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A PORTION OF AN EARLY ANATOLIAN PRAYER-BOOK

THE object of this paper is to shew that two pages and a part of a third in the well-known Psalter of Aethelstan (Brit. Mus. Galba xviii, which I shall cite as *Galba*) are a transcript of a Greek manual of private devotions written in Asia Minor, and probably in Galatia or Cappadocia, not later than the fifth century. Should this object be achieved, it would be a matter of considerable interest, first on account of the general fact that at so early a date we have no other example of a set or customary form of private devotions, and secondly because we should thus obtain an early witness to the cult of the saints, and a link between the Syrian and the Irish devotional books.

These pages of *Galba* contain an abbreviated litany of the saints, a creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Sanctus*, all in Greek transliterated into Anglo-Saxon, with Latin rubrics. But *Galba* does not stand alone; Cotton MS Titus xviii (*Titus*) has the *Sanctus* followed by the first eleven suffrages of this same litany; the Codex Laudianus contains a Latin version of the same creed; MS Royal 2 A xx (*Royal*) has a similar litany, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Lord's Prayer, and another Latin version of the same creed, differing slightly from that in the Codex Laudianus; the Stowe Missal (*Stowe*) has a litany based on the diptychs in the same manuscript, and through them on the litany in the archetype of *Galba*, *Titus*, and *Royal*; a Fulda manuscript, also of Irish origin, has a similar litany to that given in *Stowe*; and an abbreviation of the same litany also appears in the Ordo of St Amand.

I shall give notes on the several manuscripts involved, including a copy of the text of all the portion of *Galba* with which we are concerned excepting the Lord's Prayer; then I shall deal successively with the litanies, the *Sanctus*, and the creed in detail; and finally I shall summarize the evidence and indicate the approximate date and locality which the various strands suggest.

(1) *Galba*.

The Psalter of Aethelstan is in its present form composite. The original manuscript (ff. 28-119) was written in the ninth century on the Continent, probably before 850; later additions on the spare leaves and supplementary leaves (ff. 22-27) in the tenth century. The rest of the volume (ff. 1-21, 178-200) was written in England in the tenth century. It is with this last portion that we are concerned.

It contains, as I have said, a Greek litany of the saints, the Lord's

Prayer, a creed, and the *Sanctus*, all transliterated into Anglo-Saxon characters. I give the transcription of the litany, creed, and *Sanctus* from Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 78-80, who also gives a facsimile of the creed.

- Hic incipiunt Grecorum letanie. (bottom of f. 199b)
 Xpe epacus onimin (f. 200a)
 Aie Michael euxe yperimon
 Aie Gabriel euxe yperimon
 Aie Raphael euxe yperimon
 5 Aie Maria euxe yperimon
 Aie Petre euxe yperimon
 Aie Paule euxe yperimon, et rī.
 Pantas yaies euxaste yperimon
 Ileos genuce fise ymas cyrie
 10 Ileos genuce lutrose ymas cyrie
 Apopantes cacu lutrose ymas cyrie
 Diatus taurusu lutrose ymas cyrie
 Amarthuluse paraca lumen epacus onimin
 Inagrinin dosisse paraca lumen epacus onimin
 15 Ygie tuthouse paraca lumen epacus onimin
 Ao annos tuthou oerronan tin amartias tu cosmu eleison imas.
 Hic incipit Pater noster in lingua Grecorum. (f. 200a-b)
 Pater imon . . . apatu poniru.

Credo gr̄.

Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero
 ceis criston ihū yon aututon mono
 genton quirion imon tongenegenta
 epneumatus agiu cemariatis parthenu
 ton epipontio pilatu staurothenteeta
 finta tetríte imera anastanta ogni
 cron anaunta istos uranos catimeron
 indexia tu patros oten erchete crinezon
 tas cenicros ceis preuma agion agria
 fis inamartion sarcos anasta. Amen.

s̄cs s̄cs s̄cs

Agios agios agios cyrus o theos sabaoth
 plyris urano cegastisdoxis

The next leaf, which gave the continuation of the *Sanctus*, is now missing. The importance of *Galba* is that it gives the collection as a whole, though the *et rī* in the seventh line of the litany shews that some suffrages have been omitted.

