

nothing new to be noted in comparison with the uses of the LXX nor any change of signification. The meaning remains, the application is different.

Thus it would appear that from end to end of the Scriptures there is evidence that the relation of God to his people or to the individual was expressly regarded as one recognizing and indeed based upon a relatively but not wholly dependent will on the human side. Contrariwise, there is no evidence of any tendency even to regard that relation in any true or exact sense of the term 'servile'. The most favoured terminology was one which regarded that relation as above all analogous to that between a tutor and his pupil or a guardian and his ward. To sum up, it may be repeated that this relation is throughout distinguished from (a) that of an owner to his estate or land, (b) that of a father or procreator to his children, (c) that of a king to his subjects. The English 'lord' leaves several of them in indistinction from one another.

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THE ANAPHORA OF THEODORE

LEONTIUS of Byzantium reckons it among the offences of Theodore of Mopsuestia that he improvised an Anaphora different from that handed down to the churches, neither reverencing that of the Apostles—presumably the 'Clementine'—nor taking account of that of S. Basil; and he adds that Theodore 'filled the rite full of blasphemies' (that is, Nestorianisms).¹ The Syriac *Anaphora of Theodore the Interpreter*, which is used by the Nestorians for about a third part of the year, is both obviously and according to tradition translated from the Greek; but opinion has varied as to whether or not this version represents the Anaphora alluded to by Leontius and the authentic work of Theodore. Renaudot, through whose Latin version *Theodore* first became known in the West (*Litt. orient. coll.* ii p. 577), was unable to find in it the alleged 'blasphemies' and concluded that it is not the Anaphora known to Leontius. G. S. Assemani (*B. O.* iii 2 p. 228) replied by pointing out a passage (xiii below) which might suffice to explain Leontius's charge. Le Brun (*Explication* xi 10) regards *Theodore* as the rite of Mopsuestia, but doubts whether it is what Leontius refers to,

¹ *c. Nest. et Eutych.* iii 19 (Migne *P. G.* lxxxvi 1368 c) ἀναφορὰν γὰρ σχεδιάζει ἐτέραν παρὰ τὴν πατρόθεν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παραδομένην, μήτε τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων αἰδεσθεῖς, μήτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι συγγραφείσαν λόγου τινὸς κρίνων ἄξιαν. ἐν ᾗ ἀναφορᾷ βλασφημιῶν, οὐ γὰρ εὐχῶν, τελετὴν ἀνεπλήρωσεν.

unless perchance, writing against the Nestorians, he has 'exaggerated their faults'. For Palmer (*Origines Liturg.*, ed. 1845, i p. 196), *Theodore* and *Nestorius* 'seem to have few claims to primitive antiquity', and Leontius's story 'does not prove the genuineness' of *Theodore*, which also 'seems improbable' on other (scarcely serious) grounds. Neale (*Eastern Church* i p. 334) holds that the Anaphora 'may fairly be attributed to Theodore'; and Swete expresses his agreement with Neale, adding that 'both thought and language bear the impress of Theodore's mind' (*Dict. Christian Biog.* iv p. 943). This judgement, coming from such a source, may be regarded as decisive; and the purpose of the present Note is to collect some at least of the evidence on which it may be supposed to rest.

The greater part of any fully developed liturgy is likely to be common form, and marks of individual authorship are only to be looked for in occasional features, whether of dogmatic statement or of characteristic or favourite phraseology; and of this kind the Anaphora seems to have in common with the undisputed works of Theodore as much as could well be expected and enough fairly to establish its authenticity.

In the following notes I use, with some modifications, the anonymous translation (*The Liturgy of the holy apostles Adai and Mari*, &c., S.P.C.K. 1893) of the Syriac *Liturgia sanctorum apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, &c., Urmiae 1890, and the references are to page and line of the translation followed by those of the text itself in square brackets.

I. It is almost enough to run the eye casually over Theodore's pages to notice the singular frequency of (1) ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος (which does not occur in N.T.); (2) τὸ μέγεθος, *magnitudo*, of this and that; (3) ἐπιμέλεια, κηδεμονία, and cognates: *cura*, *sollicitudo*, *diligentia*. It is needless to give references in detail: it is sufficient to note that, e. g., in about 165 lines of 8vo pages of the commentary on Joel, outside of the 35 lines which are quotation, ἡ χάρις κτλ occurs once, τὸ μέγεθος τῶν . . . 7 times, ἐπιμέλεια once, κηδεμονία 7 times, and κηδόμενος once; or in about 101 lines of the commentary on 2 Timothy, of which 26 are quotation, *magnitudo* occurs twice, *gratia Spiritus* twice, *sollicitudo* 3 times, and *diligentia* once. So in the Anaphora: 'the grace of the Holy Spirit' 40. 21 [32. 14], 44. 16 [37. 4], 46. 7 [38. 20]: 'the greatness of thine holiness' 42. 14 [34. 16]: 'Thou carest for the upholding of our life' 43. 4 [35. 12]. To these might be added, though it is less frequent, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ (of . . .): *in Hos.* praef. 2; *in Amos* praef. 1 (bis), 2, 6; *in Ionam* praef. 4. So in the Anaphora, 'for the salvation of our life' 44. 18 [37. 5], 45. 7 [37. 20].

