Apostolic Constitution, a Syrian Church order originated around 380. The hymns using this title can be found even from the fourth century.[34] *Tesbuhto* has very simple structure, which sings antiphonally between two choirs.

5. Syriac Betgazo or Syriac Octoechos

The Octoechoes (ἡ Ὀκτώηχος from Ὀκτώ "eight" and ηχος "sound, mode") can refer either a theoretical or practical musical system of singing eight tunes cyclically in a regular order throughout the liturgical year or to the liturgical book that contains variable chants in each of eight tunes. The earliest evidences of its origin reveal us that it is closely related to liturgical tradition of Jerusalem especially to the Greek speaking

[34] Ulrike Nieten, "Syrische Kirchenmusik" 197

Palestinian monasticism of the 8th and 9th centuries.[35] There are many theories about the origin of the *ectoechoes*.

Bet-gazo, (ܒܝܬ ܓܙܐ)(pl. *Bet gaze*) means literally 'treasure house(s)', is a liturgical book that having the collection of Syriac chants and melodies.[36] This system is also called "*eqara*", the word comes from "eqoro" (ܥܩܘܪܐ) which means "root", or "origin".[37] The chants of the daily office, *Penqitho* (ferial office of Sundays and feast days) and Holy Mass follows the *Beth gazo* System of eight classical melodies (*octoechos*). It is believed that Jacob of Edessa (+708) collected these musical hymns and introduced them in the West Syrian Church in the current form of musical structure. The *Beth-gazo* or the book of the Treasury of Chants contains up to 2500 different compositions, out of which about 700 still survive. The vast West Syriac liturgical musical system can be divided in two main categories: chants having eight tunes (ie, following the *octoechoes* System) and chants having only a single melody.[38] There are different musical traditions among the West Syrians such as Za'faran, Malankara, Tur Abdin, Tigrit, Sadad, Diarbaker, Edessa, etc. Za'faran or Mardin is one of the most popular Western school of music, because the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate was located at *Deir al-Za'faran*, near Mardin for hundreds of years. Malankara school of Music may have derived from the School of Mardin.[39] Second major musical tradition is of Tur Abdin. The third school is the School of Tagrit belong to an Eastern music tradition existed in the churches of

[35] Peter Jeffery, "Oktoechos", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 2nd edn. Vol. 18*, Stanley Sadie(Ed)(London: Grove, 2001), 370

[36] *The recesses or niches in the northern and southern walls of the sanctuary where the bread and wine are prepared and are usually arranged are also called Bet gaze (treasure houses).*

[37] Joseph J. Palackal "Oktoechos of the Syrian Orthodox Churches in South India", in *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring/Summer, 2004), 233. *In Malayalam language, it is called "ettu ragangal" (Eight tunes) or "ettu nirangal" (eight colours). Sanskrit word "rag" means "colour".*

[38] Ibid. 233.

[39] http://sor.cua.edu/BethGazo/MusicSchools.html accessed on 19.02.2018.

Mosul and Iraq. Tagrit was for long time under Persian Empire and separated from the rest of the West Syrian church in the Byzantine Empire. Edessian School of music is the fourth one and their tradition is preserved today only in one church in Aleppo. Finally Diarbaker in Turkey and Sadad (a village in Syria) have their own musical traditions.

6. Betgazo and the West Syrian Liturgical Year

According to the West Syrian *Betgazo* system, the tune begins with Sunday evening prayer and in every week there will be two tunes (but there is only one tune in the Greek Church). If the Sunday starts with 1st tune (*quinto* ܩܠܝܢܛܘ), the next day (Monday) starts with 5th tune. In such a way, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday will be the 1st tune and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday with 5th tune.[40] There are particular tunes assigned for the feasts days and the entire liturgical year is divided in accordance this musical system in the *Penkitho*(ܦܢܩܝܬܐ derived from πινακιδιον which means a writing tablet, a volume, a book etc).[41] 1st and 2nd tunes are reserved for the feasts of St. Mary, Mother of God, the 3rd and 4th for the Saints and Martyrs, the 5th and 6th for repentance, and the 7th and 8th for the priests and departed.[42] The Church year in the West Syrian tradition starts with *Qudosh Itho* Sunday and it has the first tune. This cycle will complete with the nativity of Christ and starts second cycle of the tune which will continue till the Feast of Ninveh.

[40] For more detailed information, see.Heinrich Husmann, *Die Melodien der Jakobitischen Kirche: Die Melodien des Wochenbreviers (Shmita)*, (Wien : Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969), 189

[41] J. Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary (Eisenbrauns : Winona Lake, 1998), 451.

[42] J. Sanders, "The Beth Gazo or the Octo-Echoes of the West Syrian Church", 23; Stephen Plathottathil, *Themes of Incarnation ,* 5.