(2) *Titus*.

Cotton MS Titus D xviii of about the twelfth century, after giving the conclusion of a piece begun on f. 12a, has on the eighth line of f. 12b a title: *Ymnus Grecorum ante canonem* (in red) followed by the *Sanctus*: Agios. agios. agios, Kyrius. o theos sabaoth. plyris urano. ke getis doxis autu, Osanna entis ipsistis; Eulogumenos o erchanos en ono mati kyri; Osanna entis ypsistis.

Then comes: *Incipit letania Grecorum* (in red), and the first eleven suffrages of the *Galba* litany, occupying the rest of the page: f. 13 is blank.

That this is not a copy of the *Galba* leaf is shewn by variations in the transliteration, e.g.:

- 3 Agie Gabriel euche yper imon
- 8 Pantas agies euchiste yper imon
- 9 Ileos genuse; phise ymas Kyrie,

and that it is less primitive by the obvious correction of putting the suffrage *Agia Maria euche yper imon* before the invocation of the archangels. It omits the *et r!* after suffrage 7.

(3) *The Codex Laudianus*.

This is a Graeco-Latin uncial manuscript, probably of the first half of the seventh century. It is best known as Codex E of the Acts, and was used by Bede (673-735) in his commentary. At one time it must have been in Sardinia, as after the creed, which is the same as that found in *Galba*, only in Latin, and is annexed to the Acts, is an edict of Flavius Pancratius, Duke of Sardinia. In the eighth century it was at Hornbach (*J.T.S.* xxix 399). Its later history is unknown until it was given by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library. The importance of the Codex Laudianus in this connexion is that it gives a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the creed and in consequence for the date of the Greek exemplar from which *Galba* and *Titus* are derived.

(4) *Royal*.

MS Royal 2 A xx, also in the British Museum, was written in England in the eighth century, and probably between 700 and 725. It contains, on f. 26a, a Latin litany based on the original Greek manuscript from which the litany in *Galba* and *Titus* is taken; the *Hymnus angelicus* or *Gloria in excelsis* on f. 28a; the Lord's Prayer on ff. 11b and 12a, followed immediately by the creed. The creed differs from that in the Codex Laudianus by reading *in Jesum Christum* instead of *in Christo Jesu*; *in caelos* instead of *-is*; *sedit* has been corrected by a later hand

to *sedet*; *ad dexteram di patris*, where *di* has been underpointed, for *ad dextera Patris*; and *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*, for *sancta ecclesia* only. This manuscript is printed as an appendix to the *Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, pp. 199 ff. The importance of *Royal* is that it completes the litany given in part in *Galba* and *Titus*. It has the same items as are in *Galba* except the *Sanctus* but they are a little scattered.

(5) *Stowe*.

The Stowe Missal was written in an Irish monastery in the early portion, and probably in the first decade, of the ninth century. The litany forms part of the 'Preparation' of the priest, and, after several intervening prayers, is followed by the *Gloria in excelsis* on ff. 13b, 14a, and the *Sanctus* on f. 23b. The importance of *Stowe* is that, as we shall see, it furnishes a key to the origin of the litany in *Galba*, *Titus*, and *Royal*.

(6) *Fulda*.

G. Witzel printed in his *Exercitamenta sinceræ pietatis*, 1555, sign P. a Fulda manuscript which is now lost. This manuscript 'was evidently another copy of the Old Irish Missal, of which the only copy now extant is *Stowe*; and though, as appears from so much as Witzel prints, the names of the saints invoked in the Litany of the "Preparatio" differed, the "framework" is identical with that of the litanies in *Stowe* and 2 A xx', (*Royal*).¹

(7) *The Order of St Amand*.

This is printed in Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 456-480. It 'is one of the most corrupt, as it is the most deceptive and audacious, of the Gallican perversions that pass under the name of "Roman Ordos". It may date from any time in the ninth century after, probably, 830'.²

So much for the texts. As regards dates, the *terminus ad quem* is given by the use made by Bede of the Codex Laudianus. *Galba* and *Titus* show that we are dealing with a Greek exemplar, and the Irish books, *Stowe*, *Royal*, and *Fulda* go back to the original Greek manuscript from which the transcript on which *Galba* and *Titus* are based is derived. We therefore have to do with some part of the Greek-speaking East, Sardinia, and England; and the natural distributing centre would be Rome. Hence it is not impossible that the Codex Laudianus was brought to England by Theodore in 638, while the Greek original cannot have been written much later than 600.