II. 'Who alone art eternal' 40. 10 [32. 8], 'Thou art Lord from everlasting and from eternity' 45. 20 [38. 5]. *Ecthesis* (Hahn *Bibliothek* § 215: Swete *Theod. Mops. in Epp. Pauli comment.* ii p. 327) εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν

Πατέρα αἰδιον . . . ἄνωθεν ὄντα Θεὸν αἰδιον : *in Hos.* iv 15 τὸν αἰδιον καὶ ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν.

III. 'Thy Only-begotten' 40. 13, 27 [32. 10, 33. 3]. *In Zach.* i 7-11 τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Μονογενοῦς : *in I Tim.* iii 16 deitas Unigeniti . . . Unigenitus Patris : *in Rom.* xiv 10.

IV. 'The Essence from everlasting' 41. 29 [34. 5]. *In Hagg.* ii 2-5 τῆς θείας καὶ αἰδίου οὐσίας : *in Zach.* i 7-11 Θεὸν τὴν αἰδιον οὐσίαν.

V. 'The Lord and Maker of all things' 41. 31 [34. 6]. *In Hos.* xiii 4 Ποιητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων ὢν... τῶν ἀπάντων Κύριος ὑπάρχων : ii 22 Κύριός τε καὶ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων μὲν Ποιητὴς καὶ Δεσπότης : *in Amos* i 2 τῶν ἀπάντων Ποιητὴς τε καὶ Κύριος ὢν : iv 12, 13 ἅτε Κύριός τε καὶ Ποιητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων ὑπάρχων : ix 4 Θεὸς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς Ποιητὴς τε καὶ Κύριος : 11, 12 Θεὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ποιητὴν καὶ Κύριον : *in Abd.* 19-21 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Κύριός τε καὶ Ποιητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων : *in Ionam* praef. 1 Θεὸς ὁ Δεσπότης καὶ Ποιητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων : i 3 πάντων . . . Δεσπότην καὶ Ποιητὴν : *in Zach.* xiv 8 Θεὸς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς Ποιητὴς τε καὶ Κύριος.

VI. 'The God Word' 41. 32 [34. 7], 43. 8 [35. 15], 45. 22 [38. 7]. 'Ο Θεὸς Λόγος *passim*, esp. in the dogmatic fragments.

VII. 'The Holy Spirit who is from Thee, the Father' 42. 3 [34. 9]. *Ecthesis* τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνων οὐσίας . . . ἕξ οὐπερ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστιν' ἡμεῖς γὰρ φησὶ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβομεν τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ [I Cor. ii 12] . . . καὶ οὔτε υἱὸν νομίζομεν οὔτε διὰ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν εἰληφός.

VIII. 'all rational natures visible and invisible' 42. 4 [34. 9]. *In Rom.* viii 19 νοητὰ . . . ἀόρατοι φύσεις ; 22 τὰς ἀοράτους . . . ἅτε δὴ λογικὰς ; *in Eph.* i 10 invisibiles naturas . . . rationales uirtutes.

IX. 'the feeble race of mortal men' 42. 11 [34. 14] : 'in a mortal body and a changeable soul' 45. 35 [38. 15] (where the negative before 'changeable' both in text and translation is obviously a mistake or a misprint). According to Theodore man was created mortal and therefore weak and morally unstable (τρεπτός). See fragment on original sin and mortality, Swete ii p. 336 : *in Gal.* ii 15, 16 and Swete's notes.

X. 'Thou hast created us out of nothing and hast accounted us worthy of the great honour of freewill and of consciousness . . . and in every hour carest for our life' 43. 2 [35. 11]. *In Mal.* i 6 ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγόν : *in Zach.* i 7-11 κτίσιν δὲ πάντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρεληλυθότα : xii 1 ὅς ποιητὴς μὲν ἀπάντων ἐστι τῶν ὄντων, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον πεποιήκε ψυχῆς τε αὐτῆ καὶ προθέσεως λογικῆς μεταδούς : *in Gal.* ii 15, 16 qui bonitate sola nos faciebat et factos tuebatur.

XI. 'He put on our humanity, (1) a mortal body and a rational, intelligent, and immortal soul, (2) of the holy Virgin by the power of the

Holy Ghost, (3) and through them He fulfilled and perfected all his great and marvellous dispensation prepared in thy foreknowledge before the foundation of the world, and Thou hast fulfilled it now in the last times through Thy Son . . . (4) and He is the fulfilment of all, and all in Him is fulfilled' 43. 10 [35. 17]. 'Thou who in a wonderful and awful dispensation which thy Only-begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ, wrought through our humanity' 40. 12 [32. 9].

