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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER OF HIPPOLYTUS

THE scope of this paper is not directly liturgical ; it has for its aim simply to illustrate the language and ideas of the eucharistic prayer found in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus from that writer's other works, from the writings of St Irenaeus to whom Hippolytus was greatly indebted, and from any other early sources which may help to an understanding of it. One result hoped from such a study is the removal of any doubts which may still linger as to the authorship of the prayer and of the treatise to which it belongs ; another is, that some fresh light may be thrown on the meaning of certain passages. The paper will therefore consist mainly of notes on the text of the prayer taken clause by clause.

As the original Greek is lost, the textual basis must be the ancient Latin version in the Verona palimpsest, edited by E. Hauler in 1900.¹ This is first given *in extenso*, followed by an attempted reconstruction of the underlying Greek. Next are added a series of extracts from the Apostolic Constitutions (A.C.), in which some of the language of the prayer (more or less modified) has been embodied. And, lastly, a translation is given of that part of the *Testamentum Domini* (Test.) which contains the prayer nearly in its entirety. Of the Ethiopic version English and Latin translations may be read in G. Horner's *Statutes of the Apostles* (p. 140) and Funk's *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (ii 99). To this version reference will be made where it seems to offer help ; but as it is removed by one or more stages from the original Greek and, as I have no knowledge of Ethiopic by which to control the modern translations, little would be gained by copying either of those translations here. The Syriac of the *Testamentum*, on the other hand, is a direct translation from the Greek of that document, and of the methods of Syriac translators I have some experience. As to the essay at reconstructing the Greek of the prayer, I know that such 'retranslations' are too often only misleading ; but in the present case there are so many aids to hand that it seemed excusable to yield to temptation and try to piece together the original words of this venerable formula. At all events, what is here offered will serve as a basis of reference for the notes which follow, and the notes will shew what degree of probability there may be for this or that particular rendering where any real doubt arises. I may mention that my

¹ *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta veronensia latina*, pages LXIX-LXX of the surviving fragments as numbered in Hauler's margins.

version, in all but a few details, was made more than fifteen years ago, and is independent of that given by Dr H. Lietzmann on page 175 of his *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 1926.

Irenaeus on the Heresies is cited according to Harvey's edition; his *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* by the chapters and in the English translation from the Armenian given by Dr Armitage Robinson (S.P.C.K., 1920). Of the works of Hippolytus to be referred to all are in vols. i and iii of the Berlin *Hippolytus* except the following: the *contra Noetum* and the *de Universo* (or *adv. Graecos*)¹ are to be found in Migne *P. Gr.* x (I have not at hand Lagarde's text except for a few passages); the *Blessings of Jacob* in Greek in 'Texte u. Untersuchungen' 3 R. 8, no. 1, and the same in a German translation from the Georgian version, *ibid.* N. F. 11, no. 1, there followed by the *Blessings of Moses* from the same source. These two sets of *Blessings* are cited by the pages, not the chapters, of the editions mentioned.

TEXTUAL SOURCES

1. *The Verona Latin*

Qui cumque factus fuerit episcopus, omnes (ei) os offerant pacis, salutantes eum quia dignus effectus est. Illi vero offerant diacones oblationem:² quique inponens manus in eam cum omni praesbyterio dicat gratias agens:

5 Dominus vobiscum.

Et omnes dicant:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Susum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

10 Gratias agamus Domino.

Dignum et iustum est.

Et sic iam prosequatur:

Gratias tibi referimus, Deus, per dilectum puerum tuum Iesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et
15 redemptorem et angelum voluntatis tuae: qui est verbum tuum inseparabilem per quem omnia fecisti, et bene placitum tibi fuit, misisti de caelo in matricem virginis: quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est ex spiritu sancto et virgine natus: qui vo-

¹ The authenticity of this fragment has been questioned, but with Lightfoot (*S. Clement of Rome*, ii 395-6) I hold it to be certainly genuine—from the work referred to by Hippolytus himself in *Philos.* x 32 as *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*, and described on his chair as *πρὸς ἑλληνας καὶ πρὸς πλατῶνα η καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός*. As Lightfoot says, 'the resemblances of language and substance bespeak the same authorship with the *Philosophumena*, even if we had not the author's own certification'.

² 'oblationes' cod.

luntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi acquirens extendit manus cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt: 20 qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni, ut mortem solvat et vincula diabuli dirumpat et infernum calcet et iustos inluminet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet, accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: Accipite, manducate: hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis confringetur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui 25 pro vobis effunditur: quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in 30 oblationem sanctae ecclesiae: in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate: ut te laudemus et glorificemus 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. 35 Amen.

2. Attempted restoration of the underlying Greek

Ὁ κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

* Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας.

* Ἐρχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

* Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ θεός, διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἐξαπέστειλας ἡμῖν σωτῆρα καὶ λυτρωτὴν καὶ ἄγγελον βουλῆς σου· ὃν ὑπάρχοντα λόγον σου ἀχώριστον, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας, καὶ εὐάρεστόν σοι ὄντα¹ ἀπέστειλας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ εἰς μήτραν παρθένου· ὁ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχόμενος ἐσαρκώθη καὶ υἱός σοι ἀπεδείχθη ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ παρθένου γεννηθείς· ὃς τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπιτελῶν καὶ λαὸν ἅγιόν σοι περιποιούμενος ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῷ παθεῖν, ἵνα πάθους ῥύσῃται τοὺς ἐπὶ σε πεπιστευκότας· ὃς παραδοθείς ἑκουσίῳ πάθει, ἵνα θάνατον λύσῃ καὶ δεσμὰ διαβόλου ῥήξῃ καὶ ἄδην καταπατήσῃ καὶ δικαίους φωταγωγῇ² καὶ ὄρον πῆξῃ καὶ ἀνάστασιν φανερώσῃ, λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας σοι εἶπεν· λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν θρυπτόμενον. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον· ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῆτε, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν ποιεῖτε.

μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ προσφέρομέν σοι τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς

¹ See notes *in loc.* (pp. 356-7).

² See notes (pp. 361-2).

ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι. καὶ ἀξιουμέν σε ὅπως ἀποστείλῃς¹ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ τὴν προσφορὰν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας· εἰς ἐν συναγαγὼν δόξης πᾶσι τοῖς μεταλαβοῦσιν ἁγίοις εἰς πληρωσιν πνεύματος ἁγίου πρὸς βεβαίωσιν πίστεως ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἵνα σὲ αἰνῶμεν καὶ δοξάζωμεν διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ [σου] καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν.

3. *The Apostolic Constitutions*

[The eucharistic prayer of Hippolytus, as well as other parts of his *Apostolic Tradition*, has been drawn upon to some extent by the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The following list of phrases from that source (viii 12, 31-39 in Funk's edition) will provide authority for some of the restorations attempted above, and especially in the latter part of the prayer. Where the wording, though not necessarily the order or construction, answers closely to the Latin version, thick type is used.]