We will now consider the contents in detail.

¹ Edmund Bishop *Liturgica Historica* p. 140.

² *ib.* p. 160.

The Litanies.

(a) The general form of the suffrages.

In the forms εὐξαι, εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν there is nothing distinctive; Εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, Πάτερ, εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, Πατέρες, are of frequent occurrence in petitions addressed to living monks or priests in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus, and, given the cult of the saints, the language is inevitable. And this cult must have existed in Asia Minor as a popular practice before it was justified or encouraged by such authorities as Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xxiv 19, xliii 82), Basil (*Hom. in quad. martt.* 8; *Ep.* ccclx, al. ccv), Gregory of Nyssa (ed. Paris 1638 t. iii pp. 585, 616), and Chrysostom (*in Gen. Hom.* xliv 2; *in Ep. ii. ad Cor. Hom.* xxvi 5).

(b) The list of the saints.

I give in parallel columns *Royal* f. 26a; the *Stowe Litany* f. 12; *Galba*; the *Stowe diptychs* f. 32a; and the list in the Great Intercession of the Greek Liturgy of St James (Brightman, pp. 56, 57).

In the *Stowe diptychs* these names are preceded by a list of Old Testament saints.

<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Stowe Litany.</i>	<i>Galba and Titus.</i>	<i>Stowe Dipt.</i>	<i>St James.</i>
Christe audi nos	Christe audi nos (3 times) Kyrie eleison	Xpe apacus onimin		
Michael		Michael	Old Testament Saints	
Gabriel		Gabriel		
Raphael		Raphael		
John			John Baptist	Mary
Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary	John Baptist
Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Paul	Paul	Paul	Paul	Paul
Andrew	Andrew	et rl (Titus omits <i>et rl</i>)	Andrew	Andrew
James	James		James	James
John			John	John
Philip			Philip	Philip
Bartholomew	Bartholomew		Bartholomew	Bartholomew
Thomas	Thomas		Thomas	Thomas
Matthew	Matthew		Matthew	Thaddaeus
James	James		James	Matthew
Simon			Simon	James
Thaddaeus	Thaddaeus		Thaddaeus	Simon
Matthias	Matthias		Matthias	Jude
Barnabas				Matthias
Mark	Mark		Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke		Luke	Luke
				Prophets and Patriarchs
Stephen			Stephen	Stephen
Linus, &c.			Cornelius, &c.	
All Saints	All Saints	All Saints		All Saints

Titus has *agia Maria* before the names of the archangels, a correction made in accordance with the feeling of the time. It omits the *et rī* which is in *Galba* after St Paul. *Fulda* agrees with *Stowe*, but has Luke, Barnabas, Stephen. Barnabas in *Fulda* and *Royal*, in different places in each list, is probably taken from the prayer *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* in the Roman Canon, which runs: John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas. *Kyrie eleison* is not in *Fulda* or *Royal*; it is no doubt an addition by the compiler of the Stowe Litany. The Order of St Amand (Duchesne, *C. W.* p. 475) gives *Cyrie eleison* three times, *Christe audi nos*, Mary, Peter, Paul, John, Andrew, Lawrence, or the saint to whom the church is dedicated, All Saints.

A comparison of these lists makes certain points clear.

1. Of the five manuscripts—*Galba*, *Titus*, *Royal*, *Stowe*, and the Codex Laudianus—none is based on another. *Galba* and *Titus* are independent transcripts: *Galba* is not based on *Royal* for *Royal* has no *Sanctus*; nor *Royal*, *Stowe*, or *Fulda* on *Galba* or *Titus* for the former trio contain fuller litanies than the latter pair. This point need not be laboured.

