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jectural nature of much that follows, one may be allowed to postulate a Jewish congregation at Oxyrynchus during the first and second centuries of the present era. That congregation was, perhaps, established by the founders of Elephantine Judaism, and it lasted, certainly, till the fifth century. It observed Pentecost and, in its ritual, the Lesson from Exodus, the *Haftara* of Habakkuk, and the 68th Psalm were used. In that congregation *piyyuṭ* was known and possibly of a lectionary as opposed to a liturgical nature. But there was a striking contrast between the primitive religion of Elephantine and the developed form that existed in Oxyrhynchus. Between the two stages a wide gulf is discernible, whereas the affinity between Oxyrhynchus and later Rabbinic Judaism is close. At all events, four or five centuries before it can be traced elsewhere, there was to be found in this obscure settlement on the Nile the germ of that wonderful form of poetry that spread all over the Jewish world, giving light and pleasure to thousands of worshippers, and stimulating and inspiring hosts of writers and translators up to the present day. It is indeed appropriate that these fragments of the earliest known *piyyuṭim* should have been given to the world at the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, which was instituted to commemorate the life work of one who, together with his daughters, has done such yeoman service in the cause of the *piyyuṭ* and of the Jewish liturgy.

HERBERT LOEWE.

THE DOXOLOGY IN THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP.

It is told of an eminent scholar whom we have lately lost, that when a friend confronted him with a passage from Justin Martyr, which destroyed a generalization to which he had imprudently committed himself, he gently replied, 'I am afraid I had rather forgotten Justin'.

In my article on 'The Apostolic Anaphora and the Prayer of St Polycarp' (*J. T. S.* xxi pp. 97 ff, Jan. 1920) I gave some account of Dom Cagin's extraordinary theory of an 'Apostolic Anaphora'. For this theory, which I myself could not possibly accept, he had found support as he believed in an article which I wrote many years ago ('Liturgical Echoes in St Polycarp's Prayer', *Expositor*, Jan. 1899), and he had done me the honour of quoting almost the whole of it in his book. In that article I had mentioned a number of parallels from liturgical sources to the language of the Prayer, abstaining however from drawing any conclusions. The last of these parallels was concerned with the doxology at the end of the Prayer. It was the form, not the substance, of this doxology which at that time struck me as remarkable—'Thy Beloved

Son, *through whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit* be glory . . . ' I noted the occurrence of this formula 'no less than seven times in the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order* (Achelis, pp. 47, 57, 58, 59, 60, 67, 99)'. These documents are preserved to us in Arabic and Ethiopic translations respectively, and I observed that where we happened to have Greek forms of the prayers in question this formula was not found in them. In the Ethiopic Liturgy I found it as the regular formula of doxology; and shortly afterwards I came across it in several Coptic documents. The only occurrence of the actual Greek words ($\delta\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$) which I could discover was in the course of the Anaphora (not in the concluding doxology) of the Liturgy of St Mark (Swainson, p. 30; Brightman, p. 126), that strangely composite Liturgy which comes to us from Egypt.¹

At the time at which I wrote, the *Canons of Hippolytus* were generally believed to be of a much earlier date than would be allowed to them now. The place of honour which they then held has been taken by the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*. This document Dom Connolly has reconstituted with the aid of the new materials provided by Hauler for the Latin and by Horner for the Oriental versions, and he has successfully claimed it as the work of St Hippolytus. The *Apostolic Tradition*, as we may now call it, does not contain the particular doxological formula with which we are now concerned.²

In my review of Dom Cagin's book on 'The Apostolic Anaphora' I took occasion to refer again to the doxological formula in question, and to express my increasing astonishment at its presence in St Polycarp's Prayer—not only now on account of its form, but also on account of its substance. I prefaced my remarks by a plea that some one would give us a careful collection of all the doxologies extant in the Christian literature of the Ante-Nicene period. I said that we should then be able to answer some important questions. 'What for example is the earliest reference of any kind in a doxology to the Holy Spirit? There is none in the doxologies of the New Testament, nor in the numerous doxologies of the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Can we find one in any doxology which can be securely dated before we come to Clement of Alexandria or Hippolytus?'