§ 31 καὶ γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου . . . καὶ ἐσαρκώθη . . .

§ 32 τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπλήρωσεν . . .

§ 33 σὴ συγχωρήσει παραδοθεὶς Πιλάτῳ . . . ἵνα πάθους λύση καὶ θανάτου ἐξέλῃται τούτους δι' οὓς παρεγένετο καὶ ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ ῥύσῃται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ . . .² Earlier (§ 20) we have ὄρον θανάτου λύσας.

§ 36 θρυπτόμενον.

§ 37 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον . . . ἐκχυνόμενον . . . τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

§ 38 μεμνημένοι τοίνυν του πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως . . . προσφέρομέν σοι . . . τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι.

§ 39 (immediately following) καὶ ἀξιουμέν σε ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνευδὴς θεός, καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως

¹ See notes (p. 363),

² A.C. here, while preserving certain words, has rewritten the passage and evidently transposed some of the verbs. For instance, ἵνα πάθους λύση can hardly represent 'ut a passione liberaret', and λύση is wanted for 'ut mortem solvat' just after. I have ventured therefore to render the former phrase by ἵνα πάθους ῥύσῃται, 'liberare' being a common rendering of ῥύεσθαι. With the last clause in A.C. compare the Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonica § 5, καὶ ῥυσάμενον ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου.

ἀποφήνη τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσιν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν . . .

4. *The Testamentum Domini* i 23

[Shorter additions to the original prayer, as represented by the Latin and Ethiopic versions, are printed in *italics*; two or three lengthy insertions, here omitted, are indicated by dots. Syriac has no article, so that 'the' and '(the)' in the following translation do not necessarily suggest its presence in the underlying Greek.]

We thank thee, O God, . . . *and the Father of thine only-begotten, our redeemer, whom in the last times thou didst send unto us a redeemer and proclaimer of thy purpose.¹ . . . Thou, Lord, thy Word [accus.], the sharer of thy counsel and of thy covenant, through whom thou madest all things, being well-pleased in him,² didst send into a virginal womb: who, being conceived (and) made flesh, was shewn (to be)³ thy Son, being born from (the) Holy Spirit and from (the) virgin: who, accomplishing thy will⁴ and preparing a holy people, extended his hands to suffering, that from sufferings and the corruption of death he might release them that have hoped in thee: who, when he was being delivered up to voluntary suffering, that he might set upright them that had stumbled, and find the lost, and quicken the dead, and undo death, and burst the bonds of the devil, and accomplish the purpose of the Father, and trample upon Hades, and open the way of life, and guide the righteous to light, and fix a boundary (or term), and enlighten the darkness, and nurture babes, and reveal the resurrection: having taken bread he gave to his disciples, saying: Take, eat: this is my body which for you is broken unto remission of sins. When ye shall do this, my resurrection ye celebrate (lit. make). Also the cup of wine, which he mingled, he gave for a type of the blood which was shed for us.⁵*

(*And again he shall say*): Remembering therefore *thy death and thy resurrection, we offer to thee (the) bread and (the) cup, confessing (or giving thanks) to thee, who alone art God eternal and our redeemer, forasmuch as⁶ thou hast accounted us worthy⁷ to stand before thee*

¹ Or 'counsel', representing βουλή rather than θέλημα.

² Lit. 'when thou wast well-pleased in him: ' as if from εὐδοκίας ἐν αὐτῷ.

³ So Cooper and Maclean: not 'apparuit', as Rahmani translates. The verb 'was shewn' requires definition: 'filius tibi ostensus est' Lat.

⁴ 'will': the natural equivalent of θέλημα.

⁵ Cf. Hauler LXXIV 7 ff. 'calicem vino mixtum propter antitypum sanguinis quod effusum est pro omnibus qui crediderunt in eum'.

⁶ Lit. 'on account of these (things) that': confirming ἐφ' οἷς of A.C.

⁷ The text has ܥܕ ܕܥܘܕܘܢܝܢ, 'that thou hast promised us', which, as Rahmani notes, must be corrected to ܥܕ ܕܥܘܕܝܢ.

and do thee priestly service.¹ . . . Grant, *then, that* all those who partake and receive of thy holy things² may be united to thee, to the end that they may be filled with (the) Holy Spirit for confirming of faith in the truth. . . .

NOTES

[The numbers prefixed to these notes refer to the lines of the Latin as printed before. Where Hauler is cited the reference is everywhere to the Latin fragments of the same document, the *Apostolic Tradition*, unless otherwise indicated.]

² *Qui cumque*, etc.] Used probably, here and below (l. 21), to represent the Gk. relative with participle following: cf. Hauler LXXVIII 15 for the equivalent 'quique cum nominatus fuerit', where A.C. has οὐ ὀνομασθέντος. Or 'qui cumque' and 'quique' may sometimes perhaps stand for ὁ δέ, τῷ δέ, etc., as apparently 'quique' in line 17.

² *os offerant pacis*] Cf. Hauler LXXIII 32 'offerat osculum', and LXXIV 3 'de ore pacem offerant'; also Hippol. *Bl. of Jacob* p. 18, where we find simply στόμα προσφέρειν, 'to give a kiss'; and possibly the Latin in each of our three places is only a paraphrase of the same expression.

^{5, 7} *Dominus vobiscum*, etc.] Cf. Ruth ii 4, where Boaz greets the reapers with κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν, also Lk. i 28 ὁ κύριος μετά σου. For 'with thy spirit' comp. Gal. vi 18 and Phil. iv 23 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου (ἡμῶν) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.

⁸ *Susum corda. Habemus ad Dominum*] Cf. Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* 31 'sacerdos . . . parat fratrum mentes dicendo: Susum corda, ut dum respondet plebs: Habemus ad Dominum', etc. The spelling 'susum' is that found also in the chief MSS of Cyprian and printed by Hartel. For τὴν καρδίαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν κύριον see Hermas *Vis.* iii 10. 9 and *Mand.* x 1. 6. The late Dr Armitage Robinson used to say that 'sursum corda habere' is native Latin and could not have originated in Greek. It is interesting at least to note that the expression is first met with at Rome and in Africa. Possibly there is some remote dependence on Lam. iii 41 ἀναλάβωμεν καρδίας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ χειρῶν πρὸς ὑψηλὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ.

¹¹ *Dignum et iustum est*] For the pair of adjectives ἄξιος καὶ δίκαιος see Hippol. *in Dan.* iii 4, and for the corresponding adverbs *ib.* ii 29; also Didascalia vi 14 ('dignae et iustae' (*sic*) Lat., ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως

¹ A denominative verb from 'priest': ἱερατεῦειν A.C.

² 'des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis' Lat. The word ἄγιοις, 'saints', i.e. the faithful (as often in Hippolytus), is taken in Test. to mean the mysteries or consecrated elements, according to later usage.

A.C.); but in none of these passages is there any trace of a liturgical allusion.