6.1. Betgazo (Octoechos)in the West Syrian Liturgical Year

The Application of the Betgazo (Octoechos) in the West Syrian Liturgical Year				
Sl. No	*Name of the Sunday*	*First Tune*	*Next Day*	*Second Tune*
1. From *Qudesh Etho* ܩܘܕܫ ܥܬܐ *(Sanctification of the Church)* to *Yeldo d Moran* ܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܪܢ (Christmas)				
1.	Qudosh Etho Sunday	1	Monday	5
2.	Hudoth Itho Sunday	2	Monday	6
3	Annunciation to Zachariah	3	Monday	7
4	Suboro Sunday	4	Monday	8
5	Visitation of St. Mary to Elizabeth	5	Monday	1
6	Birth of John the Baptist	6	Monday	2
7	Revelation to Joseph	7	Monday	3
8	Sunday before Christmas	8	Monday	4
	Christmas	1		
2. From *Yeldo d Moran* ܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܪܢ (Christmas) to *Saumo d Moran* ܨܘܡܐ ܕܡܪܢ (Fasting of our Lord)				
1	First Sunday after Christmas	1	Monday	5
2	Second Sunday after Christmas	2	Monday	6
	Denho (Epiphany)	2		
3	First Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	3	Monday	7
4	Second Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	4	Monday	8
5	Third Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	5	Monday	1
6	Fourth Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	6	Monday	2
7	Fifth Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	7	Monday	3

8	Sixth Sunday after Denho (Epiphany)	8	Monday	4
	Presentation of Christ in the Temple ܚܕܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ	3		
9	Sunday Before Ninveh Fast	6	Monday	2
10	All priests Day ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܐ	7	Monday	3
11	Anide Sunday (of the Departed) or All Souls' Day ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܬܐ	8	Monday	4
3. From Saumo *d Moran* ***ܕܡܪܢ ܕܨܘܡܐ*** **(Fasting of our Lord) to *Qyomtho d Moran*** ***ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ*** **(Easter)** Qinto or the tunes are applied in Lent during night prayers only, and in other services there are special tunes (*gushmone*)[43] ܓ̈ܘܫܡ̈ܐ				
1	Cana Sunday ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ	1	Monday	5
2	Leper ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܐܝܟ̈ܐ	2	Monday	6
3	Paralytic ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܡܫܬ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ̈ܐ	3	Monday	7
4	Canaanite Woman ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ ܕܩܢ̈ܝܐ	4	Monday	8
	Mid Lent, Elevation of the Cross ܩܝܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܣ̈ܥܪ̈ܐ	8		
5	Bent Woman ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܐ	5	Monday	1
6	Man born blind ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ	6	Monday	2
7	*Hossana* ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܕܗܘܣܥܢܐ	7		
	Passion Week (ܫܒ̈ܥܬܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܐ) During the Passion week, its songs are not sung in accordance with the Canon of the *Betgazo*, but there are special tunes (*gushmone*) for these days			

[43] Stephen Plathottathil, *Themes of Incarnation*, 63.

	Annunciation to Mary (March 25) ܗܘܕܢܐ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ	4		
8	Easter ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ From the evening prayer to 1st Qaumo (Watch) tune 8 is used and after that tune 1 begins. During the Hevoro (White) week, the tune changes every day: Monday 2nd tune, Tuesday 3rd, Wednesday 4th, Thursday 5th, Friday 6th, and Saturday 7th.	8/1		
4. From *Qyomtho d Moran* ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ (Easter) to Pentecost ܥܨܝܪܬܐ				
1	New Sunday ܚܕܬܐ ܕܫܒܐ	1	Monday	5
2	First Sunday after New Sunday	2	Monday	6
3	Second Sunday after New Sunday	3	Monday	7
4	Third Sunday after New Sunday	4	Monday	8
5	Fourth Sunday after New Sunday	5	Monday	1
	Ascension of the Lord ܕܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ	5		
6	Sunday before Pentecost	6	Monday	2
7	Pentecost Sunday ܥܨܝܪܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ	7	Monday	3
(The season from Pentecost to the Feast of the Apostles starts here but the music changes it only after the first Sunday after Pentecost)				
8	First Sunday After Pentecost	8	Monday	4
5. From Pentecost ܥܨܝܪܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ to the Transfiguration of Our Lord ܕܡܪܢ ܒܛܘܪܐ				
1	Second Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	1	Monday	5
2	Third Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	2	Monday	6
3	Fourth Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	3	Monday	7