(1) *Ecthesis* ἐκ ψυχῆς τε νοεῖας καὶ σαρκὸς συνεστῶτος ἀνθρωπίνης: *c. Apollinarium* iv 1 illa [anima] quidem immortalis est et rationalis, caro uero mortalis et irrationalis. (2) *Ecthesis* Πνεύματος ἁγίου δυνάμει ἐν τῇ τῆς παρθένου μήτρᾳ διαπλασθέντα: *c. Apoll.* iii 1 ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς παρθένου συστάν ἐν τῇ μητρῷ γαστρὶ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διαπλασθὲν δυνάμει . . . γεγέννηται δὲ ἐκ γυναικὸς ὃ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δυνάμει διαπλασθείς. (3) *Fragm. ap. Narsai Hom.* xvii (see Connolly *Lit. Hom. of Narsai* p. 16) 'in all generations Thou hast fulfilled and perfected thy dispensation as for the salvation and redemption of man': *Ecthesis* περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἣν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν οἰκονομίᾳ ὁ δεσποτῆς ἐξετέλεσε Θεός: *in 1 Tim.* i 4 τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καθ' ἣν τὴν ἡμέτεραν διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν: *in Eph.* i 4 olim (inquit) et ante mundi totius fabricam hanc fecerat dispensationem secundum suam praescientiam. *In Eph.* iii 16 ὑπὲρ τούτων πάντων ὧν ἡμῖν παρέσχεν . . . οὕτως ὄντων μεγάλων καὶ θαυμασῶν: 19 τῆς οὕτως μεγάλης καὶ θαυμαστῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ: *in Joel* ii 25-27 ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμασῶν πεποίηκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς. (4) *Fragm. ap. Narsai Hom.* xvii (see Connolly, p. 17) 'and in Me shall be perfected all the compacts and all the promises; and in Me shall be fulfilled the mysteries and types (shewn) to just men of old'.

XII. 'for . . . bishops and periodutae and presbyters and deacons, that . . . they may be approved by thy will so as to be accounted worthy to receive from thee *good* and exalted *degrees* at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ' 44. 33 [37. 15]. *In 1 Tim.* iii 13 *bonum gradum* non in praesenti saeculo dicit: nec dixisset *gradum sibi ipsi bonum adquireunt*—nam et diaconiae gradus bonus est—sed dixisset utique 'maiores'; nunc autem adiciens *bonum*, non quia non bonus gradus diaconiae, sed quoniam illum quidem gradum confitetur esse bonum et iuuans eos qui eum adsequi uoluerint.

XIII. 'The God Word (1) put on a complete man, our Lord Jesus Christ, and (2) was perfected and justified in the power of God and in the Holy Ghost' 45. 22 [38. 7].

(1) *Ecthesis* ὁ δεσπότης Θεὸς Λόγος ἄνθρωπον εἴληφεν τέλειον. (2) *Cat. Lect.* (Swete ii p. 326) *Iesum enim* (ait) *de Nazareth, quem unxit Deus Spiritu et uirtute* [Acts x 38], cuius unctionem meritis et immaculatus effectus est per omnia et ad diuinam naturam meruit coniunctionem.

Neque enim coniunctionem suscepisset illam nisi prius immaculatus factus fuisset, ut sic condeceat illius unitatem. . . . Christum iustificatum et immaculatum factum uirtute sancti Spiritus (sicut beatus Paulus modo quidem dicit quod *iustificatus est in Spiritu* [1 Tim. iii 16], modo uero *qui per Spiritum aeternum immaculatum se obtulit Deo* [Heb. ix 14]) mori quidem fecit secundum legem hominum, utpote autem impeccabilem uirtute sancti Spiritus factum resuscitauit a mortuis: *c. Apoll.* iii 7 Dicant igitur nobis [*sc.* the Apollinarians] . . . si pro sensu [*in 2 Th.* ii 2 sensus = *υός*] Domino Christo, qui est secundum carnem, deitas facta esset, sicut dicunt, quid sancti Spiritus cooperatione ad haec Christus indigebat? Nec enim Unigeniti deitas Spiritu indigebat ad iustificationem sed nunc unctum esse dicit ipsum Spiritu et habitasse in eo Spiritum . . . et doctrinam inde ipsum accepisse et uirtutem, et inde impetrasse iustificationem et inde immaculatum factum esse.

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A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A CLUNIAC AND A CISTERCIAN

BEFORE the historic controversy between the Cluniacs and the Cistercians finally lost its immediately practical interest, as it began to do not very long after the great protagonists had passed, St Bernard in 1153 and Peter the Venerable in 1158, it appears to have taken for a while a somewhat academic shape, as of a question gravely and dispassionately debated in the schools. It lost, in a measure, the *verve* of aggressive partizanship and became rather restrained, detached, almost Platonically detached. How far the Dialogue between a Cluniac and a Cistercian monk, given by Martène and Durand in their *Thesaurus*,¹ is typical or otherwise it may be, as it often is in such cases, difficult to say, but it certainly is of the character suggested. Lists are opened and the disputants meet one another, courteously enough, with dialectic thrust and parry, and here and there a sally of grave humour or a homely witticism, as of friends who will presently meet outside and go home to a quiet meal together. The editors transcribed it from a MS at Morimond to which the abbot of that house had given them access, and which they assigned to the late twelfth or the early

¹ *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem Monachum et Cisterciensem de Diversis Utriusque Ordinis Observantiis* (Martène and Durand *Thesaurus Nov. Anecd.* v 1569 sqq.).