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it a good thing that there were always some one present with you to take such interest in you (provided it were done in a good way), and that you should not be dependent on my presence for a true friend. My own children, I would I were present with you now, and were speaking to you in the old tone of affection on both sides, and not in the tone you have forced on me; for I am troubled about you."

When the last words are regarded in the proper light, it is plain that Paul is not prompted to them by any special impossibility, which prevents him from hurrying off on the moment to see them, and that he is not explaining that he cannot go to see them at present. He merely says: "I would that I could have been present now with you, using a very different tone towards you from what I have to employ in this letter."

W. M. RAMSAY.

LITURGICAL ECHOES IN POLYCARP'S PRAYER.

FEW among the records of the early Christian Church have exercised a greater fascination than the letter in which the Church of Smyrna recounts to the Church of Philomelium the story of the arrest and martyrdom of St. Polycarp. Thousands who have never read the letter itself are familiar with the martyr's answer when, as the price of his release, he was bidden by the magistrate to curse Christ: "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong; how then shall I blaspheme my King who hath saved me?"

As to the precise date of the martyrdom, and of the letter which describes it, there has been much controversy. The Chronicle of Eusebius makes a reference to this martyrdom, and also to those which took place at Vienne and Lyons, in a note appended to the year 167 A.D. But critics are

generally agreed in deducing the date of St. Polycarp's death from the notes of time which are supplied by the famous letter, and in fixing it accordingly in 155 or at latest in 156. The letter itself, which claims to be written by eye-witnesses, is regarded as having been despatched soon afterwards—at the most, after an interval of a few years only.

The dignified Prayer, or rather Thanksgiving, which the martyr utters after he has been bound to the stake, has a special interest, to which, as far as I am aware, attention has not hitherto been directed.

I cite the whole section in which it occurs, following for the most part Bishop Lightfoot's translation:—

“So they did not nail him, but tied him. Then he placed his hands behind him and was bound to the stake, like a noble ram out of a great flock for an offering, a burnt sacrifice made ready and acceptable to God, and looking up to heaven, he said:

“Lord God Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed servant Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of Thee; God of angels and powers and of all creation and of all the race of the righteous, who live before Thee: I bless Thee, for that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and hour, to receive a portion in the number of the martyrs in the cup of Thy Christ, unto resurrection of eternal life both of soul and body in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. May I be received among these before Thee this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou didst prepare and reveal it beforehand, and hast accomplished it, Thou that art the true God that cannot lie. Because of this, and for all things, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Servant, through whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and for the ages to come. Amen.

“And when he had offered up the Amen and finished the prayer, the firemen lighted the fire.”

In the last sentence of this noble Prayer the words, “I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee,” recall at once the familiar language of the *Gloria in Excelsis*. Bishop Lightfoot has quoted as a parallel the form in which that ancient Hymn is given in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where

we find the unusual addition of the phrase, "through the great High Priest." But he has not gone further in the direction of illustrating the Prayer from liturgical sources. Yet I believe that the path is worth pursuing, and that it may lead us to the observation of some interesting parallels, which may be of importance alike for the criticism of the Letter itself and for the history of the beginnings of liturgical worship.

In order to understand the liturgical phraseology of St. Polycarp's prayer, it is necessary to say a few words about a series of documents, which contain Church ordinances on an ever-expanding scale from the end of the second down to the fifth century.

Beginning with the latest date, we have a large volume of eight books, entitled *The Apostolic Constitutions*. Criticism has in recent years cut the binding of this ponderous tome, and separated off its more ancient elements. The discovery of the *Teaching of the Apostles*, and its publication in 1883, greatly assisted the process. It was seen that this document had been to some extent used in books i.-vi., and almost completely embodied in book vii. But it is book viii. that specially concerns us now. This book, which is placed at the close of the fourth century, has embodied large parts of an *Egyptian Church Order* of the beginning of the fourth century. The *Egyptian Church Order* is preserved to us in Coptic and in Ethiopic, and it in its turn is found to be a composite book. It has embodied an ancient Greek book, preserved to us now only in an Arabic translation, and known as the *Canons of Hippolytus*. Whatever may be thought of the authorship of this book, it can hardly be doubted that it must be placed not much, if at all, later than the end of the second century. It gives directions for the ordination of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, for Baptism, the Eucharist and the Agape, and throws much light on the early life of the

Church. It has been published, together with the corresponding portions of the other documents, by Achelis in Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1891).

It is to the Prayers contained in one or other of these documents that our attention will now in large measure be directed. They are of the greatest moment for the history of the Liturgies, forming as they do an intermediate step between the *Teaching of the Apostles* and the *Epistle of Clement* on the one side and the earliest of the formal *Greek Liturgies* on the other.

We may now consider the Greek words of the Prayer in three sections. I shall underline the words to which I would call special attention.

I. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης κτίσεως, παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με, κ.τ.λ.