4	Fifth Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	4	Monday	8
5	Sixth Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	5	Monday	1
6	Seventh Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	6	Monday	2
7	Eighth Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	7	Monday	3
8	Ninth Sunday After Pentecost Sunday	8	Monday	4
	Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul	5		
	Feast of the Apostles ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܕܝܠܢ ܫܒܥܬܐ	5		
	Feast of Tents ܥܐܕܬܐ ܕܡܨܠܬܐ ܘܫܒܥܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ / Transfiguration of Our Lord ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ	6		
6. From the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ to the Feast of the Cross ܥܐܕܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܫܒܥܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ				
1	First Sunday After the Feast of Tents	1	Monday	5
2	Second Sunday After the Feast of Tents	2	Monday	6
3	Feast of Dormition of St.Mary ܥܕܬܐ ܕܣܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܝܠܕܬܐ	7		
4	First Sunday After the Dormition of St. Mary	3	Monday	7
5	Second Sunday After the Dormition	4	Monday	8
6	Third Sunday After the	5	Monday	1
7	Fourth Sunday After the Dormition	6	Monday	2
8	Fifth Sunday After the Dormition	7	Monday	3
	Feast of the Cross (September 14) ܥܐܕܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܫܒܥܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ	8		

7. From the Feast of the Cross ܥܐܕܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܘܩܝܐ **to *Qudesh Etho* ܩܘܕܫ ܥܕܬܐ *(Sanctification of the Church)***				
1	First Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	1	Monday	5
2	Second Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	2	Monday	6
3	Third Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	3	Monday	7
4	Fourth Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	4	Monday	8
5	Fifth Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	5	Monday	1
6	Sixth Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	6	Monday	2
7	Seventh Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	7	Monday	3
8	Eighth Sunday After the Feast of the Cross	8	Monday	4
Then starts the Church year with Qudhosh Etho ܩܘܕܫ ܥܕܬܐ				

Most of the songs of the *Penkitho* were written during 4th to 7th century[44]. The most important contributors and poets were Mor Aphrem, Mor Isaak, Mor Balai, Mor Rabbula, Mor Jakob Serug, Mor Philexinos of Mabbug, Mor Severios, Mor Simeon Quqoyo, Mor Paulose (Bishop of Edessa), Mor Youhanon of Sedre and Mor Jacob of Edessa.[45]

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[44] *Fenqitho is the prayer book of Feast days and Sundays for the entire year in the West Syrian Tradition. Fenqitho is word derived from Greek word pinakidion πινακιδιον which means a writing plate, a volume, a book etc.*

[45] Ignatius Aprem I Barsaum, *Die Kanonischen Gebete*, trans. Amil Gorgis and George Toro (Warburg : Koster St.Jakob von Sarug, 2006), 109.

The tune of the principal feasts is as follows:

The tunes of the principal feasts and the Commemorations in the West Syrian Liturgical Year		
Sl. No	*Name of the Feast*	*Tune No*
1	Christmas	1
2	Denho (Epiphany	2
3	Maeltho	3
4	Suboro	4
5	Suloqo	5
6	St. Peter and St. Paul	5
7	Commemoration of the Apostles	5
8	Feast of the Tent (or Transfiguration)	6
9	Sunoyo (Dormition of St. Mary)	7
10	Exaltation of the Cross	8
11	Marian Feasts	1
12	Commemoration of Saints	8
13	Memorial Service of Priests	7
14	Memorial Service of the Departed	8

6.2. Betgazo (Octoechos)in the West Syrian Divine Office

In the West Syrian Tradition, the book of divine Office or the liturgy of hours is called *Shimo* (ܫܡܫܛܐ). The *Betgazo* (*Octoechos*) is applicable to the *Shimo* prayers, but with some restrictions. The eight tune system is not used for *Ramso* ܪܡܫܐ (Vesper-evening), *Suthoro* ܣܘܬܗܪܐ (Compine) and *Safro* ܨܦܪܐ (Matins/ Lauds / Prime -morning) in the weekly prayers.[46]

[46] Heinrich Husmann, *Die Melodien der Jakobitischen Kirche* , 188.

The colours of the *Shimo* are as follows.[47]

Days	**Ramso Quqilion**	**Suthoro**	**Safro Quqilion**
Monday	6	6	2
Tuesday	6	6	8
Wednesday	7	7	7
Thursday	5	5	1
Friday	1	1	6
Saturday	1	1	8

6.3. Betgazo (Octoechos) in the West Syrian Sacramental Celebrations

In the West Syrian tradition, *Betgazo* system is applicable to its sacramental celebrations also. For the service of baptism, second colour (tune) is used, but there are exceptions. While the first service of the Matrimony is in 3rd colour, its second service uses 7th colour. For the priestly ordination, the consecration of Holy Myron, the consecration of the Church and the consecration of Bishop, there is no definite colour is assigned, but is some directions for the colours of the *Quqilion*.

