

THE HEAVENLY ALTAR AND THE EPICLESIS IN EGYPT

I. By Epiclesis I mean the prayer calling upon God to send the Holy Spirit upon the oblations in order to make them the Body and Blood of Christ, in particular that prayer which follows the Recital of Institution and the Anamnesis.

In the Liturgy of Serapion in the place later occupied by the Epiclesis is a prayer to God to send the Word upon the oblations. This was in the time of St Athanasius, who himself writes : ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ μεγάλαι εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἁγίαί ἱκεσίαι ἀναπεμφθῶσι, καταβαίνει ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ σῶμα (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxvi 2401). With his successor, Peter (373-380), appears the Invocation of the Holy Ghost : ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου ἔνθα κάθοδον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμεθα (*P. G.* lxxxii 1169). Theophilus of Alexandria (385-413) also attributes consecration to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity as does Isidore of Pelusium, who died in 440 (quoted by Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 508), and the Epiclesis regularly appears in the Liturgy of St Mark as well as in other anaphoras used in Egypt. This much is common knowledge. But in certain anaphoras translated into Syriac we find the Epiclesis in combination with the prayer asking God to receive the sacrifice upon his altar in heaven.

(a) Thus in the Anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria, found in British Museum Add. 14520, occurs a passage which, in a translation designedly literal, is as follows :—

Have mercy upon us, O God the Father Almighty, and receive from the hands of us sinners this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice which we offer unto thee. An humble and contrite heart despise not, O Lord, but receive it this sacrifice (ἀπὴν τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην) upon thine altar reasonable and above the heaven by the supplication of all thy saints who from (the beginning of) the world have pleased thee and of the angelic and bodiless hosts who encircle invisibly this thine holy altar. *Here the priest falls upon his face and invokes the Holy Ghost.* And send in return (lit. return, send) to us, O my Lord, from the holy heaven, from the thrones (*sic*) of the kingdom of thy glory, from thine incomprehensible bosom thine holy Spirit, the unchangeable, the immutable, the equal with thee in essence, who proceedeth from thee, who is no stranger to the Godhead of thee and of thine only-begotten Son our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ *and he lifts up his voice* upon us and upon these oblations which are set forth, and hallow them that this bread indeed (μὲν) may be the life-giving Body, the heavenly Body, the Body saving our souls and bodies, the Body of him (αὐτοῦ τοῦ) our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ for the

forgiveness of sins and for life for ever and ever. Amen. *People*: Amen. *Priest*: Likewise also the mixture which is in this chalice the Blood of the New Testament, the life-giving Blood, the saving Blood, the heavenly Blood, the Blood delivering our souls and bodies, the Blood of him (*αὐτοῦ τοῦ*) our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins and for life for ever and ever. Amen. *People*: Amen. *Priest*: And make that they be not unto us for judgement. . . .

This manuscript according to Wright is of the eighth to ninth century; it may, however, be of the eighth as the short prayer of the Fraction which caused much trouble in the time of George of Antioch (758-790) has been erased. It is stated to be 'newly translated from Greek into Syriac', and the fact of translation is borne out by the Syriac itself; the many quotations from Scripture are from the Septuagint. The Intercession shews that its original was Egyptian, though much influenced by 'James', considerable portions in Hyvernat's Coptic Fragments D and E (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1887, pp. 341 ff.) being almost identical with it. The Prayer of the Our Father and the Prayer of Thanksgiving, both taken from the *Testamentum Domini* (ed. Rahmani, pp. 42-45, 48-49), are also given translated from Coptic by Hyvernat (*ib.*, p. 335; 1888, cx pp. 26, 27); both appear in the Ethiopic Anaphora of our Lord.¹ The final Prayer of Inclination is from the Egyptian 'Gregory Theologus', and, as there exists in 'Mark' a number of alternative prayers for the Peace, the Our Father and the like, it perhaps is possible that the corresponding prayers in 'Timothy', namely those outside the Eucharistic prayer proper, were no part of the original Greek but were translated from some collection of prayers.