1. Near the close of the Eucharistic service described in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 14) we find a Prayer which begins thus: *Δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός . . . εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι κατηξίωσάς ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων, κ.τ.λ.* Parallel to this we have in the *Egyptian Church Order* (Achelis, pp. 59 f.): "Lord Almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thank Thee that Thou hast," etc.¹

Here we observe a difference between these two forms of the same Prayer: the Greek has preserved, while the Egyptian has lost, the title *ὁ παῖς σου*, "Thy servant," as applied to Christ. Now it is a matter of great interest to note that this old Messianic title, "the Servant" of Jehovah, is re-

¹ I add here a parallel from *Acta Theclæ*, c. 24: Πάτερ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἔσωσάς με ἐκ πυρός, ἵνα Παῦλον ἴδω.

peatedly found in the very earliest liturgical forms that have come down to us, although in the formal liturgies of the Greek Church it seems to have entirely disappeared.

The particular prayer from which I have just quoted is not found in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, but a comparison of the different columns of Achelis, pp. 44, 46, 113, leaves no doubt that the title *ὁ παῖς σου* occurred in the earliest form of other prayers there given, though the tendency to remove it is manifested again and again.

We naturally recall the Prayer of the Apostles in the Acts (iv. 27, 30), and such passages as the great Messianic section which begins with Isaiah lii. 13, together with the opening words of Isaiah xlii. as quoted by St. Matthew (xii. 18) of our Lord.

But I do not think that it has been sufficiently recognised that the title perpetually recurs in primitive eucharistic formulæ. Thus, for example, in the *Teaching of the Apostles* (chaps. 9, 10) we have three remarkable thanksgivings, in each of which this title is found.

Chap. 9. For the Cup: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.* Here the use of the title in the same context for David makes it necessary to render the word by "servant" and not, as is often done, by "son."

Chap. 9. For the Bread: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

Chap. 10. Here we have the title twice more: *διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου* and *διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

It is noteworthy, moreover, among other marks of difference which show that these thanksgivings are wholly independent of the rest of the *Didaché*, that this title occurs nowhere else in the book.

Let us now turn to the *Epistle of Clement to the Corin-*

thians. The long Prayer with which St. Clement closes has been generally regarded as containing the germs of much that is found fully developed in the Greek Liturgies. Its points of contact with the thanksgivings of the *Didaché* are likewise deserving of notice. Thus at the outset we have the petition that God will "preserve unbroken the number that hath been numbered of His elect in all the world" (Clem. Rom. i. 59)—words which may be compared with the requests for "the gathering together of the Church" in the *Didaché*. Then follow these remarkable words: *διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*. Moreover we read lower down in the same chapter: *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς σου, δι' οὗ ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας,¹ ἡγίαςας, ἐτίμησας*. And at the close of it: "Let all the heathen know that Thou art the only God, and Jesus Christ is Thy servant (*ὁ παῖς σου*), and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture."

The triple repetition of the title in this great liturgical passage is the more noteworthy from the fact that it does not occur in any other part of Clement's Epistle.

Moreover, both in the *Didaché* and in Clement it is found in close connection with the same thought, that God has given us "knowledge" (*γνώσις, ἐπίγνωσις*) through His servant. In the Prayer of St. Polycarp the same connection is strikingly marked: *δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν*. It is interesting to add to these three parallels a fourth from the *Epistle to Diognetus* (chap. 8): *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφάνερωσε τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡτοιμασένα, κ.τ.λ.*

Before we leave this title we may note that it is of frequent recurrence, not only in the early prayers found in the documents brought together by Achelis, but also in

¹ Is this a play upon *παιδός*?

other parts of the *Apostolic Constitutions* than those with which he deals. But we see a constant tendency to eliminate it, and again and again we find as its substitute the title δ *μονογενῆς υἱός*. This latter fact in itself deserves attention.

2. I have not noticed any close parallel to the phrase, "The God of angels and powers and of all the creation," though it has a decidedly liturgical ring. But the next words, "and of all the race of the righteous, who live before Thee," may have much light thrown on them from early forms of prayer. "The righteous" is an expression which is used several times in the Greek Liturgies for the saints of the Old Testament: e.g. *Lit. of St. James* (Swainson, p. 292, also pp. 263, 288; Brightman, p. 57), *τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, πατριάρχων, δικαίων*. That this is the meaning here—or, at least, a large part of the meaning—is plain from the addition "who live before Thee," which takes us back to our Lord's answer to the Sadducees when He speaks of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as the God of the living: "for all live unto Him."

Now, in the prayer used at the consecration of a Bishop (Achelis, pp. 42 ff.) we read in the opening address to God: δ *προορίσας* [τὸ] *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γένος δίκαιον ἐξ Ἀβραάμ*; or, as the *Egyptian Church Order* gives it: "Thou who from of old hast foreordained the race of the righteous from Abraham." Possibly we ought to restore *γένος δικαίων* (for *γένος δίκαιον*) in the Greek. The passage is found, but in an evidently corrupt form, in the *Canons of Hippolytus*.

II. Εὐλόγω σε, ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου' ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας καὶ προεφάνερωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδῆς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός.

