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THE CHURCHMAN

A Monthly Magazine

*CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

VOL. XI.

LONDON
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW
1885

past ; for very truly has it been recently said, "The readiness of the community to supply religious wants, as they arise, must be taken as the true gauge by which to measure the hold which an Established Church, as such, retains upon the confidence and affections of the nation."

JOHN W. BARDSLEY.

Review.

The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities, edited for the Syndics of the University Press by C. A. SWAINSON, D.D., Master of Christ's College, and Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity, Cambridge ; formerly Norrisian Professor, and Canon Residentiary of Chichester Cathedral. Cambridge University Press, 1884.

THIS is a work of great value and importance, and must long remain the starting-point for Liturgical students and inquirers. The sources from which former writers upon this subject obtained their documentary information are in several instances rediscovered and recollated, while several hitherto entirely unknown and unused documents are for the first time employed, to the great increase of our knowledge in this important portion of theological science. The whole work extends to 395 quarto pages, to which is prefixed an Introduction of 52 pages.

In the first chapter of the Introduction Dr. Swainson gives an account of the printed editions of the Greek Liturgies. In the second he goes into the extensive subject of "Liturgical Manuscripts." A very interesting account is given of the search for and rediscovery of the "Rossano" Manuscript. The Greek language had fallen into disuse in the Basilian monasteries in Italy and Sicily, and the Greek Service-books were taken from them and removed to Rome. Nothing remained by which the Rossano MS. could be traced but a description of its external appearance. Signor Ignazio Guidi discovered in the Vatican Library at Rome the octavo volume, which was "bound in dun-coloured leather, and labelled on the back with the Roman numeral IX in gold."

Several of the Liturgical MSS. used by Dr. Swainson are what are termed "contacia," *κοτάρια*, or *rolls*. The description of these given by Montfaucon is so graphic and interesting that we give it from Dr. Swainson's translation : "A *κοτάριον* is a short rod, about a palm long, to which is fastened, and around which is rolled up, a parchment of wondrous length, composed of many skins glued together ; and on it are written the prayers and offices of the priests, which they recite while performing their sacred functions. These contacia are written on both sides of the parchment, so that, when the priest arrives at the end of the roll, he simply turns it over, and commencing again from the same extremity of the leaf, proceeds to read the other side, and so passes on till he comes at last to the rod from which he had at first commenced."

Lady Burdett-Coutts has allowed Dr. Swainson the use of several manuscripts in her valuable collection, from which he is enabled to give the condition of several Liturgies in the eleventh century. The Liturgies thus given are those called by the names of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, and that of "the Presanctified." This latter term is a very singular one, and this Liturgy was used on occasions when the Eucharist was not consecrated at the time, but "presanctified," or rather "previously consecrated," "breads" were used. It is "the Liturgy of the previously consecrated breads."

Chapter III. takes up the question of the "Authenticity of the Liturgies," and it is with some surprise that we learn that the first record we have of the existence of Liturgies ascribed to St. Basil and St. James is of no earlier date than A.D. 692. Neither do we hear of a "Liturgy of St. Mark" before the eleventh century. The Coptic Liturgies do not claim the authority of St. Mark, whence Dr. Swainson infers that the ascription of the "Liturgy of Alexandria" to St. Mark is not of very ancient date. The "Liturgy of St. Peter" was formerly dismissed by Renaudot and other Liturgical scholars with contempt, in spite of the efforts of its original editor. But more copies have been discovered, and those of a character which demands further consideration. The Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil were more or less assimilated to the Roman Canon for the benefit of Greeks of the Roman "obedience," and the "Liturgy of St. Peter" appears to have been an attempt to manipulate the Roman Canon itself for the use of the selfsame Greeks.

In Chapter IV. Dr. Swainson considers the character and results of his work. His aim has been "to reproduce as nearly as possible, without unnecessary repetition, the manuscript authorities still existing for the various Liturgies of the Greek Churches." We can now trace the actual growth of the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom (so called) and St. Basil. In the oldest copy of the former—that of the Barberini manuscript—the Liturgy is not attributed to the great patriarch: two prayers only are stated to have been his. A few years later the Rossano MS. ascribes the whole Liturgy to St. Chrysostom.