(b) The Anaphora of Severus *alias* of Timothy has been translated into Latin by Renaudot (*Litt. Orient. Coll.*, ii pp. 321 ff.). I give the following from his Syriac original (Paris Bibl. Nat. MS Syr. 75):—

Have mercy upon me, O God the Father Almighty, and look on the groans and sighs of thy people, and look not, O Lord, on mine impure lips or unclean voice or mind full of evil. But receive upon thine altar reasonable and above the heaven this sacrifice for a savour of sweetness, and send unto us from thine holy height him the Paraclete thy Spirit, the Lord, the life-giver, who spake in the law and the prophets and the apostles, who is present everywhere and filleth all things, who also by his own power worketh holiness in those who are worthy. *Priest*: Hear me, O Lord. *People*: Kyrie eleison (iij). *Priest*: upon us and upon these oblations which are set forth, and hallow them that

¹ The Prayer of the Our Father in the Greek 'Mark', *Θεὸς πατὴρ γεννήτορ* (Brightman p. 135), also is from the *Testamentum* pp. 50-53; this occurs as an alternative prayer in Coptic 'Mark' (Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus* vii pars ii p. 70) and also in the Syrian Presanctified of St Basil.

this bread indeed may be the life-giving Body, the heavenly Body, the Body saving our souls and bodies, the Body of him our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins and for life for ever to those who receive it. And the mixture which is in this chalice may he make the Blood of the New Testament, the life-giving Blood, the saving Blood of the Lord and God and King of all (*παμβασιλέως*) Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins and for life for ever to those who receive it. *Priest*: Yea, O Lord. . . .

Hyvernat's Fragments D and E, which begin at the last sentence of the Epiclesis, are of this anaphora. The Syriac is found in two recensions. In one the Intercession, though much abbreviated, closely follows that of Hyvernat's Coptic and so agrees in part with 'Timothy'; in the other it has been considerably altered and rearranged. The anaphora is clearly a translation from Greek. In the Epiclesis the epithets of the Holy Ghost differ considerably in the manuscripts; their ultimate source is 'Mark'.

The texts of 'Timothy' and 'Severus' are to appear in the *Corpus Anaphorarum Syriacarum* in course of preparation by the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome.

(c) In the Syriac Anaphora of St John Chrysostom (Renaudot ii pp. 242 ff.) there occurs in the middle of the Anamnesis:—

. . . and all thy saving dispensation on our behalf who is able to worship and honour? And therefore we beseech thee, O Lord, all-good and lover of man, that there be received this oblation which we offer before thy majesty upon thine altar reasonable and above the heaven, in the armies of the angels, in the assemblies of the saints, in the places of thy presence, in the chief tabernacle of thine hiddenness, that by it we may be accounted worthy of pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins. And when thou comest to judge the living and the dead . . . (Add. 14690, 14691).

This anaphora has much in common with that of James of Serugh (Renaudot ii pp. 356 ff.) and both with the central part of that of John Maro. The clause touching the heavenly altar is absent from 'James of Serugh', though the preceding sentences are identical with 'Chrysostom'. In 'John Maro', however, the Epiclesis runs as follows:—

Yea, O Lord God, we implore thee and beseech thy mercifulness in the armies of the angels, in the ranks of the priests, in the orders of the Seraphim, in the assemblies of the saints, in the spirits of the just made perfect, in the place of thy presence, in the chief tabernacle of thy majesty. *The priest kneels and says the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, lifting up his voice*: Hear me, O Lord. *People*: Kyrie eleison. *Priest*: And may there be opened, O Lord, the gates of heaven and be revealed the gates of light, and may there come and dwell thine holy

Spirit from the heights above and descend upon me and upon this oblation and may there be by it pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins to those who receive it. *People*: Amen. *Priest*: And upon this mystery which is in this chalice and may there be by it pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins to those who receive it. *People*: Amen. *Aloud*: And grant that by it sinners may be justified. . . .

This Epiclesis, though perhaps tampered with as usual in Maronite books, is a mixture of formulae in 'Chrysostom' and 'James of Serugh'. The introduction of 'in the armies of the angels', &c. is noticeable and it is possible that what precedes it in 'Chrysostom' originally was in the Epiclesis. If so, it agrees with 'Timothy' and 'Severus'. The connexion with Egypt, however, is by no means clear. But in 'James of Serugh' the Prayer before the Peace is that of the Coptic 'Basil' and of the Syrian 'Basil', itself of Egyptian provenance, and two small portions of the Intercession show affinities to 'Severus' and Hyvernat's Fragment D (Renaudot, p. 361, lines 30-34) as well as to 'Mark' (*ib.*, p. 362, lines 7-9; Brightman, p. 173, lines 8-11). Of the first of these two the text is based not on the Syriac 'Severus' but possibly on a Coptic original.