14-18 *quem in ultimis temporibus . . . natus*] Cf. Gal. iv 4; and with the whole passage comp. Hippol. *c. Noet.* 17 ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, ᾧ πάρεστι λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν, ὃν ὑστέροις καιροῖς (καθὼς εἶπαμεν ἀνωτέρω) ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων. . . . καὶ παρὼν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτόν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, and again *Philos.* x 33 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν ὑστέροις ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ. Comp. also Justin *Apol.* i 63 νῦν δὲ ἐν χρόνους τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ὡς προείπομεν, διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βουλὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ. The language in Iren. iii 19. 1 also deserves to be compared.

14-15 *misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem*] Cf. the liturgies of 'St James' (Brightman *L. E. W.* 41 l. 28) and 'St Basil' (*ib.* 309 l. 12) ἐξαποστείλας σωτήρα καὶ λυτρωτήν, but in neither case within the anaphora or prayer of consecration. The biblical references given by Brightman (viz. Acts vii 35 and 1 John iv 14) do not suffice to explain this coincidence, so that it is probable that the phrase in the two Greek liturgies was derived from the prayer of Hippolytus.

15 *angelum voluntatis tuae*] Probably from ἄγγελον βουλῆς σου, with allusion to Isa. ix 6 μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος: 'the messenger of thy counsel' Eth.; 'the proclaimer (*or* herald) of thy purpose' Test. Cf. Iren. iii 17. 3 'magni consilii patris nuntius', and Hippol. *in Dan.* ii 32, where the fourth in the furnace with the Three Children is identified (as already by Irenaeus v 5. 2) with the Divine Logos, called by Isaiah 'Angel of great counsel' because He is ὁ ἀναγγεῖλας ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μυστήρια. See also *ibid.* iii 9 ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀκούσας τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καταβὰς ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀνήγγειλεν, and *c. Noet.* 5 ὁ παῖς καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος καὶ μόνος διηγησάμενος τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς. Justin, too, has much to say about the Son as 'Angel' (*Apol.* i 63, *Dial.* 56, 76, 93, 127, 128).

15-16 *qui est . . . misisti*] Doubtless resting on a Gk. relative and participle (as ὃν ὑπάρχοντα¹) and equivalent to 'quem, cum esset . . . misisti'. Cf. Test., which represents this construction.

16 *inseparabilem*] I.e. ἀχώριστον, as in *c. Noet.* 18 ὁ ἀχώριστος τοῦ πατρὸς. The accus. is taken over mechanically from the Gk., and 'verbum' (personal) is here construed as masc.: comp. Hauler LXXIX 2 'et emisit verbum suum inluminantem eos'.

16 *et bene placitum tibi fuit*] 'being well-pleased in him' Test., which would naturally represent εὐδοκήσας ἐν αὐτῷ: this, however, may

¹ Comp. Iren. iii 19. 1 'verbum existens apud Deum', and 'existens semper apud patrem', also iii 20. 3 'filius Dei dominus noster existens verbum patris', where 'existens' doubtless stands for ὑπάρχων.

be only a paraphrase of the original expression. The Latin appears to represent a continuation of the participial construction noted above; in which case the Gk. would have been *καὶ εὐάρεστόν σοι ὄντα*, or the equivalent. But Eth. connects the phrase with the act of creation: 'by whom thou, being willing, madest all things' (Horner), 'per quod omnia fecisti voluntate tua' (Funk). It may be, therefore, that the Latin represents something like *καθὰ ἀρέσκον σοι ἦν* (reading perhaps *καί for καθά*): comp. Hippol. *Philos.* x 33 *κελεύοντος πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν λόγος ἀπετέλει τὸ ἀρέσκον θεῷ* (so Wendland emends the MS which has *ἀπετέλειτο ἀρέσκων θεῷ*). Cf. also *c. Noet.* 14 *πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, λόγος ἀποτελεῖ*.

17 *incarnatus est*] *ἑσαρκώθη* A.C. Cf. *Iren.* iii 18. 3 *σαρκωθέντος* (Lat. 'incarnato', and so elsewhere in Lat., as iii 9. 2, 19. 1); Hippol. *c. Noet.* 4, 17, and *Bl. of Jacob* p. 32. I do not find this verb in Goodspeed's *Index Patristicus* (of the Apostolic Fathers) or his *Index Apologeticus*; Justin employs only *σαρκοποιεῖσθαι* (*Apol.* i 32, 66, *Dial.* 45, 84, 100).

18 *filius tibi ostensus est*] I.e. 'was shewn to be thy Son'. Comp. Hippol. *Bl. of Jacob* p. 40 *ἐπιφανείς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθείς υἱὸς γήρως ἀπεδείχθη τῷ πατρί, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων αἰεὶ συνὸν τῷ θεῷ*, which is a comment on Gen. xxxvii 3: Jacob loved Joseph because he was the son of his old age; and so the Divine Son by His birth from a virgin became as it were the Son of the Father's old age. Here (beyond the parallel contained in *υἱὸς . . . ἀπεδείχθη* with the dative) we touch a characteristic thought of Hippolytus. Once, though only once, he asserts in express terms that the pre-incarnate Logos was not yet 'perfect Son' of God: *οὔτε γὰρ ἄσαρκος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ λόγος τέλειος ἦν υἱός, καίτοι τέλειος λόγος ὢν μονογενής, οὐθ' ἢ σὰρξ καθ' ἑαυτὴν δόξα τοῦ λόγου ὑποστήναι ἠδύνατο, διὰ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν. οὕτως οὖν εἰς υἱὸς τέλειος θεοῦ ἐφανερώθη* (*c. Noet.* 15). But the same thought is latent in other passages; thus in *c. Noet.* 4 we read *ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ παρθένου τέλειος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένος*, and *ibid.* 11 *οὗτος δὲ νοῦς, ὃς προβὰς ἐν κόσμῳ εἰδείκνυτο παῖς θεοῦ*. And so again in a fragment which I hold (with Bunsen, Bonwetch, and others) to be certainly the end of some work by Hippolytus, and almost certainly the missing conclusion of the *Philosophumena*, namely, the piece of text which follows the Epistle to Diognetus as chapters xi-xii,¹ in which we read: *οὗτος* (sc. ὁ λόγος) *ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθείς . . . οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, (ὁ) σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθείς* (xi 4-5). The same concept of a progress from λόγος to υἱός or παῖς is met with in the *de Antichristo* c. 3, where Hippolytus asks his readers to pray *ὅπως ἂ παλαι τοῖς μακαρίοις προφήταις ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, νῦν αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ*

¹ See *J.T.S.* xxxvii (Jan. 1936) pp. 2 ff.

θεοῦ παῖς, ὁ πάλαι μὲν λόγος ὢν, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς ἐν κόσμῳ φανερωθείς, σαφηνίσθη σοι ταῦτα δι' ἡμῶν—i.e. that what *the Logos* of God did of old, He the Same would do now again as *the Child* of God; who formerly was Logos (merely), but now has been manifested as man also for our sakes.