But the most important discovery of all is that of the manner in which the worship of the Virgin Mary has been surreptitiously introduced into the Liturgies. In the Liturgy of St. James there was a series of appeals to God, not only to remember those for whom prayers were offered, but also to remember the actions of saints of old. Among these came: "Remember, Lord, the archangel's voice, which said: Hail, thou that art highly favoured! the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." Some years passed away, and the words: "Remember, Lord, the archangel's voice, which said," were omitted, and only, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured," etc., retained. By this trick the Commemoration of the Annunciation became an Invocation of the Virgin, and the appeal to God became an appeal to her! A similar process took place in the "Liturgy of St. Mark."

To his Introduction Dr. Swainson has added a "postscript," giving the Liturgical portion of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which was lately published by Philotheus Bryennius, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, from the same MS. from which he had previously edited the complete text of the "Epistles of Clement of Rome." For comparison

with this Dr. Swainson has also given the corresponding portions of the seventh book of the "Apostolical Constitutions," which were developed from it about two hundred years later.

Passing from the Introduction to the book itself, we come first to the "Liturgy of Alexandria," which in the Greek MSS. is ascribed to St. Mark.

Next come the Liturgies of St. Basil, of St. Chrysostom, and of "the Presanctified," in their eighth or ninth century condition.

Then come separately the same three Liturgies from the eleventh century to the present time, the eleventh century form occupying the upper, and the sixteenth century form the lower part of the page.

Next comes the so-called "Liturgy of *St. Peter*," and then (1) the Liturgies of Palestine, so far as they can be collected from the statements of Justin Martyr and Cyril of Jerusalem; and (2) the "Great Liturgy of St. James," in four parallel columns from four distinct MSS. Collations of important editions and MSS. are given throughout at the foot of the page.

Lastly, in an Appendix is given "The Ordinary Canon of the Mass, according to the use of the Coptic Church, from two MSS. in the British Museum, edited and translated by Dr. C. Bezold, Privatdocent in the University of Munich."

From this brief account it will be at once discerned how vast a work has been done by Dr. Swainson, and how much there must have been to attend to simultaneously in it. If there had been no trips and lapses in such a work, it would simply have been superhuman, and any well-disposed reviewer would rather point them out for a possible page of *errata* than make use of them for a personal attack upon the editor. Such, however, has not been the course pursued by a reviewer in the *Guardian* (July 30, 1884), who has undoubtedly hit several blots, but has at the same time made so many blunders and misrepresentations himself, while speaking in a most omniscient and authoritative tone, that we think it our duty, in the interests of truth and fairness, to reduce his lengthy indictment to its real proportions. And this we are the more ready to do in the case of one like Dr. Swainson, who has previously rendered such great and independent services to the cause of Ecclesiastical History and Literature.

In the first failure of accuracy, which the reviewer lays to Dr. Swainson's charge, the blunder is his own, not Dr. Swainson's. Anyone but himself would have seen at once that "p. 180," on p. xxiii., line 22, refers to that page of *Goar*, not of *Swainson*. The references to the Coptic

¹ Dr. Swainson writes: "The comparison is most instructive. Dr. Harnack draws attention to the fact that the word Apostles is used in the work to signify Missionary Evangelists; and that whilst we read of Apostles, Prophets and Teachers, of Bishops and Deacons, we never read of Presbyters. And I would draw attention to the interesting illustration of the well-known statement of St. Basil (that the words used in the Services of the Church were not committed to writing in the earliest years) which is furnished by the clause at the end of Section 10, allowing the Prophets to give thanks in the Eucharist to such extent as they may desire. It will be seen that this direction was entirely altered in the recension contained in the Apostolic Constitutions."

Liturgy on p. lii. we have ascertained to be due to change of paging at the last moment. The references are correctly given to the paging as printed at Munich (1-44), but the alteration therein made at the request of the University printer has put them wrong. This is certainly unfortunate, but it is not an ordinary inaccuracy. It is the kind of thing that requires a page of *errata*, which, as we go on, we hope we shall prove likely not to be a very crowded one.