Name of the Sacramental Celebration & other blessings	**Services**	**Tune**
Baptism		2
Matrimony	First Service	3
	Second Service	7
Second Marriage	First Service	1
	Second Service	2
Anointment of the Sick		6
House Blessing		1
	First Service	1
	Second Service	2

[47] Ibid. 189; Philip Vysanethu, *Musicality Makes the Malankara Liturgy Mystical*, 108.

Kanthila	Third Service	3
	Fourth Service	4
	Fifth Service	5
Funeral (Men and Women)	First Service	5
	Second Service	6
	Third Service	7
	Fourth Service	8
Funeral (Children)	First Service	1
	Second Service	2
	Third Service	3
	Fourth Service	8
Kohonaitho (Funeral of Priests)	First Service	1
	Second Service	2
	Third Service	3
	Fourth Service	4
	Fifth Service	5
	Sixth Service	6
	Seventh Service	7
	Eighth Service	8

Conclusion

The sacred music tradition in the West Syrian church has a long history of development and attained different styles through adaptations. The Syriac sacred music maintains many of the Jewish characteristics even today. In addition to that, the influence of the Byzantine and Arabic music traditions reflects the Syriac music system enormously. The *Betgazo* system has its own features and developed differently from that of Byzatine *Octoechoes* throughout centuries . The West Syrians, especially the Syrian Orthodox Church, uses its *Bet gazo* system for not only for its festal prayers, but for daily prayers and for its sacramental celebrations also. Therefore, its sacred music system remains as one of the most distinguished features of the West Syrian liturgy and becomes "a sounding image of the Wisdom of God".[48]

[48] O. Söhngen, "Music & Theology", in *Sacred Sound*, ed. J. Irwing (Chicago, 1983), 14.

Love can also be Abusive

Narrative re-reading of Psalm 12

Anish K. Joy[1]

Introduction

Ps. 12 is in the form of a lament. It is probable that it functioned as a communal lament. The date and the author of this psalm cannot be determined. However the scholars arrived at a conclusion that, this psalm is written by a cultic prophet on the basis that there are no 'we' laments in this psalm. The prophet speaks as the representative of his afflicted people. Parallel forms of expression and intentions should be noted in OT prophecy. E.g. Hos. 4:1, where the prophet speaks to the

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people on behalf of God. (Further references: Hos. 7:4, Is. 9:16, Mic. 7:2, Jer. 5:1ff). The date of this psalm cannot be determined because, the nature of the wicked as described here and of the innocent suffers are too general and common to be fitted into a particular event or period in Israel's' history. According to Jeremias, both the early years of monarchy and also the late post-exilic dating are excluded. Thus, a late pre-exilic estimate is a possibility.

This psalm provides with good thoughts for bad time. Let us see here what it is that makes the time bad and when they may be said to be so. Usually there are many factors that make the time bad. They can be natural calamities, flood, drought, scarcity of money, decay of trade etc. But according to the scripture, it is not on account of any of the above mentioned factors, the time is bad, but on account of human beings.

When there is a general decay of piety and honesty among men the times are then truly bad (v. 1): In other words, when the godly man ceases and the faithful fail. Secondly when all the conversations are corrupted with flattery and lie, then the time is very bad (v.2). The times are bad indeed when there is no such thing as sincerity, when an honest man knows not whom to trust nor dares put confidence in a friend, in a guide. When men and women fail to admit the supremacy of God by elevating their ego above God, the time is bad (v.4). When the poor and the needy are oppressed and abused, the time is very bad (V.5). When wickedness abounds and goes barefaced under the protection of those in authority, then the time is very bad (v. 8) In such a time it is comfortable to think that we have a God to go, from whom we may ask and expect the redress of all our grievances. Thus the psalmist begins with the cry, "Help O Lord…"

The basic sections: There are two basic sections in this psalm such as the vain speech of the wicked persons (vv.2-5) and the sure speech of God (vv.6-9). The psalm begins abruptly with a cry for help, and then goes on to explain the reason for the request. On the one hand the good persons appear to have disappeared from the land, on the other hand the wicked are widespread. In his distress the psalmist encounters the experience of Elijah who, in a time of testing, also felt that he was the last upright person left in the land. (1Kg.19:10). The psalmist could no longer discern the existence of a faithful one, namely a covenant member whose life was characterised by that faithfulness and loving kindness which were of the very essence of the covenant relationship and life. But, if honest persons could not be seen, wicked persons could be both seen and heard. Their speech is described as "vanity" (שָׁוְא) (v.3), "flattering" (חֶלֶק) (v.3) and issuing forth from a "double heart" (v.3)

The essence of evil is presented here in terms of speech, not action, though that speech had caused the crisis which evoked the psalmist's cry for help. Wicked persons spoke fine sounding words which contained no substance. They spoke easy speeches that comfort cruel men.