In these passages we notice the recurrence of the verbs 'to be shewn', 'shewn forth' or 'demonstrated', 'manifested', 'appear', usually with λόγος as subject and υἱός or παῖς as predicate. For this feature may be cited in addition *c. Noet.* 17 παρὼν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτὸν . . . καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος (see above under ll. 14-18), *in Dan.* iv 38 ἵνα . . . υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὢν ἀποδείχθῃ, fragment *in Elcanam et Anniam* ἵνα ὁ πρωτότοκος λόγος θεοῦ πρωτοτόκῳ ἀνθρώπῳ συναπτόμενος δευχθῇ. Finally, 'to be shewn' is given as a note of the Divine Son, as Son: πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, λόγος ἀποτελεῖ, υἱὸς δὲ δείκνυται (*c. Noet.* 14). So in the eucharistic prayer 'filius tibi ostensus est' stands no doubt for υἱός σοι ἀπεδείχθη, and both in idea and expression is entirely characteristic of Hippolytus.¹

18 *ex spiritu sancto et virgine natus*] Comp. Iren. *Dem.* 40 'He (sc. the Word of God) from whom all things are, He who spake with Moses—He came into Judaea, generated (*lit.* sown) from God by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary'. This, though not an exact parallel, is here quoted because it is the only passage that I know of in a writer earlier than Hippolytus by which the formula 'from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin' can be illustrated. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that this formula (often with 'from the Virgin' in the first place) is found over and over again in the extant writings of Hippolytus. I have quoted the chief passages elsewhere in discussing the baptismal Creed of Hippolytus,² but they may be repeated here with one or two additions: *c. Noet.* 4 ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ παρθένου ἕνα υἱὸν θεοῦ ἀπεργασάμενος, and again ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ παρθένου, *ib.* 17 παρὼν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀγ. πν., Philo. viii 17 (Hermogenes confessed that Christ was the Son of God) καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πνεύματος, *ib.* ix 30 (the Jews say that the Christ is to be born of the race of David) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀγ. πν., *Fragm. in Gen.* (Berlin ed. vol. i, part 2, p. 59) ὅτι ἐξ ἀγ. πν. καὶ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη, *Fragm. in Psalm.* (*ib.* p. 147) ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἀγ. πν., *Fragm. in Prov.* (*ib.* p. 165) ἐκ πν. ἀγ. καὶ παρθένου γεγεννημένου. I now add *de Antichr.* 44 τὴν . . . διὰ πν. ἀγ. καὶ παρθένου καινῆς γέννησιν, *Bl. of Moses* p. 59 'von der Jungfrau und dem heiligen Geist'.

¹ As to the theological import of this whole class of passages, I may refer to what I have said in the *J.T.S.* xxxvii p. 8 (Jan. 1936). I had already dealt in part with the same subject in *The so-called Egyptian Church Order* pp. 164-165.

² *J.T.S.* xxv (Jan. 1924) pp. 136-137.

Compare also *Bl. of Jacob* p. 32 ἐν κοιλίᾳ παρθένου ἐκ πν. ἁγ. σαρκωθεῖς, and *ib.* 42 ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἴρηκεν· καὶ μήτρας εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου (Gen. xlix 25 f), ἵνα δὴ νοήσης τὸν λόγον ἐκ δύο οὐσιῶν γεγεννησθαι, ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρθένου. This last passage seems important for the meaning to be attached to ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου in the others. By this expression did Hippolytus intend to denote the Holy Spirit, or the Second Divine Person, the Logos Himself? This question cannot be discussed here, but it may be noted that elsewhere Hippolytus uses κατὰ πνεῦμα over against κατὰ σάρκα of the generation of the Logos from the Father (*c. Noet.* 16 and *Bl. of Jacob* p. 32), and that in *c. Noet.* 4 he says of the Son λόγος ἦν, πνεῦμα ἦν, δύναμις ἦν, where δύναμις following πνεῦμα seems to indicate that Lk. i 35 is alluded to, and we are reminded of Justin's well-known interpretation of that text in *Apol.* i 33. Irenaeus, too, speaking of Lot's progeny, writes: 'Totum autem significabatur per Lot, quoniam semen patris omnium, id est spiritus Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, commixtus et unitus est carni, hoc est plasmati suo' (iv 48. 2), where 'spiritus Dei' can only denote the Logos. (Comp. also v 1. 3).¹

18 *qui voluntatem tuam complens*] Cf. John iv 34, vi 38, etc. I take 'complens', and 'adquirens' following, to represent Greek present participles closely connecting this and the next clause with the extension of the hands on the cross. In A.C. we find τὸ θέλημα σου ἐπλήρωσεν, followed at once by τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκας αὐτῷ ἐτελείωσε (Joh. xvii 4); but the original of 'complens' I conjecture to have been rather ἐπιτελών, which is several times used by Hippolytus in similar passages and was probably so used by Irenaeus before him: comp. in *Dan.* iii 14 ἵνα . . . τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτελήται, iv 10 τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς πρόσταγμα ἐπιτελών, *de Universo* 3 καὶ αὐτὸς βουλὴν πατρὸς ἐπιτελών κριτῆς παραγίνεται, and for the idea cf. in *Dan.* iv 30 ὃς μόνος τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐποίησεν.² Compare also Iren. *Haer.* iv 11. 2 'Bonum autem placitum patris filius perfecit', and v 36. 1 'Etenim unus filius qui voluntatem patris perfecit'. In the Latin Vulgate 'perficere' stands for ἐπιτελεῖν in 2 Cor. vii 1, viii 6 and 11 (*bis*), and Phil. i 6.

19 *et populum sanctum tibi adquirens*] Cf. *Ep. Barnab.* xiv 6 γέγραπται γὰρ πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ ἐντέλλεται, λυτρωσάμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν ἅγιον, and v 7 (in a context to be cited more at length below) καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων. Comp. Lk. i 17 ἐτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον, and 1 Pet. ii 9

¹ On this subject see Dr A. Robinson's Introduction to his translation of the *Demonstration* of Irenaeus pp. 31-66.

² The Lat. 'complens' may seem to point rather to *συμπληρῶν*, but in Hauler LXV l. 11 we find 'inplet' for ἐργάζεται of the Apost. Ch. Order, and 'complens' would be an equally good rendering of ἐπιτελών.

ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν ('gens sancta, populus acquisitionis' Vulg.). In the Vulg. N.T. 'acquirere' translates περιποιεῖσθαι in Acts xx 28 and 1 Tim. iii 13 (and so in the Verona Latin of the Apost. Ch. Order, Hauler LXVII l. 21), while 'acquisitio' is invariable (five times) for περιποίησις.