In a recent number of this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii, p. 390) Mr J. W. Tyrer writes: 'Dr Robinson has failed to notice that Justin Martyr, in describing the Great Thanksgiving in the Liturgy of his day, says that the celebrant

¹ Dr Brightman has now pointed out a number of interesting examples of formulae which are somewhat similar, though not actually coincident.

² I have asked Dom Connolly to add a note on the forms of doxology with which the various versions present us. It will appear that one particular form may reasonably be held to come from the original Greek of the *Apostolic Tradition*.

αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει (*Apol.* i 65) . . . The natural interpretation of Justin's words is, that the Son and the Holy Ghost were named in the doxology which concluded the Great Thanksgiving. Hence we may infer that when he wrote (150-155) the threefold doxology was already established in the public prayers of the Church, so that there is no difficulty in supposing that St Polycarp may have used it at the time of his martyrdom (155 or 156).'

I might plead that I was speaking of extant doxologies and not of those which we might hypothetically reconstruct. But I prefer to say that 'I had rather forgotten Justin', and I am grateful to my critic for jogging my memory. I can take Justin's evidence a step further than he has done in his article. In my recent edition of the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, the lost treatise of St Irenaeus now recovered in an Armenian version (S.P.C.K. 1920), I had occasion to deal somewhat fully with St Justin's statements regarding the Holy Spirit. I cited (p. 30) the passage to which Mr Tyrer refers (*Apol.* i 65), and also another passage of a similar kind (*Apol.* i 67). In the former passage we are told that he who presides over the brethren receives the Bread and the Cup, and 'sends up praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and makes thanksgiving (eucharist) for being accounted worthy of these gifts from Him'. This statement that praise and glory are offered 'to the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit' may be accounted for as a mere reference in advance to a closing doxology. On the adequacy of this explanation opinions will differ. I am myself inclined to think that something more lay behind these remarkable words: and my reasons will be clear to any one who will read what I have said on pp. 38-44 of my book. In the later passage Justin says: 'And over all our food we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit'. Here I am more ready to accept the explanation that nothing more is referred to than a doxology which closed the thanksgiving.

Something must now be said on the really serious problem which Mr. Tyrer's article raises. Granting that St Justin attests a form of doxology in which a mention is made of the Holy Spirit, let us be careful to note that according to him glory or blessing is directed to the Father through the Son and through the Holy Spirit. This is a point on which it is proper to insist.

The difficulty which writers of the second century felt in defining the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son is so little recognized that it is possible for my critic to write as though it would be quite natural to expect the 'conglorification' of the Spirit in the

doxologies of that period. In the last sentence of the passage which I quoted from him he allows himself to speak of Justin's words as proving that 'the threefold doxology' was in use between 150 and 155, so that we need not be surprised at its use in St Polycarp's Prayer. But Justin's doxology ascribes glory to the Father alone; whereas that in the Prayer ascribes it to the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Two things surprise me in the doxology attributed to St Polycarp. One is the particular form in which it is phrased: 'through whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit'. Of this enough has been said until new examples of its use can be produced. The other is the 'conglorification' of the Holy Spirit. It is expressed indeed in the lower form—by the word 'with', and not by the word 'and', which was insisted upon in the final stage of the great controversy: but even so its appearance in the year 156 is to me no less than amazing.

Mr Tyrer suggests that I might find some relief by reading with Eusebius *σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, instead of *σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. I have already said that on this point I accept the judgement of Lightfoot, Zahn, and Harnack. It is not in this direction that I look for the solution of the difficulty. I hope that attention will be given to the other parallels of a liturgical character in the Prayer, and that the Martyrdom as a whole may be submitted to a new examination. We need not fear that the main outlines of this beautiful story will be taken from us, even if the authenticity of the famous 'Letter of the Smyrnaeans' goes the way of other martyrological expansions.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

The doxology at the end of the eucharistic prayer, or Anaphora, in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus as preserved in the Verona Latin fragments is as follows: 'per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua, et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen'.

The same form occurs after the prayers of ordination for a bishop and a presbyter, except that in the former 'et potentia' is added after 'gloria', and 'in sancta ecclesia tua' is omitted, and in the latter 'virtus' is read in the place of 'honor', and 'tua' is omitted after 'ecclesia'. (The end of the prayer for the deacon, with its doxology, is lost.)