II. In the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES vol. x p. 602, Mr E. Bishop gave as his opinion that 'whilst the present text of "Mark" contains buried in it most precious and ancient remains of the early Egyptian and Alexandrine Liturgy, this primitive element has been also largely overlaid by foreign elements, chiefly Hierosolymitan, either adopted almost verbally, or worked up in a literary manner; finally a third element, a quantity, and that not inconsiderable, of tawdry rhetorical embroidery, the work of some self-complacent "scholasticus"'. Details are given in vol. x pp. 597 ff., xi pp. 68 ff., and xiv pp. 47 ff.¹

Bishop has dealt with the Egyptian prayer for the offerers in vols. x and xi; a table giving the texts with those of the corresponding prayer in 'James' appears on p. 69 of the last named volume. In the foot-

¹ Brightman in *Lit. E. & W.* has not mentioned a passage in the Paschal Letter of St Cyril of Alexandria of the year 444 (Migne, *P. L.* liv 604): Dominus autem noster Jesus Christus conjunxit in una die agnum Judaeorum, et verum Manna, quando benedixit panem et vinum dicens: *Hoc est corpus meum et sanguis meus* in luna primi mensis in anni principio. Ideo recordemur et memores simus offerre quae obtulit Jesus pro nobis in primo mense. Dixit enim Dominus Jesus: *Haec quotiescumque feceritis in mei recordationem et memoriam facietis*. There may be here an echo of the fifth-century Alexandrine liturgical formula for the end of the Recital of Institution and the beginning of the Anamnesis. There is no manuscript authority for the insertion of (ἐξαπόστειλον) in the Epiclesis of 'Mark' (Brightman p. 134. 9). The variations of the text in the Rossano euchologion and the Vatican and Messina rolls are noteworthy; ἐπίδε, ἐφιδε, may be survivals from an earlier version.

note on pp. 599-601 of vol. x he writes: 'The whole prayer for "offerers" in the Intercession of "Mark" shows traces of late and unskilled compilation . . . In part it relates to the bread and wine brought by the "offerers"; in part to alms, money. But even in the former part ideas are expressed (viz. the carrying up on to the heavenly altar of the bread and wine offered by the people) which naturally seems appropriate only for the consecrated Gifts. And indeed this distinction is carefully observed in the Clementine Liturgy. This Liturgy has a petition *before* the consecration for the requital of the earthly gifts brought by the offerers by a divine bestowal of heavenly gifts (Br. 11. 9); whilst it is the consecrated Eucharist which this Liturgy prays may be received by God on the heavenly altar (Brightman, 23. 15-17).' Bishop's thesis receives confirmation in the texts from the Anaphoras of Timothy and Severus, both Egyptian in origin, given above. Indeed the prayer in 'Mark', once stripped of its foreign accretions, is remarkably like 'Et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias' in the Canon of *De Sacramentis*.

III. It will be observed that the prayer in 'Timothy' asks that God may receive the sacrifice on his heavenly altar and in return send the Holy Ghost upon the oblations in order to make them the Body and Blood of Christ. The Syriac ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ, 'return (transitive), send' renders ἀντικατάπεμψον, ἀντεξαπόστειλον; elsewhere the form ܝܫܘܥ ܕܥܘܨܐ, 'turn, send', is used to translate these Greek words.

The development of the prayer for acceptance on the altar in heaven is instructive. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* we find (Br., p. 23): Ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ δεηθῶμεν ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς προσδέξῃται αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας. The Byzantine Liturgy in the same place has: Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ νοερὸν αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς ἀντικαταπέμψῃ ἡμῖν τὴν θείαν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δεηθῶμεν, while in the εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς of 'Basil' the same petition occurs immediately followed by a supplication that God may look upon this service and receive it as he received the gifts of Abel and the like as well as 'this true service' from the hands of the apostles (*ib.*, pp. 318, 320).