2. But all go back to a common Greek document. The Greek creed in *Galba* with its own peculiarities is derived from the same source as the slightly differing translations in the Codex Laudianus and *Royal*. The peculiar form of the *Sanctus* in *Galba* reappears in *Stowe*. The lists in the Stowe diptychs and *Royal* are, but for the addition of Barnabas in the latter, identical. Both are based on the list in Matt. x 2-4 but invert the order of Simon and Thaddeus, and this list is 'quite different'¹ from that in the Roman Missal although the remainder of the lists after Stephen are derived from it.

3. The list in the Stowe Litany is based on the Stowe diptychs. Bishop speaks of 'the de facto identity of the Irish order of the Apostles, as shown in the Stowe diptychs, &c., with that in the Intercession in the Greek Liturgy of St James'.² 'Identity' is perhaps too strong a term but both are based upon the Matthaean list, and this is exceptional; other Eastern rites content themselves with a mere summary; in the West the Book of Cerne follows the order of the Roman mass, and the Mozarabic mass and that of the Church of Arles both adopt the order of Acts i 13. Nevertheless the Stowe diptychs are not based upon *St James* directly, but through our Greek document which, therefore, has Antiochene affinities.

4. The shorter lists in *Galba*, *Titus*, and the Order of St Amand are derived ultimately from the longer list in the Greek manuscript, which is given in full in *Royal* and *Stowe*, but the two former probably im-

¹ Bishop o.c. p. 140.

² *ib.* p. 161.

mediately from a Greek copy which ended after Πέτρε, Παῦλε with κτλ., or some other such sign, and this has been translated in *et rl* in *Galba* and omitted in *Titus*.

(c) *The Remaining Suffrages.*

The dependence of *Royal*, *Stowe*, and *Fulda* on the same original document as that used in *Galba* is here obvious.

Galba and Titus.

Ἰλεως γενοῦ καὶ φεῖσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε

Ἰλεως γενοῦ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε

Ἄπο παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς,
Κύριε

(*Titus* ends here)

Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ Σου λύτρωσαι, ἡμᾶς,
Κύριε

Ἄμαρτωλοί Σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν

Ἰνα εἰρήνην δώσης, Σε παρακαλοῦμεν,
ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν

Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Σε παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν

Ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ Θεοῦ δαίρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν²
τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς

Royal, Stowe, and Fulda.

Propitius esto par[ce nobis Domine S. F.]

Propitius esto liber[a nos Domine S. F.]

Ab omni malo liber[a nos Domine S. F.]

Per crucem tuam liber[a nos Domine S. F.]

Peccatores Te rog[amus audi nos S. F.]

Ut pacem dones Te rog[amus audi nos S. F.]

Filius¹ Dei Te rog[amus audi nos F.]

Agne² Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.

Royal adds at the end *Χρε ἀυδί nos*.

In *Stowe* the petitions down to *Per crucem tuam* are given twice, once in the text in f. 12, and once added by Moelcaich on f. 31, which has been misplaced and should follow f. 12. Moelcaich gives the complete set but puts *Ut pacem dones* next after *Filii Dei*, 'an order which the very subject-matter of the suffrages shews to be preposterous' (Bishop, l.c. p. 160). He ends with *Christe audi nos* three times, which is omitted by Witzel. Moelcaich's order is also that of the Ordo of St Amand, which directs that the whole litany should be said three times. It ends *Christe audi nos*, *Kyrie eleison*, the latter to be said thrice, this being the *Kyrie* of the mass.

(d) *Individual Suffrages.*

Ἄπο παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε. 'The form to which the Roman ear was, and had long been, accustomed in every mass is "ab

¹ Moelcaich, *Filii*, *Fulda* *Fili*.

² *Galba* tin amartias.

³ *Royal* and Order of St Amand Agnus.

omnibus malis”¹ which occurs in the invariable prayer after the Lord’s Prayer (*Gelas. Greg.*). This is another piece of evidence that the original document was not composed at Rome.

The last suffrage is ‘Ο ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κοσμοῦ, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (*Galba, tin amartias*). This comes from the *Gloria in excelsis* or morning hymn which is found complete in the Alexandrine manuscript of the New Testament, written in the fifth century; in part in *de Virginitate* c. 20 written in Syria in the fourth century, and ascribed to Athanasius; and in part also in a form interpolated by the writer known as Pseudo-Ignatius in the *Apostolical Constitutions* vii 46, in a collection of hymns and prayers made at or near Antioch in the latter half of the fourth century.