The faithful: (v.1) (Heb. v.2) There is bit uncertainty in the translation of v.1. the word אֱמוּנִים which is rendered "the faithful" may as in the LXX[2] be regarded as the abstract noun meaning 'truth' or 'faithfulness'. If this translation is adopted we must assume that the word rendered 'any that is godly' or 'the godly man' חָסִיד is an error for the abstract noun 'Love' חֶסֶד.

[2] The Septuagint, also known as the LXX, is a Koine Greek translation of a Hebraic textual tradition that included certain texts which were later included in the canonical Hebrew Bible and other related texts which were not.

The line then would be translated “Love has ceased”, for “the faithfulness has vanished”.

Double heart: (v.2) (Heb. 3) We can also say with double mind. The Hebrew phrase ‘בְּלֵב וָלֵב’, Literally means “with the heart and the heart” or “with two kinds of heart”, “with a double dealing heart”. It is idiomatic in Hebrew language to repeat a word with the conjunction ‘and’ in order to express the idea “of more than one kind:” e.g., “a stone and a stone” (וְאֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן) (Dt.25:13). Thus the “double heart” here indicates a double standard and hence implies lies and deceitfulness. They knew one thing but said another; they would not speak truth though they knew it, when a lie would accomplish their goal. The Hebrew term לֵב usually rendered heart, can also mean “inner man” (including mind, affections, will etc.), “inner disposition, resolve, determination” and so forth. The OT writers speak of the ‘evil heart’ (Prv. 26:23), ‘uncircumcised heart’ (Jer. 9:25, Ez.44:7,9), ‘hardening of heart’ (Ex.4:21), ‘heaviness of heart’ (Ex.7:14, 9:7) etc. Conversely there is too the ‘clean heart’ (Ps.51:12), ‘the new heart’ (Ez.18:31,36:26), ‘broken, contrite heart’ (Ps.51:19), ‘peaceable heart’ (Is.38:3, 1Chr. 28:9, 29:9), and ‘rectitude of heart’ (Job.33:3). The pious folk are said to be ‘righteous of heart’ (Ps.7:11, 11:2, 32:11 etc.), ‘broken, contrite heart’ (Ps.34:19, 147:3) and ‘crushed of heart’ (Is.57:15)

Flattering lips: (v.2) (Heb. 3) The flattering lips in v.2 should be read together with Jas.3:6 where we read, tongue is a fire. (**James 3:6)** And the tongue is a fire. The tongue is placed among our members as a world of iniquity; it stains the whole body, sets on fire the cycle of nature, and is itself set on fire by hell. The lips/mouth/tongue of an evil person ejaculates flattery. The psalmist too breaks into an ejaculation that false lips may be cut off.

Cut off: v.3 (v.4): Their ultimate crime was pride. They asked, "who will be our master?- and they believed the answer to be "No one". The pride within them came forth in arrogant speech, and refusing to acknowledge the mastery of God they oppressed with their tongue the servants of God. So the psalmist prays that such speech must be terminated (v.4). The basic idea conveyed by כרת is to hew off. But here it indicates God's action of punishing the wicked. E.g. 'May the Lord cut off to the man from the tents of Jacob'…(Mal. 2:12), 'he cuts off the foes of his people, the unrighteous, the wicked, "from the earth" (Ps.34:17, 109:15) "from the face of the earth" (1Sam.20:25, 1Kg.9:7), "from the midst of his people" (Lev.17:10, 20:3,5), "from Israel" (Is.9:13)

Tongue: (לָשׁוֹן) (v.3, Heb. 4) The tongue figures in the Psalms as an organ of evil speech. It is a sharp sword (57:6), and the wicked sharpen it like sword (64:4), they make their tongue as sharp as those serpents (140:4). It is moreover the instrument of seductive flattery (5:10), and it devises injuries (52:4). It is finally the organ of uttering falsehood (52:6, 78:36, 109:2, 120:2ff.). Here the words of the wicked are suddenly and strikingly contrasted with the spoken words of Yahweh. The quotation of the divine word is followed immediately by a meditation on the nature of the divine word. The utterances (promises) of the Lord are pure; the purity is demonstrated in the metaphor of refining metal. The word of the Lord is by its very nature valuable (as are silver and gold), but through refinement and purification there is no dross in it. By implication, the speech of the wicked persons is all dross devoid of silver and gold. On the contrary the words of the Lord are pure silver, pure gold, devoid of the dross of flattery, vanity and lies, and can therefore be relied upon absolutely. So

from a position of newly found confidence the psalmist expresses his conviction: "Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up," says the LORD; "I will place them in the safety for which they long" (v.6). God had said he would arise, and that true word could be believed. Protection was coming.