21 *extendit manus cum pateretur*] Cf. *Ep. Barnab.* xii 2 Μωσῆς . . . ἐξέτεινεν τὰς χεῖρας (as a type of the cross), and *ib.* 4, where Isa. lxxv 2 is quoted as signifying the passion of Christ, δλον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου. Justin *Apol.* i 35 says with reference to the same text Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἐξετάθη τὰς χεῖρας σταυρωθείς.¹ The σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ of the Didache xvi 6 also most probably refers to the cross. Comp. further Iren. *Haer.* v 17. 4 ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἓνα θεὸν συναγων, and iv 50 'et per extensionem manuum dissolvens quidem Amalech, congregans autem dispersos filios a terminis terrae in ovile patris' (and similarly in *Dem.* 46), with evident allusion to John xi 52 (ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγη εἰς ἓν). From Hippolytus himself we have the following parallels: *in Dan.* iv 57 (commenting on Dan. xii 7) τὸ οὖν ἐκτείνει αὐτὸν τὰς δύο χεῖρας, διὰ τούτου τὸ πάθος ἐπέδειξεν, *de Antichr.* 61 ὁς ἐκτείνει τὰς ἁγίας χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἥπλωσε δύο πτέρυγας (Apoc. xii 14) . . . προσκαλούμενος πάντας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας, *Bl. of Jacob* p. 17 ὅτι τὰς πάντων ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβεν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἐκπετάσας.

21 *qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni*] Cf. A.C. viii 12. 33 σῆ (sc. τοῦ πατρός) συγχωρήσει παραδοθείς, where the two first words are doubtless a substitute for ἑκουσίῳ πάθει. In the liturgy of 'St James' at this point we find μέλλων δὲ τὸν ἐκούσιον . . . θάνατον . . . καταδέχεσθαι (Brightman *L. E. W.* 51 ll. 22-23), and in 'St Basil' μέλλων γὰρ ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκούσιον . . . θάνατον (*ib.* 327 ll. 23-25). The actual expression ἐκούσιον πάθος occurs twice in the fifth-century writer Gelasius of Cyzicus (Berlin ed. p. 4 l. 18, and p. 100 l. 20), and the first of these passages has another verbal coincidence with this part of the prayer which will presently be noted. We may compare *Ep. Barnab.* v 13 αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν.

21-23 *ut mortem solvat . . . et resurrectionem manifestet*] Comp. *Ep. Barnab.* v 6-7 αὐτὸς δὲ ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον (cf. 2 Tim. i 10) καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδώῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὧν, ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ. Nearer still to the language and ideas of the prayer is

¹ Justin has many other passages on the cross and its types, but they hardly serve to illustrate our present text. For the extension of Moses' hands against Amalek see *Dial.* 91, 111, 112, 131.

Iren. *Dem.* 38: 'and *He brake the bonds* of our fetters. And *His light appeared* and made the darkness of the prison disappear, and hallowed our birth and *destroyed death, loosing* those same *fetters* in which we were enchained. *And He manifested the resurrection*'.

The stylistic feature presented by this passage of the prayer, with its series of short rhetorical 'and'-clauses, is entirely characteristic of Hippolytus. It will be enough to quote here a single passage, which ends with the phrase 'and manifested the resurrection': *καὶ κάματον ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πεινῆν ἠθέλησε, καὶ δαψῆν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὕπνῳ ἠρέμησε, καὶ πάθει οὐκ ἀντίειπε, καὶ θανάτῳ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐφάνερωσεν* (*Philos.* x 33). Other examples, cited in the *J.T.S.* for January 1936 (pp. 11-12), are to be found in the *Com. in Dan.* i 33, iii 31, iv 58 (cf. also *de Antichr.* 64), *c. Noet.* 18 (nearly identical with a passage in the fragment on Ps. ii 7), *Bl. of Jacob* p. 13; to which should be added *Ep. ad Diognet.* xi 6 and xii 9, as these two chapters are undoubtedly the end of some work by Hippolytus.

21 *et vincula diabuli dirumpat*] *καὶ ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου* A.C., but the Latin indicates that here, as in the parallel clauses, the verb should come at the end. Comp. Iren. *Dem.* 38 (already quoted above) 'and brake the bonds of our fetters'.

22 *et infernum calcet, et iustos inluminet*] Comp. Hauler LXXIX 1-3 'qui memor fuit sanctorum suorum et emisit verbum suum inluminantem eos' (with reference to prayer at the ninth hour, when Christ died on the cross). In both passages the allusion is clearly to the Descent into Hades, and the second of the two makes it probable that Hippolytus has in mind the text said by Justin Martyr to have been excised by the Jews from their copies of Jeremiah: 'The Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, remembered His dead which had fallen asleep in the earth of burial, and descended to them to proclaim the good tidings (*εὐαγγελίσασθαι*) of His salvation' (*Dial.* 72). The same is cited five times by Irenaeus (iii 22, iv 36. 1, iv 50, iv 55. 3, v 31. 1), who ascribes it in one place to Isaiah, in another to Jeremiah. Cf. 1 Pet. iii 19, iv 6, and compare Hermas *Sim.* ix 16. 5 *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι . . . κοιμηθέντες . . . ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις*. Similarly *Gosp. of Peter* 10 *ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις*; Hippolytus speaks of the *Descensus* in *de Antichr.* 26: *ὅτι καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς κατελογίσθη, εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς*, and again (*ib.* 45) he says that St John Baptist was forerunner of Christ even in Hades, *σημαίνων μέλλειν κάκεισε κατελεύσεσθαι τὸν σωτήρα λυτρούμενον τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ θανάτου*.

We might have supposed that the Greek verb behind 'inluminet' was either *φωτίσῃ* (cf. 2 Tim. i 10) or *ἐπιφάσῃ* (Eph. v 14); but Eth. has 'and *lead forth* the holy ones', and Test. 'and *guide* the righteous

to *light*', which seem clearly to indicate *φωταγωγείν*, and this verb is used with reference to the just in Hades by Hippolytus in the *de Universo* c. 1: ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγωγούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφεστίων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ἕμνούμενοι ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν. We have also *φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι* in *Ep. Barnab.* xviii 1. The use of this verb, however, does not imply that Christ at the time of His resurrection actually took the souls of the just out of Hades: see the following note.