(e) *The Sanctus.*

Bishop has called attention to ‘the curious similarity, I might almost say identity, of devotional spirit’,² in the Syrian, the Spanish, and the Irish books; and as examples of the last he instances the Stowe Missal, the Book of Cerne, and *Royal*. ‘This Syrian religious influence, with its thoughts, forms of expression, and even formulas began to make itself felt on Western piety . . . in Spain.’³ But it is a far cry from the neighbourhood of Antioch to Spain, and the transportation was doubtless effected by the land route across Asia Minor and the Balkan States. Intermediate between Antioch and Spain will be the Danubian rite. Of this rite we know little; two prefaces are given in *Mai Script. vet. nova Coll.* and we have quotations from it or allusions to it in the works of Niceta of Remesiana. That the Danubian rite influenced Spanish liturgical formulas is shewn by the fact that Niceta and Martin of Braga used the same form of renunciation in baptism.

Of the two prefaces, one (*Mai* t. iii p. 223) begins ‘Dignum et iustum est nos Tibi *hic* et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte omnipotens Deus’. *Hic* does not occur in any Roman preface, but in the Mozarabic rite we have ‘Dignum quidem et iustum est, Domine, nos Tibi semper *hic* et ubique gratias agere’ (*Liber Ordinum* ed. Férotin col. 263) and ‘Dignum et iustum est, vere equum et salutare est, nos Tibi *hic* et ubique gratias agere Domine sancte Pater aeternae omnipotens Deus’ (*Liber Sacramentorum* coll. 204, 477, 582). These forms cannot be independent, and shew a transportation of Danubian phrases to Spain. ‘Vere dignum et iustum est, equum et salutare est nos Tibi *hic* et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte omnipotens aeternae Deus’ is also in *Stowe*.

Another link between the Danubian and Spanish rites is most

¹ Bishop l.c. p. 151 n.

² l.c. p. 161.

³ l.c. p. 163.

probably furnished by the *Te Deum*. The *Te Deum* was probably drawn at least in part by Niceta of Remesiana from the rite he was accustomed to use. The verse 'Tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili voce proclamant', reappears in the Mozarabic Missal col. 622 in the fuller form 'Laudant celestia pariter ac terrena, cherubim quoque ac seraphim incessabili voce proclamant, ita dicentes. . . .' On the other side we have a link between Niceta and Asia Minor. Niceta *de Spir. Sanct.* c. 22 writes 'Sicut in mysteriis ore dicimus, ita conscientia teneamus: Unus Sanctus, utique Spiritus, unus Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris, Amen', which is the response to the *Sancta Sanctis* in the Byzantine and Syriac Greek rites (*Apostolic Constitutions*; Cyril of Jerusalem; John of Damascus; Liturgy of St James).

The second preface in Mai begins: 'Dignum et iustum est, aequum et iustum est, nos Tibi *super omnia* gratias agere', which is parallel to the Clementine rite: "Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον πρὸ πάντων ἀννυμεῖν Σε.

In the Stowe diptychs the names of the New Testament saints are preceded by: Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph; Job, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah, Isaiah, and so on in the Vulgate order to Malachi except that Esther is inserted between Daniel and Hosea, then Tobit, the Three Holy Children, the Maccabees, the Holy Innocents. Any list of Old Testament saints is very rare, but the East Syrian rite (Brightman, p. 276) gives: Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Melchizedek, Aaron, Zacharias, and all priests, Moses, Saul, David, Nathan, and all prophets: and a somewhat similar form is found in Apost. Cons. vii 37. Bearing in mind the evidence we have given above, it does not seem fanciful to suggest that there was also a list in the Danubian rite to which Niceta is alluding in *de Symbolo* 10 'Ab exordio enim saeculi sive patriarchae, Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, sive prophetae, sive apostoli, sive martyres, sive ceteri iusti . . . una ecclesia sunt . . . etiam angeli . . . in hac una confoederantur ecclesia.'