Lord/Master: (v.4, Heb. 5) The word אָדוֹן is used both of God and man. In the latter case it can of course be expressive of politeness and courtesy. Wives use it while referring to their husbands (1Kg.1:17), daughters to their fathers (Gen.31:35), brother to brother (Gen.32:6), and naturally subjects to their king (1Sam.29:8). Prophets too are addressed Adon (1Kg.18:7, 2Kg.8:17). The use of the term in one's dealings with other implies the recognition of the latter's superiority, excellence, eminence etc. The question of the insolent boasters is rhetorical; the answer expected being 'none'. However as they deny that there is nobody over and above them they are sadly mistaken.

The prophetic characteristic: (v.5, Heb.6) The words, 'I will now arise' (עַתָּה אָקוּם) is the acutely historical announcement. Here the prophet announces that Yahweh will arise, not only for an individual persecuted person, but "because of the persecution of the poor". His judgment affects the whole people of God. The statement of Yahweh transmitted by the cultic prophet brings salvation to the oppressed and the weak. The parallelism with the cultic prophetic liturgy of Habakkuk 1 is worth noting. (Both speak of the announcement of God's intervention in face of the collapse of justice and the corrupt living conditions of the people of God.)

Safety: יְשַׁע is a collective of the base *yasa*, whose general sense is 'salvation or deliverance effected of course by Yahweh. It can be compared to the phrases 'garments of salvation' (Ps.

18:47, 25:5, 27:9), 'rock of my salvation' (2Sam.22:47), 'joy of your salvation' (Ps.51:14) 'God of your salvation' (Is.17:10), 'God of my salvation' (Ps.18:47, 25:5,27:9), 'horn of salvation' (2Sam.22:3, Ps.18:3) etc.

Pure/clean: (טָהוֹר) It can denote ritual purity of animals (Gen. 7:2,8. 8:20), of things (Lev.10:10, 11:37,47. 14:57) and of persons (Lev.7:19. 13:13 etc.), physical purity of gold (Ex. 25:11. 17:24 etc.), incense (Ex.30:35. 37:29 etc.), water (Ex. 36:25) and finally also ethical purity: thus a person's heart (Ps. 51:12), hands (Job.17:9) and words (Prov.15:26) are said to be pure, and occasionally the same quality is predicted of God's eyes (Hab.1:13), his law inasmuch it is the object of reverential awe (Ps.19:10).

Conclusion: Human life in its normative forms, would be virtually impossible without speech, for speech provides the fundamental means of communication between human beings. It is generally true that the finest things or qualities within the order of creation are those most vulnerable to debasement or perversion. The more pure or good a thing may be, the more impure or rotten it may be made to become. Love, the greatest quality within creation, may be sadly abused. And speech which is so central to relationship between human beings and between persons and God, may also be radically abused. The psalmist has painted a picture of speech that has been raped – worth has been exchanged for vanity, truth for flattery, and humanity for arrogance and in word and thought. The gift implicit in tongue has been twisted and tortured to evil purposes by proud mortals. The psalmist is not merely concerned to enunciate the existence of evil speech; he suffers from its lash and falsehood, and so is compelled to seek divine help. The deliverance from the power of impure speech is to be found in hearing the pure speech of God.

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Indian Christians and the National Movements

Greger R. Kollannur[1]

Introduction

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries have some significance in the history of Christianity in India. During that period, the emergence of Independence struggle took place. Though Christians did not participate much in the national movements directly, their meandering involvements cannot be ignored. Indian Independence movement can be considered as the output of national renaissance. National Renaissance was produced as a result of the efforts of missionary movements in India. This paper is an attempt to trace out the role of Christianity in National Movements and its effects.

1. India during the 19th and 20th Century

The 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was a period of great changes in India. The British people succeeded in controlling all the economic, social, political and judicial aspects of this nation. Along with the rulers, many missionaries came to

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India with the commission of spreading the gospel. The missionaries also established schools and other educational institutions for the betterment of the Indian people. They got involved in the activities which paved the way for social changes. English education brought a new mindset in the natives of India. V.C. Samuel observes that,

> 'The spread of English education facilitated intellectual ferment which produced a class of Indian Nationalist who rediscovered their own culture and history and who were the leaders of national movements'.[2]

Gradually, providing educational facilities became a part of the missionary activities. It led to a new insight of self-consciousness and national awakening.

Missions of the social reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sree Narayana Guru, Swami Vivekananda etc also produced tremendous changes in the society. With the help of the British rulers, Muslim religious reformers like Sir Sayyad Ahamad Ghan, succeeded in bringing out new changes in their own religion and also in the society. In 1905, when Bengal was divided into two, it produced a great protest among the people against the British rule.[3] Later it developed into a form of thirst for independence.

2. Role of Christians in National Movements

Development of Indian Independence movements or national movements can be classified into three phases. The first phase began with the incident of *Sipoy Mutiny* in 1857. Organization of Indian National Congress and its development can be treated as the second phase of development. The Third and the final phase of Indian Independence was the breaking out of the Second World War in 1937. At the end of the third phase, India gained Independence from the British rule.

