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scripts,¹ the relatively minor variants found in the oldest manuscripts deserve most careful study and classification. Until this is done little sure progress can be expected in dealing with the larger problems of the history and transmission of the Armenian version.² R. P. CASEY.

GLORIA PATRI: TEXT AND INTERPRETATION

APPARENTLY from the sixth century there have been two forms of the *Gloria Patri* in common use, viz. the two forms which are in use to-day in the Greek and Latin Churches respectively.

These two forms are the same, except that the Greek form has nothing corresponding to the clause: *sicut erat in principio*, which the Gallican Church adopted in the sixth century.

If we confront the Latin with the Greek we see this:—

Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι	καὶ νῦν
Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto	Sicut erat in principio et nunc
καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.	
et semper et in saecula saeculorum.	

The Latin form, which appears in English dress in the Book of Common Prayer, seems to have won its way in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries throughout the West, except in Spain, where, in the seventh century, the doxology at the end of all the psalms was *Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum*.

The XIIIth and XVth canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 give this form of the doxology and make no mention of *sicut erat* . . . , and the same form survived in the Mozarabic Rite (*Missal*, Migne *P.L.* lxxxv 109; *Breviary*, Migne *P.L.* lxxxvi 47 sq.).

The Vth canon of the Second Council of Vaison (the Provincial Council of the Metropolis of Arles) in 529 accepted the *sicut erat* . . . with the object of refuting heresy and on the ground of its use elsewhere—in Rome and in all the East (which must be a mistake), in Africa and in Italy.

This type of doxology, however, runs back very far. The Egyptian anaphoras have ὡςπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων (*Brightman Liturgies Eastern and Western* pp. 134, 180, 190, 233).

A Greek version (Century XV) of the Roman Mass has ὡςπερ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ ἔσται καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων in the Introit (*Oriens Christianus* iv 11).

¹ *Merk Biblica* iv p. 356. Cf. R. P. Blake *Harvard Theological Review* xxi p. 307 ff.

² Cf. *J.T.S.* xxx p. 361.

The first *et in sicut erat* . . . marks the apodosis, and is equivalent to 'so also', so that the sense is 'Glory . . . as it was in the beginning, so also be it now and always and for ever'.

The sixteenth-century Primers in England so interpret. Marshall's Primer, 1535, 'as it was . . . as it is now, and ever shall be'. Hilsey's Primer 1539 interprets likewise. Cranmer's Litany, 1544, has: 'As it hath been from the beginning, is, and shall be ever, world without end'. Here there are errors in 'hath been' and 'from the beginning'; but there is an attempt to render *in saecula saeculorum* by the phrase 'world without end'.

In the Prayer Book version of the Psalms we have 'world without end' as the translation of *a saeculo et usque in saeculum* in Pss. xli 18, xc 2, cvi 46. This version is, in all essentials, the version contained in the so-called *Great Bible* of 1539-1541.

'World' was still used in the sense of its Anglo-Saxon original (*weoruld*), the literal meaning of which was 'age of man' or 'course of a man's life', hence a lifetime, or period of time. The King's Primer of 1545 registers an improvement: 'As it was in the beginning, and is now, and ever shall be, world without end'.

In the Prayer Book of 1549 the first 'and' was omitted, as now, to the disadvantage of the form, which, by its repetition of this word, brought out with more clearness 'the beginning', the present, and the future—a threefold division of time.

'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit: As it was in the beginning, so also now and always and for ever' represents the Latin, or it would be possible to translate: 'Glory be . . . as it was in the beginning, both now and always and for ever'.

In saecula saeculorum is the Vulgate rendering of *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* in Rom. xvi 27, Phil. iv 20, 1 Tim. i 17, 2 Tim. iv 18, Heb. xiii 21, 1 Pet. iv 11, Rev. v 13, vii 12. The phrase is used intensively, 'saeculum saeculorum, quod omnia saecula in se continet', and thus signifies an indefinitely long period.

ALGERNON WARD.

SETHEUS

THE important text edited by Mrs C. A. Baynes¹ comes from the Bruce Papyrus at Oxford (Bruce MS 96 in the Bodleian Library), which was brought from Upper Egypt by James Bruce in 1769. It was first studied by C. G. Woide in Bruce's lifetime, but the best edition hitherto is that by Carl Schmidt (*Texte u. Untersuchungen* VIII, 1892), who

¹ *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise* . . . by Charlotte A. BAYNES, with Photographs of the Text (Cambridge University Press, 1933).