With this compare the following specimens from the prayer called *Post Nomina* of the Mozarabic rite (the references are to Férotin, *Liber Sacramentorum*): 'Sanctorum tuorum Domine communicantes memorie Patriarcharum Prophetarumque tuorum (non) sumus immemores . . . memoramus etiam Apostolos tuos, qui adventum tuum a Prophetis Patriarchisque predictum . . . cernere meruerunt. Facimus quoque et tuorum Martyrum sanctorum mentionem. . . .' Fourth Sunday in Advent col. 19. 'Inter Patriarcharum inclite memorie titulos, Prophetarumque sublimes vaticinio fascas, atque Martyrum inlustres . . . triumphos . . .' St Vincent col. 114. 'Beatorum quoque Angelorum, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum omniumque sanctorum, qui de

ecclesie corpore gloriosa Christi membra facti sunt, suffragiis . . .’ St Peter’s Chair, col. 142. ‘Advocamus in suffragio precum nostrarum susceptos in celesti collegio Patriarchas, repletos divino Spiritu Prophetas, Martyres confessionis floribus coronatos, Apostolos ad officium predicationis electos.’ Easter, col. 255. Notice specially the identity of thought in Niceta and the third extract. W. C. Bishop asserts that ‘the form given in the Missal contained originally the names of the patriarchs and prophets’.¹

Having given Edmund Bishop’s general thesis and supported it by particular instances we now come to the point at issue.

Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σαβαώθ does not occur in the Hebrew or LXX of Isaiah vi 3, nor in the Greek liturgies, which have ‘Lord of sabaoth’ only, but it occurs in the Liturgy of St James (Brightman p. 50) and in the Liturgy of the Syriac Jacobites in the form: ‘Holy, Holy, Holy, Mighty Lord *God* of sabaoth of the glory and honour of whose majesty heaven and earth are full’ (Brightman p. 86). Next it comes in the *Te Deum* ‘S.S.S. D. *Deus* s. pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae Tuae’; and then in the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin, col. 237) ‘S.S.S. D. *Deus* s. pleni sunt caeli et terrae gloria maiestatis Tuae.’ We have already shewn the transportation of the succeeding verse of the *Te Deum*. Here, therefore, also we have a link between an Antiochene liturgy, our Greek manuscript, the Danube, and Spain.

We can now sketch the history of our manuscript. It was written ‘somewhere in the East’, probably in Asia Minor about 600 or earlier. The first indication we have of it is that a writer ‘somewhere in the West’ translated the creed into Latin and appended to it the text of the Codex Laudianus before that left Sardinia. Provisionally we may conjecture that the two manuscripts were together at Rome, and certainly this is more probable than in Sardinia. Thence the Codex Laudianus was brought back to Rome and taken to England probably by Theodore.

Our manuscript went to Gaul where a transcript of it was made in which the order of the concluding suffrages in the litany was inverted, and this was used by the writer of the Ordo of St Amand and by Moelcaich. At the beginning of the eighth century it was in England and the litany and creed were taken from it and translated into Latin in *Royal*. While it was in England a copy of it was made with an abbreviated litany and this copy was transliterated into Anglo-Saxon characters in the tenth century in *Galba* and in the twelfth in *Titus*. At the beginning of the ninth century the original manuscript was in Ireland and the litany and *Sanctus* were translated from it into Latin and inserted in *Stowe*.

¹ *Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites* p. 33 D.

And now we come to the Creed. The list of saints in the litany, which is 'quite different' from that of the Roman Missal, and the suffrage ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ as contrasted with *ab omnibus malis* to which Roman ears were accustomed would lead us to suppose that the creed was not that of Rome, and parallels with Antiochene and Danubian rites would point to some district in Asia Minor, but mere presuppositions are comparatively valueless where something near to demonstration is possible.

Evidence for the form of creed in use at Rome from 380 to 600 is furnished by the general form of Gallican (G) and North Italian (N) creeds; and among the latter specially that of Milan (M) as obtained from the sermons of Augustine; the *Explanatio ad Initiandos*, probably by Ambrose (E), which claims to give the creed of Rome *verbatim*, and, after allowances have been made for the fact that the best text is in the shape of lecture notes by a pupil, agrees verbally with M; the Tome of Leo (L); the Gelasian Sacramentary which gives the contemporary Interrogatory Creed (S); and the later *Textus Receptus* (T).