Prior to the Sipoy Mutiny, the role of Christians and missionaries were limited to the missionary activities. So they

[2] John Varughese, *Christian Mission and Minority Rights in India*, 12.
[3] V. C. Samuel, *History of the Indian Church during 18th – 20th Century*, 108-109.

were not interested or involved in the national movements. However the missionary contribution towards the field of education was considerably great. Indian Christians joined the political process of this country right from the days of the emergence of Indian Nationalism. It was spread after the event of Sipoy Mutiny.

The Mutiny of 1857 changed the color and the form of administration. It made Indians to realize the necessity to be united in the efforts. As a result nationalism and political consciousness began to grow. Indians especially the educated saw the future with new vision and mission. The Mutiny gave them self-identity and so there was a renaissance in culture and Hindu religion.[4]

3. Indian National Congress

In such a context, the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. Allan Octavian Hume was the first who initiated to construct a common space for Indians. Hume felt that Indians should be given more freedom, more opportunities in administration, more room to administer themselves, and more cooperation and understanding from the British for such aspirations.[5] He was of the opinion that if the British wished the Indian National Congress well, then it would lead to a cordial relationship, and its activities would be on the path of peace and good-will.[6] In the beginning, the INC did not ask for independence and it was composed of educated, moderates. INC struggled for social and economic reforms for the betterment of the lives of Indian people.

At the Madras meeting of the congress in 1887, out of 607 delegates, 35 were Christians. The Indian Christian community was also represented at the next four sessions of the Congress. The proportion of the Indian Christian delegates to the congress

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4 Arthur Jayakumar, *History of Christianity in India-Selcted Themes*, 92.
5 V. C. Samuel, *History of the Indian Church during 18th – 20th Century*, 108.
6 Arthur Jayakumar, *History of Christianity in India-Selcted Themes*, 92.

session was much higher than their proportion in the populations. Some of the prominent Christian leaders in the congress in this period were R.S.N Subramania, a prominent barrister from Madras, Kali Charan Banerji from Bengal, G. G. Nath a barrister from Lahore, Peter Paul Pillai of Madras and a Madusudan Das, a Lawyer from Orrisa.[7]

Panditha Ramabhai Saraswathi (1858-1922) who spoke eloquently in the Congess session of 1889 championing the cause of the Indian woman, and Kali Charan Banerji (1847-1907) who with the oratorical skills molded the policies of the National Movements were good examples of Christian participation in the National Congress. Brahmabandhab Upadhya (1861-1907) enunciated the philosophy of Non-Co-operation and played a leading role in the Swadeshi Movement which became the context for demanding complete freedom for India. In his Nationalist Journal *Sandhya*, he wrote as follows;

> 'We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the variest shred of the Feringhis' supremacy over it is left…Right granted by Feringhis as favour, we shall spit at and reject, and we shall work out our own salvation'[8].

Narayan Varma Tilak (1861-1919), another Christian from the Maharastra region, through his passionate poems inspired the people to the path of self-government and urged the Christian community to become a force on the side of Indian nationalism. There were many other such great individuals who participated in the nationalist movements. Narayan Varma Tilak (1861-1919), another Christian from the Maharastra region, through his passionate poems inspired the people to the path of self-government and urged the Christian community to become a force on the side of Indian nationalism[9]. There were many other

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7 H. C. Perumalil and E. R. Hambye, *Christianity in India*, 278.
8 Patric G., *The Christian Contribution to the Nation*, 170.
9 Ibid.

such great individuals who participated in the nationalist movements.

4. Attitudes of Missionaries towards National Movement

From the very beginning of Indian National movements, few of the missionaries had doubts as to the value and wisdom of Indian and other Christians in associating with the INC. In 1890, W. Harper, a missionary warned Indian Christians of danger of joining with Hindus. At the same time others who not only encouraged Indian Christians but also participated in the Congress sessions in person. Missionaries such as T.E. Slater, C. F. Andrews and E. Greaves were outspoken in urging Indian Christians to participate in political and join the Congress. C. F. Andrews, an Anglican missionary, who supported the cause of nationalism and Verrier Elwin, another missionary who also supported national movement. In 1930, more than 200 British missionaries signed a manifesto appealing to Britain, to be sympathetic to Indian Demand[10].