22 *et terminum figat*] No doubt for καὶ ὄρον πήξῃ. Cf. the passage of Gelasius of Cyzicus already referred to for the expression *ἐκούσιον πάθος* (*ed. cit.* p. 4), which goes on to say that our Lord in giving the baptismal formula (Mt. xxviii 19) ὄρον δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπηξέ. Hippolytus uses ὄρος in the sense of a rule of the truth, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ὄρος, and ὄρος ἀληθῆς, followed by τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κανόνα (*Philos.* x 5), of an episcopal decree (ix 12), and ὄροι of ecclesiastical laws (ix 11); comp. Hauler LXVIII 30 'qui dedisti terminos in ecclesia' (ὁ δὸς ὄρους ἐκκλησίας A.C.). But in the present context ὄρος must be either a local boundary or a limit of time. As regards the first, we might think of the Ὁρος = Σταυρός of the Valentinian Gnostics (Iren. i 1. 6, Hippol. *Philos.* vi 31) and take the expression as referring to the planting of the cross in Hades, perhaps to mark the boundary between the abodes there of the just and the wicked: cf. *Gosp. of Peter* 10. It is more probable, however, that the words mean 'fix a term', sc. for the detention of souls in Hades, by appointing a time for the resurrection. Compare the 'Freer Logion' in the ending to St Mark: πεπλήρωται ὁ ὄρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Σατανᾶ. This explanation is supported by the language of Hippolytus in the *de Universo*, where he states his beliefs concerning Hades: it is an underground region in which the souls of just and unjust are detained (though under different conditions) until the resurrection and judgement—εἰς τὴν προωρισμένην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐν ᾗ δικαίας κρίσεως ἀπόφασις μία πᾶσιν ἀξίως προσερχθείη (c. 1), and again ἐν ᾧ (sc. Hades) αἱ ψυχαὶ πάντων κατέχονται ἄχρι καιροῦ ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὤρισεν, ἀνάστασιν τότε παντῶν ποιησόμενος (c. 2). Irenaeus had already used similar expressions: the souls of all, he says, depart εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ὠρισμένον (*definitum* Lat.) αὐταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, there to await the resurrection; wherefore, 'nos sustinere debemus *definitum* a Deo resurrectionis nostrae *tempus*' (v 31. 2). See also the creed-like doxology to the Didascalia: 'qui crucifixus est sub Pontio Pilato et dormivit, ut evangelizaret Abraham et Isac et Iacob¹ et sanctis suis universis tam finem saeculi quam resurrectionem quae erit mortuorum.'

24-27 The words of Institution] The final 'facitis' of the Latin

¹ Cf. Iren. v 33. 1 'ut evangelizaret Abrahae et iis qui cum eo apertionem haereditatis'; and iv 42. 4 'evangelisantem et illis adventum suum'.

appears to be a misrendering of the imperative ποιείτε (1 Cor. xi 24, 25, Lk. xxii 19^b): the Ethiopic seems to represent the imperative. Justin Martyr ascribes the words τούτο ποιείτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου to the records of the Apostles which are called Gospels (*Apol.* i 66, cf. also *Dial.* 41 and 117), but whether he read the equivalent words in Lk. xxii 19^b, or is unconsciously quoting from St Paul, I do not venture to decide. In the prayer 'confringetur' represents the addition θρυπτόμενον (which is the word in A.C.) or κλώμενον at 1 Cor. xi 24. But the formula as a whole follows no single account of the Institution.

28-30 *Memores igitur . . . spiritum tuum sanctum*] Cf. A.C. viii 12. 38 (as cited above, pp. 352-3), where every word of this passage is represented, the sense being modified only by insertions.

30 *ministrare*] ἱερατεύειν A.C., supported by Test. There is no cause to suspect this verb, as Hippolytus (*Philos.* proem) uses ἀρχιερατεία to denote the episcopal office, and at this date the bishop was the normal celebrant of the Eucharist. In the prayer for ordaining a bishop (Hauler LXIX 9) we find 'et primatum sacerdotii tibi exhibere', where both A.C. viii and the 'Epitome' of the same (which has the prayer nearly in its original form) have καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι. With the phrase 'quia nos dignos habuisti . . . tibi ministrare' comp. the prayer of ordination for a presbyter (Hauler LXXI 35-LXXII 1) 'et dignos effice ut credentes tibi ministremus', where, however, the Greek verb may have been λειτουργεῖν.

30 *ut mittas*] ὅπως . . . καταπέμψης A.C. I am disposed to doubt, however, whether this was the verb in the original. I cannot cite another passage in which Hippolytus speaks of the 'sending' of the Holy Spirit; but his usual word for the sending of the Logos or the Son is ἀποστέλλειν (e.g. *c. Noet.* 4, 13, 15, 17; cf. John iii 17 etc.). In *c. Noet.* 15 he once uses καταπέμπειν, but there influenced by Rom. viii 3 (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας), after quoting which he asks ποῖον οὖν υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς κατέπεμψεν; Curiously enough καταπέμπειν does not occur in the whole Greek Bible; but it is found in the Invocation of the liturgy of 'St Chrysostom' (*L.E.W.* 329 l. 16, 386 l. 25) and also in the Dêr-Balyzeh papyrus:¹ 'St James' and 'St Mark' have there ἐξαποστέλλειν, which is the word used also by St Cyril of Jerusalem (*ib.* 53 l. 21, 133 l. 32, 466 l. 1); cf. Gal. iv 6 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

31-32 *in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis*] Cf. John xi 52 ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν.

¹ Edited with facsimiles by Dom P. de Puniet in the *Revue Bénédictine* vol. xxvi (1909) pp. 34 ff., and again by Th. Schermann in 'T. u. U.' 3 R 6^b.

The object of 'congregans' cannot well be 'oblationem',¹ just before, but must be contained in 'sanctis'. Probably, however, there is allusion to the constituent elements of the oblation (*already* brought together) as symbolizing the union of the faithful. We find a like symbolism in the Didache ix 4;² but I know of nothing in the writings of Hippolytus which would suggest that he was acquainted with the Didache. His source here, as again and again elsewhere, is most probably Irenaeus.

In *Haer.* iii 10 and the following chapter Irenaeus refers more than once to the view of certain heretics who say that the Christ, or Supernal Saviour, descended upon the man Jesus at his baptism and left him again before his passion. His answer is that Christ and Jesus are not thus to be separated: 'Non enim Christus tunc descendit in Iesum, neque alius quidem Christus alius vero Iesus: sed verbum Dei, qui est salvator omnium et dominator caeli et terrae, qui est Iesus . . . qui et assumpsit carnem et unctus est a patre spiritu, Iesus Christus factus est, sicut Esaias ait.' He then quotes Isa. xi 1-3, and lxi 1-2 ('Spiritus Dei super me, quapropter unxit me', &c.), and concludes: 'Spiritus ergo Dei descendit in eum . . . ut de abundantia unctionis eius nos percipientes salvaremur' (iii 10). In iii 18 he returns to this subject, dwelling now more especially on the function of the Holy Spirit in the Church and giving this further reason for His descent on our Lord at the baptism: 'unde et in filium Dei filium hominis factum descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano et requiescere in hominibus et habitare in plasmate Dei,³ voluntatem patris operans in ipsis et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem Christi.' The same Spirit David asked for the human race, saying: 'Et spiritu principali confirma me' (Ps. l 13, LXX). The same Spirit, again, came down upon the disciples at Pentecost—'spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus'.

¹ I am surprised to see that Dr Lietzmann so takes it, re-translating (ἦν) ἐνώσας δόξης κτλ. It is enough to point out that ἐνώσας is no sufficient equivalent of 'in unum congregans', which echoes the συναγωγή εἰς ἓν of John xi 52 and surely requires a personal and plural object.

² See also St Cyprian *Ep.* lxiii 13 'ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta et commolita et commixta panem unum faciunt, sic in Christo, qui est panis caelestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui coniunctus est noster numerus et adunatus.'