Christon Ihū. Jesum Christum G, M, E, L, S, T, some N. Rufinus of Aquileia and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna have 'Christ Jesus', in both cases probably an easternism, as is 'vitam aeternam' at the end of the latter's creed. Maximus of Turin and a creed published by de Rubeis and probably belonging either to Aquileia or possibly to Forum Julii, 'Jesus Christ'. *Jesum Christum* in *Royal* would appear to be a correction. This evidence is absolutely decisive.

Passum omitted. *Passum* G, M, E, S, T; probably in Leo's sermons. *Passum* in Gallican creeds is probably due to the influence of Irenaeus. If the particular form of Roman creed of this date, R, was due to provincial influence at the council held by Damasus in 371, the number of Gallican bishops present would probably be much greater than the number of those from Northern Italy where Christianity was of far more recent introduction. *Passum* was in the contemporary interrogatory creed and in the later *Textus Receptus*. Hence there is a large probability in favour of its being in the declaratory creed of this date.

Catimeron, sedet, G. N. M. E. T. *Royal, sedit* is corrected to *sedet* by a later hand. *Codex Laudianus, sedet*.

Oten, Unde; *Royal* and *Cod. Laud.*, *Inde* G. N. M. E. T.

Agri. Codex Laudianus, Sancta ecclesia; *Royal, Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. *Agri* is an abbreviation which probably existed in the Greek manuscript from which *Galba* and *Titus* are copied; if so it then took the form αγεκ which could be read either ἄγ(ιαν) ἐκ(κλησίαν) or ἄγ(ιαν) ἐκ(κλησίαν) καθολικῶν and as the epithet 'catholic' was in the creed in use in England when *Royal* was written, and as *Royal* alters the original order 'Christ Jesus' to 'Jesus Christ' to assimilate i to

this later form, the shorter text *sanctam ecclesiam* given by the Codex Laudianus is to be preferred.

But if the creed is not Roman can we locate it? In general structure it resembles the Creed of Niceta of Remisiana and more closely that of Marcellus of Ancyra. I give the two latter texts side by side:

Galba.

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκρά-
τορα·

καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν

Ἵδιον Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,

τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,

τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου

καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,

τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρω-
θέντα,

καὶ ταφέντα,

τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν,

ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,

καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς,

ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντες καὶ νεκρούς.

καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον·

Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν·

*Ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·

Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

Marcellus.

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα·

καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν,

τὸν Ἵδιον Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ

τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,

τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου

καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,

τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέν-
τα,

καὶ ταφέντα

καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ
νεκρῶν,

ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,

καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς,

ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντες καὶ νεκρούς.

καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα·

Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν·

*Ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·

Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν·

Ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

It will be seen that the two creeds are so much alike that they must have come from much the same district; nevertheless there are differences which prove that the creed in *Galba* is not a mere transcription of that given by Marcellus. *Galba* reads Πατέρα in the first clause. Though the text of the creed of Marcellus is so well supported elsewhere that emendation is not required, yet in other creeds Πατέρα is universal. It agrees with Marcellus in the order Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, and though this occurs in three very creed-like passages in Irenaeus (I ii; III iv 1; IV xxxvii 2) and both forms in a Confession of Faith by Athanasius (Hahn³ p. 265), yet it is very rare. Καθήμενον is in the Exposition of Eunomius of Cappadocia, καθήται in the *de Fide* of Basil of Caesarea but in no other Anatolian formula of the period. Ὅθεν occurs only elsewhere in the *de Fide* of St Basil. *Galba* has κρίνειν, where Marcellus has κρίναι but the aorist form is much more common. Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον without the article is rare, but it occurs in the creed of

the Council of Nike in 359 and in a confession of faith drawn up *c.* 372 at Alexandria by a deputation from Ancyra who found themselves accused of heresy: ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁμολογοῦμεν . . . καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον αἰδίως ὄν καὶ ὕψιστος. . . . καὶ μία πίστις ἐστὶν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν δι' Ὑιοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ . . . Ἀναθετίζομεν τοὺς λέγοντας . . . ἦν ποτε δυνὰς μὴ ὄντος Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Marcellus has τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, which is the more probable interpretation of *Agri*, is also in Marcellus but nearly all eastern creeds add *καθολικὴν*. *Galba* omits *ζωὴν αἰώνιον* which is common in eastern creeds. The original of the creed in *Galba* is therefore most probably to be located somewhere in Galatia or Cappadocia. As regards date, the creed is of so simple a form that it is probably to be assigned to the fourth century rather than later.