5. Indian Christian Participation in National Movement

From 1892 onwards, the participation of Christians in the INC sessions declined slowly. The reasons for the decline were many;

1. The Evangelicals emphasized other-worldliness which encouraged Christians to be aloof from mundane things such as politics.[11]
2. There was a large section of the Indian Christian community which was closely associated and depended on the foreign missionaries and church as 'mother churches'. So they never wanted to work against the foreigners.[12]
3. Non-British missionaries could enter the country only after the pledge that they would not engage in any political

[10] John Varughese, *Christian Mission and Minority Rights in India*, 26-27.
[11] Ibid.
[12] John Varughese, *Christian Mission and Minority Rights in India*, 26.

activities. So it restricted the admission of missionaries in politics.[13]

4. There was also a widespread feeling among the ordinary Christians of the country that the future of Christians would be bleak under a government in which the Hindu would be in the majority. So they looked up on British government as the protectors of their religious freedom.
5. The village Christian community was oppressed by their landlords. The missionaries and church hierarchy as a whole opposed the freedom movement and most Christians kept aloof from it.[14]

In spite of all these, even in the first decade of this century there were several far sighted and courageous Christians who were in the tradition laid down by Kali Chandran Banerji and others who wanted the Christian community to be part of the national movements.[15] Sunil Rudra, S. K. Dutta, C. F. Andrews, K. T. Paul and Bishop V. S. Azaria were some of such leaders. While the majority of the western missionaries and Indian Christian leaders saw the providence of God in the establishment of British in India, and in the opportunity this provided for the Christian missionary activity[16], C. F. Andrews saw the providence of God in Indian national awakening and activity supported the Indian national struggle. While Andrews acknowledged that Indian nationalism was the fruit of western political impacts made possible by the British rule, he saw continuity between British rule and the Indian nationalism and interpreted the whole of that history, including nationalism, within the framework of divine providence. By his writings and speeches he tried to awaken the Indian Christians to their responsibility in the national movements. In a speech delivered at the World's Christian Endeavour convention in Agra, he challenged the youth to work

[13] H. C. Perumalil and E. R. Hambye, *Christianity in India*, 280.
[14] John Varughese, *Christian Mission and Minority Rights in India*, 27.
[15] C. B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 248.
[16] V. C. Samuel, *History of the Indian Church during 18th – 20th Century*, 112.

for the national cause thus: 'Love your county with the love of Christ'[17]. Such a passionate involvement as that of Andrews was not seen in any of the other western missionaries.

As the secretary of the national missionary society, and later as the general secretary of YMCA, the Indian Christian named K. T. Paul, prevented the Christian community from becoming a communal group. He saw a 'designed place of necessity' for nationalism in the purpose of God for mankind. He knew that the Indian Christians could not always rely on British protection. He kept reminding the Christian community again and again of the danger of policy of isolationism from the national movements. K.T. Paul clearly saw that the interests of the Christian community were closely bound up with those of other communities.

During the first non-cooperation movements of Gandhiji (1920-23), there was hardly any Christian participation. Lots of people came forth to join the non-cooperation movement. In this period between 1900 and 1930, K. T. Paul, S. K. Datta and V. S. Azariah formed a trio. As it were, who are to be credited with instilling nationalism in the Christian community, in the face of series opposition from western missionaries as well as Indian Christians? Their missions became successful later on. Lots of Christian organizations such as Christian Patriot Group of Madras, Indian Christian Association etc, organized to express Christian views on political matters. Realizing the need of communal harmony, Indian Christian leaders made several attempts to bring about reconciliation between the Muslim League and National Congress.

In Kerala, the Youth Christian Council of Action sympathized with the freedom movement. J. C. Kumarappa, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and an ardent Christian actively worked for Indian Freedom. George Joseph, J. C. Kumarappa, S.K. George etc. were followers of Gandhi's civil disobedience movements. S. D. Datta and K. T. Paul represented

[17] H. C. Perumalil and E. R. Hambye, *Christianity in India*, 281.

Christian community in the round table conference at London, during 1930-32. In the joint political congress that was formed around 1932, Syrian Christians were among the leaders.[18]

In 1945, a suggestion was made in certain quarters to create a league of minorities to safeguard the political interest of minority communities. It was the far-sightedness of Christian leaders that made them to resist such temptation. The political maturity of the leaders was seen at that time of drawing up of constitution for independent India when they rejected the suggestions of a separate electorate for the Christians. It was the result of a general realization among Christians that they do not have a separate destiny different from that of other Indians and of a conviction that the task of the church is not to fight for its own advantage, but to dedicate itself for the common good.[19]

Conclusion

It is true that direct involvement of Indian Christians towards the freedom movement was very less. However the unseen hands and minds of missionaries and Indian Christians behind the national movements need to be acknowledged. The impact of western education, science, political and socio- cultural movements led to the rise of Hindu resurgence in the 19th and 20th century. Indian religious resurgence is closely connected with the national movement and independence. This religious resurgence was brought here by the missionaries themselves. So in short, it can be concluded that though the direct participation of Christians in national movements was very less, their unseen contributions towards the Indian independence must be treasured.

[18] C. B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 249.
[19] V. C. Samuel, *History of the Indian Church during 18th – 20th Century*, 112.

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