Theodore of Mopsuestia (ob. 428) in his *Explanation of the Mysteries* published by A. Mingana (Woodbrooke Studies vi), after dealing with the Fraction, which immediately follows the Intercession, and with a proclamation by the deacon, speaks of the priest's prayer (pp. 108, 248). I translate from the Syriac. 'The priest perfects the prayer, praying that this sacrifice may be acceptable before God and that there

may come upon every one the grace of the Holy Ghost in order that we may be found worthy for its partaking and not receive unto punishment that which is exceedingly and infinitely exalted and greater than us.' Here the idea is identical with that of the Byzantine Liturgy, though there is no mention of the heavenly altar.

The amplification of the simple petition of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in the Byzantine Liturgy by a request to send down to us in return the divine grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost has its counterpart in the Roman Canon, where the clause 'ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione . . . omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur' now ends the prayer that God may receive the oblation on his altar on high. The thought underlying the petition in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is identical with that of 'Et petimus et precamur' of *De Sacramentis*, and the Roman addition mentioned may be the reason why the reference to the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Abraham, and the offering of Melchisedech now precedes and no longer follows the prayer for acceptance on the altar in heaven.

The Anaphoras of Timothy and Severus go a step further than the Byzantine petition and instead of praying for the sending down of the divine grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost ask that the Holy Spirit may be sent to effect the consecration. This alteration seems to have left its mark in the grammatical construction, for in both anaphoras we find 'Send unto us' followed, after a number of epithets descriptive of the Holy Ghost, by 'upon us and upon these oblations'. The same reduplication occurs in the Syriac version of the prayer 'Deus magne' in the Consecration of the Chrism (Denzinger *Ritus Orientalium* ii p. 538; for the Coptic see *ib.*, i p. 257) and also in a prayer for the sending of the Spirit in the Coptic Order for the Consecration of a new Church (Tuki *Euchologion* i p. 665); in both cases the epithets of the Holy Ghost are taken bodily from 'Mark'. In the existing copies of this Liturgy, however, both Greek and Coptic, the first 'unto us' is absent, but as observed above (p. 144 n. 1) the curious variants in the Greek manuscripts surely indicate that all is not well with the text. Now a prayer that God may receive the oblations on his heavenly altar and a prayer that he may send his Spirit to sanctify the oblations on the earthly altar, though both, as Duchesne has pointed out, have reference to the hallowing of the gifts,¹ express two different ideas; they are in fact mutually exclusive and incompatible with one another in one and the same context. The texts of 'Timothy' and 'Severus', however,

¹ Cf. 'Uno eodemque tempore ac momento et in caelo (var. excelsis) rapitur ministerio (var. ministerium) angelorum consociandum corpori Christi et ante oculos sacerdotis in altari videtur', once attributed to St Gregory the Great (Migne, *P. L.* ci 1263; ccxvii 891).

pray for the acceptance of the sacrifice, and it may be asked whether the sacrifice, conceived in the abstract, can be distinguished from the actual oblations. An affirmative answer seems to be impossible here. As in the case of 'haec' in the Roman Canon, it is the 'gift' or 'gifts' which have been offered that are contemplated in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in the Byzantine Liturgy as being received on the heavenly altar. In Syriac anaphoras it is true that commonly God is asked to send the Spirit upon 'these oblations'; this wording, however, is not constant, and in the Anaphora of Matthew the Shepherd 'this sacrifice' is substituted, while that of Dioscorus of Alexandria has 'Yea, O Lord, may thine holy Spirit come and descend by his grace and hallow and perfect this sacrifice which is set before us . . . and as in the likeness of a dove in the Jordan he came down upon thine only-begotten Son and upon the holy apostles appeared in tongues of fire, so may he dwell and rest upon us and upon these oblations' (Add. 14690, f. 159, of A.D. 1182). Further, 'oblation' in the singular is found in the Epiclesis, for example in the Anaphora of St Xystus; in the singular as well as in the plural this word appears occasionally at the beginning of the Intercession in place of the more commonly used 'sacrifice'. The combination of the two prayers in 'Timothy' and 'Severus', therefore, can only date from a time when the Invocation of the Holy Spirit had become an essential of the Liturgy in Egypt.