³ The same curiously homely metaphor of a Divine Person 'becoming accustomed', as it were, is used elsewhere by Irenaeus: 'verbum Dei, quod habitavit in homine et filius hominis factus est, ut assuesceret hominem percipere Deum, et assuesceret Deum habitare in homine (iii 21. 2). Again: εἰθισμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ θεοῦ ῥυθμίζειν καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ βαστάζειν τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα (v 5. 1), and (here of men only) ἵνα . . . ἐθισθέντες τρώγειν καὶ πίνειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἄρτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κατασχεῖν δυναθῶμεν (iv 62).

Then he gives the following example to illustrate the unifying operation of the Holy Spirit:—

Sicut enim de arido tritico massa una fieri non potest sine humore, neque unus panis: ita *nec nos multi unum fieri in Christo Iesu poteramus sine aqua quae de caelo est*. Et sicut arida terra, si non percipiat humorem, non fructificat: sic et nos, lignum aridum existentes primum, nunquam fructificaremus vitam sine superna 'voluntaria pluvia' (cf. Ps. lxvii 9 *βροχὴν ἐκούσιον*).

After a few lines he refers to the 'living water' promised to the Samaritan woman, and adds: 'quam (aquam) dominus accipiens munus a patre, ipse quoque his donavit qui ex ipso participantur, in universam terram mittens spiritum sanctum' (iii 18. 1).

Irenaeus more than once employs examples drawn from the Eucharist, and that this illustration has a eucharistic background appears from the words 'unus panis' and 'nos multi', together with 'qui ex ipso participantur', which are derived from 1 Cor. x 17 *ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα, οἱ πολλοὶ ἔσμεν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν*. The eucharistic bread then, by its composition, is a symbol of the union of the faithful in Christ, and further illustrates the working of the Holy Spirit, *in the faithful*, by which this union is effected.¹ The chapter, as we saw, treats primarily of the descent of the Holy Spirit on our Lord Himself at His baptism, which is explained as having taken place chiefly for our sakes: the Spirit He received 'as a gift from the Father' and 'bestowed upon those who partake of Himself'.

The late Dr Armitage Robinson gave us, in his Introduction to the *Demonstration* of Irenaeus, an instructive dissertation on 'The debt of Irenaeus to Justin Martyr'. An equally instructive essay might be written on 'The debt of Hippolytus to Irenaeus', which if thoroughly carried out would, I believe, lead to the conclusion that Hippolytus knew his Irenaeus almost as he knew his Bible. This being so, I can hardly doubt that when he wrote in the eucharistic prayer: 'Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae: *in unum congregans* des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate', he was but adapting the above passage of his master: a passage of which there appear to be other echoes in his prayer of ordination for a bishop.²

¹ Comp. v 1. 2 'et effundente spiritum patris in adunitionem et communionem Dei et hominis.'

² Hauler LXIX 1 'nunc effunde eam virtutem quae a te est principalis spiritus, quem dedisti dilecto filio tuo I. Chr., quod donavit sanctis apostolis'. Here we have, as in Irenaeus, both the reception and the bestowal of the Spirit by Christ, as well as the expression 'principalis spiritus' (*ἡγεμονικὸν πνεῦμα*) from the 50th (or 51st) Psalm. Elsewhere, in commenting on the words 'he shall wash his raiment in wine' (Gen. xlix 11), Hippolytus finds no difficulty in connecting them with

Hippolytus in the prayer does not expressly say, as Irenaeus does, that the gathering together of the faithful 'into one' is the work of the Holy Spirit; but there can be little doubt that that is the underlying thought. We may compare a rather obscure passage in his *Blessings of Jacob* (p. 19):—

πλήθος δὲ σίτου καὶ οἴνου (Gen. xxvii 28) εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν τοὺς ἁγίους ὡς σῖτον εἰς ἀποθήκην συναγομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς οἶνον δεικνυμένους (*sic*).

The last word seems unsuitable in the context and redundant after ἔδειξεν before: and the Greek text rests on a single MS. The Georgian version (p. 10) has for this clause 'and through the Spirit, as through wine, *made glad*'; and since elsewhere in these comments Hippolytus interprets 'wine' as denoting the Holy Spirit, this gives a very good sense; but it involves a further departure from the Greek as we have it, viz. ὡς δι' οἴνου for ὡς οἶνον. However the second clause be explained, the whole passage appears to contain an allusion to the eucharistic bread and wine, for how else should the bare mention of 'corn and wine', in Isaac's blessing of Jacob, suggest the gathering together of the 'saints' (i.e. the faithful, as in the eucharistic prayer)?

A similar analogy is found in the *Apostolic Tradition* itself (Hauer LXXI 11 f), where immediately after the eucharistic prayer we have two short blessings, the one to be said over oil, the other over cheese and olives. The clause referring to the cheese runs thus: 'Sanctifica lac hoc quod quoagulatum¹ est, et nos conuaglant² tuae caritati.' Here the solidifying process by which milk is made into cheese represents the binding together of the faithful in and by God's love (the Greek dative τῇ σῇ ἀγάπῃ would probably be instrumental); and here again, though the Holy Spirit is not mentioned, we have the same line of thought as in the eucharistic prayer and in Irenaeus—unity symbolized by the material things offered.³ Compare the *Secret* of the

Christ's 'receiving' the Holy Spirit after His baptism, ἥνικα ἀναβὰς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ ἀπολούσας τὰ ὕδατα ἔλαβεν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (*Bl. of Jacob* p. 34)—wine being for him a symbol of the Holy Spirit.

¹ i.e. 'coagulatum' = τετυρωμένον.

² i.e. 'concoagulans' = συντηρῶν. May not the practice here alluded to throw some light on the 'morsel of cheese' received in her vision by St Perpetua (*Passio* c. 4)? She and her companions were catechumens when arrested, but were baptized a few days later. Probably, therefore, she had received Communion but once, if at all; but as a catechumen she may have often received a morsel of cheese, blessed in this way, as 'eulogia'.

³ It is of interest to compare the blessing of water ('fontis') and mingled honey and milk for the newly baptized which occurs in the *Leonianum* in the first of the masses for Pentecost (ed. Feltoe p. 25). The words referring to the honey and milk are: 'Coniunge ergo famulos tuos, Domine, Spiritui sancto, sicut coniunctum est hoc mel et lac, quo caelestis terrenaeque substantiae significatur unitio

mass for Corpus Christi composed by St Thomas Aquinas, whose genius somehow led him to voice these early ideas:

‘Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus Domine, unitatis et pacis propitius dona concede, quae sub oblatis muneribus mystice designantur.’

Reading the ‘Epiclesis’ of our prayer in the light of contemporary ideas, I am unable to find in it a petition for any action of the Holy Spirit on the oblation itself. The only action of the Holy Spirit which it speaks of, or implies, has for its object the minds and hearts of the faithful communicants, while the constituent elements of the oblation, as already unified, suggest what that action should be—to bring God’s people together ‘into one’.