1. The word *κατηξίωσάς* occurs so frequently in Thanksgivings in the Greek Liturgies that it is needless to give references for it. In the older forms of prayer we have several parallels; one has been given already from the Thanksgiving after the Communion (Achelis, p. 59); compare also Ach., p. 98, *Can. Hipp.*, at the Laying on of Hands after Baptism, and p. 112, at the Offering of First-fruits; and further, at the Invocation (Ach., p. 54, *Ap. Const.* viii. and *Egypt. Ch. Order*), *εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσάς ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεῦεν σοι.*

More especially with the words "this hour" in Polycarp's Prayer we may compare *Lit. of St. Mark* (Sw. p. 4, Br. p. 113): *Εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ ὑπερευχαριστοῦμέν σοι . . . ὅτι . . . ἤγαγες ἡμᾶς ἕως τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, ἀξιώσας πάλιν παραστήναι ἐνώπιόν σου, κ.τ.λ.*; and the Prayer in *Lit. of St. James* (Sw. p. 244, Br. p. 43): *'Ο πάντων θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης ἀξιόυς ἡμᾶς ἀπέργασαι τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, κ.τ.λ.*¹

2. With the words *ζωῆς αἰωνίου κ.τ.λ.* it may be worth while to compare *Lit. of St. Mark* (Sw. p. 53, Br. p. 134): *ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν . . . εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς, σώματος καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας. . . .* The strangeness of the order "soul, body, and spirit"

¹ With the words, "To receive a portion in the number of the Martyrs in the cup of Thy Christ," it is interesting to compare a passage of Origen (*Hom. xix. in Jerem.* § 14): "What I mean is this: often in our prayers we say, *Θεέ παντοκράτορ, τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δός τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δός ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*" I find in the *Lit. of St. Mark* (Sw. p. 42, Br. p. 129): *δός ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου*, but I have no parallel to give to the actual words of Origen. The use which he makes of the prayer is to emphasize the futility and even the blasphemy of its utterance by those who are unwilling while on earth to share the sufferings of the Prophets and Apostles. His silence about the Martyrs might lead us to suppose that for their "portion" the Church could hardly dare to pray. But at the actual moment of his suffering Polycarp can thank God that He has counted him worthy to receive a portion in the number of the Martyrs in the cup of Christ.

suggests that *καὶ πνεύματος* is a later interpolation (cf. *καὶ πνεύματι* in the next prayer, introduced, perhaps, to complete the parallel with 1 Thess. v. 23).

3. The phrase *ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός* is only half accounted for by Titus i. 2, *ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός*. We find a closer parallel in the Prayer at the Ordination of a Deacon (*Ap. Const.* viii., Ach. p. 65): *Ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀψευδής*.

III. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω, διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

1. With the first words compare *Egypt. Ch. Order* (Ach. p. 113): "We praise Thee, O God, for this and for all else, wherewith Thou hast benefited us."

2. We have already referred to the form in which the *Gloria in Excelsis* is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The actual words are these (vii. 47): *Αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, [εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε,] δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως, κ.τ.λ.* Compare also *Clem. Rom.* i. 61, *σοὶ ἔξομολογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα, κ.τ.λ.*

3. But perhaps the most curious of all the verbal coincidences is that which meets us at the close in the words, "by whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit." The collocation of words here is unfamiliar and even startling to our ears. Yet we find it no less than seven times in the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order* (Ach. pp. 47, 57, 58, 59, 60, 67, 99). Where Greek parallels to these Prayers are given, the phrase is always corrected into some such phrase as *δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα* or *μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα*. But I find it still surviving in one place in the *Liturgy of St. Mark*, namely, in the Thanksgiving which begins, "It

is very meet and right. . . ." There we read (Sw. p. 30, Br. p. 126): *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν, κ.τ.λ.* In the Ethiopic Liturgy it is constantly preserved, and is quite the regular form of the doxology.

The illustrations which have been here brought together place it, I think, beyond all doubt that the Prayer of St. Polycarp, whether it be the actual utterance of the Martyr, or whether it be only put into his lips by the martyrologist, is full of echoes of the liturgical language of the Church. I shall not enter upon the interesting questions which are raised by the observation of these parallels. I will only note that we have found them in almost every case among the earlier rather than among the later formulæ. I commend them to the attention of students alike of the Martyrdoms and of the Liturgies of the early Church.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

APOCALYPTIC SKETCHES.

I.

THE FIRST AND THE LAST AND THE LIVING ONE.

REV. I.

THE Book of Revelation is in many respects a tempting one to the expositor. It has not only the attractiveness of that which offers in any measure to lift the veil from the unknown future, but the advantage of being in the highest degree imaginative and pictorial, while it abounds in passages which reach the loftiest pitch of inspired ecstasy. On the other hand, it so bristles with difficulties that modest men are slow to encounter them, especially as its glowing pages have often been perverted so as to pander to vulgar curiosity, and sometimes made to minister to the most unhealthy excitement, in the hands of those who profess