IV. The dating of 'Timothy' within wide limits is not difficult; it is definitely Monophysite and, as already said, perhaps not later than the year 790. Greater precision is not so easy. The statement in the title of the Anaphora that it was 'newly translated from Greek into Syriac' is no guide, for words of like import touching the 'new correction' of the Liturgy of St James are repeated in manuscripts centuries after the death of the reviser, James of Edessa. And the British Museum Add. 14520, though of early date, manifestly is not the original copy, as is to be seen from instances of careless transcription and from comparison with the fragment in Add. 14518 (ix-x cent.). In dating the Greek original one small point may be of some weight, namely the mention in the prayer for 'the orthodox kings and queens', itself a commonplace, of 'the soldiers and the auxiliaries' (فجنتا سجدتلا). The word rendered 'auxiliaries' regularly equals *συμμαχία* in 1 Maccabees viii 17; xii 3 16; xiv 24; and xv 17, and so should be translated here by 'foederati'. It commonly means 'helpers', and this military force in the story of Euphemia and the Goth is called *كلملا، βοήθεια* (ed. F. C. Burkitt, Text and Translation Society, 1913, p. 184). I have not noticed any mention of these people in other anaphoras, save that of 'Severus', but St Cyril of Jerusalem in his account of the Intercession speaks of

στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων (*Catech.* xxiii 8; Migne, *P. G.* xxxiii 1115). The Greek original of 'Timothy', therefore, at least so far as the Intercession is concerned, may date from a period when the Empire still held Egypt. Mention of 'the soldiers and the auxiliaries' in the same Syriac words occurs in 'Severus'. As has been pointed out, a considerable part of the Intercession in this anaphora is identical or almost identical with that of 'Timothy'. Its Intercession, therefore, may have been based on 'Timothy', or both may be derived from an earlier anaphora, 'Timothy' being nearer the original.

In this connexion the relationship between the Coptic and Syrian Consecration of the Chrism, 'Timothy', and the anaphoral prayer in the Rossano euchologion (*Vat. Gr.* 1870), published by Cardinal Mercati in *Revue Bénédictine* vol. xlvi pp. 236 ff., is of importance. The subject has been briefly dealt with in the same periodical, vol. xviii pp. 182 ff., where a translation of the relevant portions of 'Timothy' and the Syrian 'Basil' is given: for the Chrism prayers, see Denzinger, *op. cit.* i p. 255, and ii p. 538. In all four documents the Postsanctus in substance is identical, but the conclusion of the Preface in the first three is clearly translated from one original and differs from that of the Rossano manuscript. With this last agrees the ending of the Preface in the Syrian 'Basil', which, however, has interpolations; both are Egyptian, though ultimately derived from the Greek 'James' rather than from the Byzantine 'Basil'. In 'Timothy' and in the Coptic and Syrian Chrism formularies the Preface, appearing as it does in conjunction with the Postsanctus common to all four documents, seems to be but a local variant of the Rossano text. With this last it is derived from 'James': it departs from the Rossano and from the Syrian 'Basil' in omitting the mention of the two living beings, but agrees with the last named anaphora and with the Coptic 'Mark' in inserting 'by reason of thy Godhead which can neither be seen nor understood' after 'and with two wings indeed do they cover their faces'. It also shews the influence of the Byzantine 'Basil' in making after 'six-winged Seraphim' the superfluous addition 'with six wings to (this) one and six wings to (that) one' (ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνί), which is absent from the Syrian 'Basil'.

After the Postsanctus, also modelled on 'James', there comes in the Rossano euchologion and the Coptic Chrism formulary, though not in the Syrian, the prayer Ἄγιε ἄγιων. The next words of this prayer are καὶ πάσης ἀγιοσύνης δοτήρ, a phrase which occurs also immediately before it in the Postsanctus of the Greek and Coptic texts. It seems improbable that this phrase would have been repeated in this way had the Postsanctus been composed for the Chrism office. The ending of the Preface together with the Postsanctus, therefore, as might be

expected, is no part of the original Chrism formulary but is an importation from elsewhere, presumably from an anaphora.