32–33 in *repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei*] Cf. A.C. *ἵνα . . . βεβαιωθῶσιν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν*. In the Dêr-Balyzeh papyrus, before the final doxology and following some word like μέτοχοι or μετέχουσι (the χ only is visible), we find: τῆς δ(ωρεᾶ)ς σου εἰς δύναμιν πνεύματος ἁγίου (εἰς) βεβαίωσιν καὶ προσθήκην πίστεως κτλ. The papyrus is said to be of the seventh, or possibly sixth, century. That the text, or version, of the Egyptian liturgy which it represents can claim no very high antiquity is sufficiently shewn by the fact that part of the prayer, the Anamnesis, is addressed to our Lord, as in the *Testamentum*; and since the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus had so large a vogue in Egypt, it seems probable that in the words just given we have an echo of his prayer.

33 ff. The doxology] The distinctive elements here are (1) ‘*patri et filio*’ in apposition to ‘*tibi*’ before, and (2) ‘*in sancta ecclesia [tua]*.’ Both of these features—but elsewhere without ‘*tua*’ in the second—are nearly constant in the doxologies of the Latin (Hauler LXIX 23–24, LXXI 17–18, LXXII 3–4, LXXIII 25–26, besides the present passage LXX 33–35). The only real exception is at LXXVI 26–27, where the blessing over firstfruits has a doxology of a simpler type (‘*per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum*’). It is true that the Latin form at LXIX 23–24 (after the prayer of consecration for a bishop) has not the words ‘*in sancta ecclesia*’; but as the Ethiopic (Horner p. 139) has there ‘*in thy (or the) holy Church*’, the omission of this phrase in the Latin appears to be merely accidental. We must now consider (1) and (2) separately.

(1) This is found also in Eth. after the ordination prayers for bishop and presbyter (Horner pp. 139, 144), but with ‘*and*’ instead of ‘*with*’ before the mention of the Holy Spirit, thus: ‘*through whom to thee be glory . . . , to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in*

in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.’ On other early features in the same formula which connect it with the *Apostolic Tradition*, and at the same time point to the Roman origin of this document, see *J.T.S.* xix (April 1918) pp. 142–144.

thy (the) holy Church, now'. The second 'and' will probably be recognized as a later modification; but the peculiar apposition 'to thee . . . , to the Father and the Son', although (we might almost say because) it appears but twice in Eth.,¹ seems sufficient proof that 'patri et filio' of the Latin rests upon a Greek text and did not come in through the influence of some local Latin usage; in other words, is not due to the Latin translator or to a Latin scribe or editor.

Now in his classical passage on the Trinity, *c. Noet* 14, Hippolytus speaks of the Father and the Son as 'two Persons', but pointedly abstains from applying the term 'Person' to the Holy Spirit, whom he designates more vaguely as 'a Third Economy' (or, as otherwise read, 'a Third by economy'), and again simply as 'the Third' (τὸ τρίτον). Yet a little further on in the same chapter he writes: 'The Word of the Father, then, knowing the economy, and the Father's will, that the Father wills to be glorified (δοξάζεσθαι) thus and no otherwise, when He was risen (from the dead) He thus delivered to His disciples, saying: *Go ye, and instruct all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*; shewing that whosoever should omit any one of these (ἐν τι τούτων ἐκλείπη) has not perfectly glorified God: for through this Trinity (τριάδος) is the Father glorified.' Here we can hardly fail to recognize an allusion to the liturgical doxology;² and we may safely say that the writer of these words would have attached importance to the correct framing of such a doxology. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the *Apostolic Tradition* (LXXI 16) this formal direction: 'In omni vero benedictione dicatur: Tibi gloria, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia et nunc,' &c. And it appears to me that such a formula accords well with the trinitarian teaching of Hippolytus, with its reserve in expressing the relation of the Holy Spirit to the 'two Persons' of the Father and Son, and yet its insistence that in 'glorifying' God there must be no omission of any one of the Three. In this sense I would explain 'patri et filio' followed by 'cum sancto spiritu'.

I have had occasion to work very carefully through the whole of the Latin fragments of Hauler, and my impression of the translator (who clearly is the same throughout) is that he deserves our confidence no less than the Latin translator of Irenaeus—not perhaps as equally competent, but as equally conscientious, or mechanical, in trying to

¹ The feature in question appears to be of the nature of a survival, which has escaped alteration only in these two places. On the prevalent form of the Ethiopic doxologies cf. Dr A. Robinson's article 'The Doxology in the Prayer of St Polycarp', in the *J.T.S.* xxiv (Jan. 1923) 141 ff, and especially p. 145.

² The use of a trinitarian form of doxology is already evidenced by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i 65.

render just what lay before him. I cannot readily believe, therefore, that he has systematically tampered with the doxologies. If he did so, he must have had some Latin model to guide him; but no western example of 'tibi gloria, patri et filio' appears to be known outside the Verona palimpsest. The only evidence which is apt to suggest a Latin origin for this phrase comes from the Latin version of the Didascalia, the first of the three documents in the same MS. It ends with a long creed-like doxology of which the concluding words are: 'ipsi est potentia et gloria et magnitudo et regnum, *patri et filio*, qui erat, et est, et erit, et nunc . . .' (without mention of the Holy Spirit). The Syriac version there has: 'to Him be dominion . . . and to His Father and to the Holy Spirit . . .', where 'to Him' is wrongly understood as referring to our Lord. Probably this doxology as originally written had direct reference to the Father only, beginning with τῷ οὖν δυναμένῳ (cf. Rom. xvi 25), which was taken up at the end simply by αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος . . .¹ Whence then did 'patri et filio' come into the Latin version of the Didascalia? I would suggest that the Greek text from which the Latin version was made already had the words, introduced by some editor under the influence of the numerous doxologies in the *Apostolic Tradition*.

(2) In the Ethiopic the attestation of 'in the (thy) holy Church' is nearly the same as that of 'to the Father and the Son'. The former phrase occurs in the same pair of doxologies as the latter (Horner pp. 139 and 144), but also once again at the end of the eucharistic prayer (p. 141). For the authenticity of the words 'in the holy Church', however, we have a more important witness, Hippolytus himself. The *c. Noet.* concludes with a doxology in which (agreeably with the argument of that work) glory is rendered in the first place to Christ as God and Man: αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ² καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. And so we have yet another striking testimony to the Hippolytean authorship of the eucharistic prayer, and of the treatise to which it belongs.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ The Syriac and the Latin, with the corresponding passage in A.C. vi 23. 8, may be read together in my *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Oxford 1929) pp. 258-259.

² Cf. Eph. iii 21 αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. The words 'in the holy Church' are found in doxology elsewhere, to my knowledge, only in two places: at the end of the first of the two pseudo-Cyprianic prayers (Hartel, Appendix p. 146), and of the Latin version of the Martyrdom of St Ignatius: see Jacobson's *Patrum Apostolicorum quae supersunt* ii 579. This last reference was kindly given me some years ago by Dr C. Atchley.