After the eucharistic prayer are two short blessings to be said, the first over oil, the second over cheese and olives. No doxologies are attached to them, but after the second is this direction: 'In omni vero benedictione dicatur: "Tibi gloria, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia, et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum"'.

Finally, at a later point in the treatise there is a prayer to be said over firstfruits, which has this doxology: 'per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, dominum nostrum, per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen'. The Greek of this is preserved (see *J. T. S.* xix pp. 134-135, Jan.-Apr. 1918): διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ (καὶ?) σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν. This formula presents a different type from the foregoing, ascribing glory to the Father alone.

The doxologies in the Ethiopic version¹ of the *Apostolic Tradition* are as follows:—

1. Ordination prayer for bishop: 'through whom to thee be glory and might and honour, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in thy (two MSS read "the") holy Church, now', &c. (Horner, p. 139).

2. Anaphora: 'through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church, now', &c. (p. 141).

3. Ordination prayer for presbyter: 'through whom to thee be glory and power, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, now', &c. (p. 144).

4. Ordination prayer for deacon: 'through whom to thee with him (two MSS omit "with him") be glory and might and power and praise, with the Holy Spirit, now', &c. (p. 145).

5. Prayer over firstfruits: 'through whom to thee (some MSS add "with him") be glory, (some MSS add "and") with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever' (p. 179).

The Ethiopic has besides a quantity of interpolated matter containing a considerable number of prayers: (*a*) a series of five prayers added after the Anaphora, (*b*) a long baptismal service (Horner, pp. 163-178), (*c*) a form for blessing the Evening Lamp (pp. 159-160: this is certainly ancient, and may possibly be part of the original work). In (*a*) at p. 142 (twice), and in (*b*) pp. 164, 167, 168, 170 (twice), 175, 176, we have the formula: 'through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit', without MS variants worthy of note. On p. 165 the same form occurs, but with a difference of order: 'through whom to thee with him be glory . . . and with the Holy Spirit'. The Arabic and Coptic versions of the prayer over firstfruits (Horner, pp. 259, 323) offer what is only another slight variation of the same form: 'through whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Spirit'. The doxology of the prayer in (*c*) is: 'through whom to thee (only one MS adds "with him") be glory and might and honour with the Holy Spirit, now', &c. On p. 174, under (*b*), 'with him' is absent.

Thus the certainly interpolated sections (*a*) and (*b*) have regularly

¹ The Arabic and Coptic recensions do not contain the prayers.

the formula 'through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit'. In the genuine prayers this appears only in the Ethiopic form of the doxology at the end of the deacon's prayer, and there two MSS omit the words 'with him'.

We have seen that in the *Apostolic Tradition* the Latin version presents, in all but secondary details, a single form of doxology in the Anaphora and the ordination prayers for bishop¹ and presbyter. We may conjecture that the same form concluded the deacon's prayer. What is of importance now to observe is that this form has the support of the Ethiopic in the case of the prayers for bishop and presbyter. That must mean that a common Greek text stands here behind the Latin and the Ethiopic. We may therefore say with some degree of confidence that the Latin has faithfully preserved the original form of doxology with which Hippolytus concluded the greater prayers of his treatise. The departures from this in the Ethiopic doxologies of the Anaphora and the deacon's prayer may probably be set down as corruptions due to the many vicissitudes through which the text must have passed before it reached the state in which this version presents it to us.

Having now established as characteristic of the *Apostolic Tradition* this particular doxology (the Greek words of which would seem to have been: *διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ (ὡς τὸ κράτος) πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κτλ.*), it becomes of interest to compare with it other forms of doxology which are found in the works of Hippolytus. The *Contra Noetum* closes with a solemn ascription of glory to Christ as God and Man (conformably with the scope of this treatise) together with the Father and the Holy Spirit: *αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.* Here again we have the remarkable and almost unique feature of the leading doxologies of the *Apostolic Tradition*—'in the holy Church'. With the shorter form at the end of the prayer over firstfruits we may compare the doxologies with which Hippolytus concludes each of the four books of his commentary on Daniel and the tract *De Antichristo*. Bk. I *ὡς ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*: bk. II *αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*: bk. III *αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*: bk. IV *ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*: *De Antichr.* *ὡς ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ The words 'in sancta ecclesia', absent from the Latin doxology of the bishop's prayer, may confidently be restored to it on the authority of the Ethiopic.