In Asia Minor there were two movements in connexion with creeds; the earlier being the enlargement of local baptismal creeds by the insertion of matter drawn from the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, and the latter the supersession of local creeds by the enlarged baptismal Creed of Constantinople, or Constantinopolitan Creed made in 381. Thus the Creed of Antioch was enlarged, probably under Meletius, between 361 and 400 (so Hort *Dissertations* p. 128) the Creed of Philadelphia before 431; the Armenian Creed has as its base the Nicene; and Hort (*l.c.* p. 126) conjectures that it was made in Cappadocia in 366–369, and the longer Creed of Epiphanius, also based on the Nicene, before 375. The Constantinopolitan, which is also based on N, and was probably composed for the baptism of Nectarius, superseded the local Creed of Constantinople thenceforth, and tended to replace other local creeds. Early in the sixth century the creed had been already introduced into the Eucharist, both at Constantinople and at Antioch, and this implies a previous use in baptism.

Conclusion.

There is nothing in our document which might not belong to the second half of the fourth century. Gregory Nazianzen saw no improbability in the story of a Christian in the first half seeking the aid of the Virgin Mary; Basil calls upon the Apostles, prophets, and martyrs, for their intercessions to God; Chrysostom exhorts Christians to beseech the saints to pray for them.

But perhaps the most interesting feature in the document is the link between Antioch and Spain. Spain, like Gaul, was evangelized not from Rome but from the East, either directly or from Africa, and Africa, according to Augustine, obtained its Christianity from the same quarter. Irenaeus seems to have presided as a quasi-metropolitan over all the churches in Gaul and Spain; and but for the position of the *Pax* in the

African rite, the rites of Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy are sufficiently alike to form a single family.

But these facts alone are insufficient. If we find Syrian formulas and forms of expression in Spain they must have been transported thither, and there are only two routes—by sea or by land, and of these the latter implies a path across Cappadocia and Galatia to Constantinople and thence by way of the Balkan States, Northern Italy, and Gaul. If by sea, there will be no intermediate traces, but if by land, we might look for some marks of their passage in Asia Minor or in the region south of the Danube.

It is a historical accident that a native of Pannonia, Martin, became bishop of Braga, but we have evidence that he carried at least one formula, that of the renunciation in baptism, and possibly many others also. Sanday traces the article on the Descent into Hell in the creed from Syria to Sirmium and thence by way of Pannonia to Aquileia whence it spread westward, and other creed phrases show the same westward drift. The litany of the saints in *Galba* and the Order of St Amand is abbreviated, but the full form can be recovered from *Royal* and *Stowe*, and when so obtained is found to correspond very closely with the Intercession in the Greek Liturgy of St James: the suffrage 'O Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world' goes back to the Syrian *de Virginitate* and the Apostolic Constitutions; the *Sanctus* links the Liturgy of St James to the *Te Deum* and the Mozarabic rite; the nearest of kin to the creed is that of Marcellus of Ancyra which resembles that of Niceta of Remesiana, but certain phrases are connected with Basil and Eunomius of Cappadocia. Our original Greek manuscript on which the various texts are based thus confirms the antecedent probability that Syrian phrases travelled to Spain by the land route. It is to be located in Galatia or Cappadocia, and there is in it nothing to prevent us assigning it to the latter half of the fourth century, while it can hardly be later than the fifth.

F. J. BADCOCK.

BERENGARIANA

I. *An Aberdeen Manuscript.*

By the courtesy of Dr Montague James, I was recently made acquainted with a manuscript in the Aberdeen University Library belonging to the period of Berengar.¹ With the generous co-operation of Dr Douglas Simpson, the Librarian at Aberdeen, I have been able

¹ Cf. my *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, 1930.