As already stated, the Syrian Chrism order after the Postsanctus differs from the Coptic and the Rossano texts. It reads 'And we thine all-sinful servants, answering with the hosts which are on high, praise and glorify and bless, imploring mercies from thee. Have mercy upon us, O God our Saviour, and make the face of thy mercies to appear upon us and upon this chrism, and fill it with thy might and with the grace of thine only-begotten Son and with the working of thine holy Spirit, for thou art holy and the giver of all good things and to thee do we send up glory . . .' (Bodleian, Hunt. 444). 'Timothy' has the same text, but at the end reads 'and make the face of thy mercies to appear upon us and we shall be saved. For thou hadst mercy on our race and didst send thine only-begotten Son . . .', and so proceeds with the normal contents of the anaphoral prayer. It will be observed that 'Timothy' completes the quotation from Psalm lxxix 4 (Septuagint); it therefore seems to be the original and the Chrism text to be secondary.

The conclusion appears to be that all four formularies come from one anaphora. Whether this was an earlier form of the Greek original of 'Timothy' is uncertain, for this Greek anaphora may merely have been the older one written up in a Monophysite sense or a new composition embodying material therefrom. The Rossano formulary, agreeing as it does with the Coptic, presumably comes from a period before the final separation of the Catholics and Monophysites into two rival communions; it is of interest as shewing the influence of 'James' in Egypt at that time and corroborates Bishop's views on 'Mark'. The translation of 'Timothy' into Syriac may possibly date from much the same period as that of the anaphoras of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysius the Areopagite, and John Chrysostom by Thomas of Heraclea about the year 616 (Assemani *B.O.* i p. 92), when also there was much activity in translating Scripture at Alexandria; if so, the Greek original will be of the sixth century, perhaps of the second half of that century. Dr W. E. Crum has referred me to a mention of the 'canon' of Severus for the celebration of the Liturgy in the life of the Coptic saint Anba Ephraim who flourished in the sixth century, apparently under Justin II (*Patrol. Orientalis* xi p. 686). According to the story this 'canon' seems to have been a formulary and not merely a regulation; it may or may not have been the anaphora of Hyvernat's Fragments and the Syriac 'Severus'. So far as the style goes, the Eucharistic prayer of this anaphora may be more or less contemporary with the Syrian 'Gregory Nazianzen',¹ and the parts of

¹ For this anaphora, see in particular the text of B. M. Add. 14499. The 'John

the Syrian 'Basil' not translated from the Byzantine text of this Liturgy.

V. The presence of a prayer for the receiving of the sacrifice upon the heavenly altar in the position occupied by it in 'Timothy' and 'Severus' is otherwise unknown in Eastern Liturgies and raises the question whether such a prayer at one time was current in Egypt in the place usually occupied by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost or Epiclesis proper. The existence of such a prayer in anaphoras of undoubted Egyptian origin seems to demand an affirmative answer and to endorse Buchwald's theory on this point. It is not, however, now suggested that such a prayer in this position was ever the sole or even a common formula in Egypt. In 'Timothy' and 'Severus' the prayer presumably came from some older source, but in neither case can the text be in the original form; in the first mentioned anaphora 'by the supplication of all thy saints who from (the beginning of) the world have pleased thee and of the angelic and bodiless hosts who encircle invisibly this thine holy altar' reads like a late amplification of *διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας* of the prayer for the offerers in 'Mark'. The existence of this prayer is another point of agreement between Rome and Alexandria as against the 'East': others, for example, are 'Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων in the Liturgy and the use of the first person in the anointings before baptism and in the baptismal formula itself. The duration of Lent in Egypt under St Athanasius and St Cyril was identical with that anciently prevalent in Rome.¹

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A PHENOMENON IN THE TEXT OF ROMANS

IN the course of a recent reading of Romans, I noticed with great interest that in several places where the text is uncertain or the meaning obscure, the word or the phrase that is uncertain or obscure occurs again in the immediate context, either just before or just after the point at which the difficulty is felt. The frequency of the phenomenon makes one wonder whether the disturbing words or phrases have been erroneously repeated.

We need not suppose that the mistaken repetition would come about in the same way in every case. In some instances it may go back to Chrysostom' of Thomas of Heraclea perhaps underlies the central part of the 'Twelve Apostles'.

¹ The Eucharistic prayer in 'Timothy' begins 'Truly it is meet and right and fitting and just and the salvation (*πυρῆανᾶ*) of our souls that we should praise thee'. This is nearer the Roman 'Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare' than the *ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελές* of 'Mark'.