Passing over MSS. on p. xxii., which is just as good as MS., we come to a set of petty hypercriticisms, which we wonder the reviewer was not ashamed to put on paper. Why in the world should Dr. Swainson be bound to reproduce the obsolete spelling "antient" on every occasion of referring to a modern book, the title-page of which spells the word in this manner? Why grumble because "*Joannes a S. Andrea*" is sometimes so styled, when his name is quoted from a title-page, and sometimes called plain "John" when otherwise referred to. Bilingualism in the notation of dates is commenced at once when the convenient Arabic are used instead of the inconvenient Roman numerals. The only thing required in such cases is to be clear and intelligible, and when that is attained, what is there to complain of in the way a date is accurately given? It is an important matter, when an ell of cloth is deficient or redundant in a purchased piece, but it makes little difference whether "*Additional*" be abbreviated ADD. without, or (once in a way) ADDL. with an L. Such criticism we may safely designate ADDLeptated. The first impression of the date of a MS. may be, that it was written about 960, while further investigation may fix it to the immediate neighbourhood of 983. It would be a pretty principle of editorship to stop all progress and improvement in a book, because the first sheet has been already printed. Why should not further inquiry render it desirable to modify some statement therein contained, and why should not the reader have the benefit of the modification?

The reviewer's wrath is highly excited at the heading of the Coptic Liturgy: "The Ordinary Canon of the Mass." "What in the world," cries he, "is the Ordinary Canon of the Mass? . . . The expression 'Ordinary Canon' is a meaningless jumble, and has no place in Liturgical phraseology!" But the reviewer does not know Coptic, and either cannot or will not see, that Dr. Bezold has selected "ordinary" as the proper equivalent for a Coptic word, which is probably as unintelligible to the reviewer as it is to us. We bow to Dr. Bezold's judgment, corroborated as it is (p. lii.) by that of Dr. Hörning, and say to the reviewer, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam!* Renaudot gives "*Communis*" as the equivalent in Latin.

We cannot sympathize with the reviewer's "regret" that Dr. Swainson identifies Gregory Dialogus with Pope Gregory II. We should like to know with whom else the reviewer would identify him. It is quite true that Leo Allatius wrote: "*Gregorio quem insulse nimis Dialogum nuncupant.*" The Greeks may have been stupid in giving him that surname, but it is beyond question that they always did so, and Dr. Swainson simply states the fact that they did so. But perhaps Leo Allatius had then forgotten the words of Photius ("On the Holy S," Migne, vol. cii.,

col. 395) : 'Ὁ μὲντοι θεῖος Γρηγόριος ὁ Λιάλογος, οὐ πολὺ μετὰ τὴν ἔκτὴν σύνοδον ἀκμάσας"—"The Divine Gregory Dialogus, who flourished not long after the Sixth Council." Photius does not say that Gregory II. was the author of certain "Dialogi," also attributed with greater probability to Gregory I., nor does he inform us why he was called *Dialogus*, but simply states the fact that he was known as "Gregory Dialogus." Photius, in the middle of the ninth century, probably knew more about the nickname of a Greek-speaking Pope in the preceding century, than Leo Allatius in the seventeenth or the reviewer in the nineteenth. The Greek MSS. so persistently ascribe the "Liturgy of the Presanctified" to either Gregory Dialogus (usually), or to Germanus (occasionally), that we must conclude that that Liturgy was re-edited and enlarged in their time and by their directions, if not actually by them. The impossibility of its having been originally composed by Gregory II. is amply proved by Dr. Swainson on pp. xxvii. and xxviii. to the mind of anyone who makes the slightest effort to compare and consider the dates there given.

If the "Liturgy of St. Gregory Dialogus" really be "merely a translation into Greek of the Roman Mass as arranged by Gregory I.," it is a pity that the reviewer has not endeavoured to add to our information on the subject, as it has been neglected, according to him, by Dr. Swainson. But, as already observed, the Greek MSS. so persistently assign the authorship of the "Liturgy of the Presanctified" to Gregory Dialogus, that, in the absence of further information, we should infer that the "Liturgy S. Gregorii τοῦ Λιαλόγου," in the Paris MS. 2059, is that of "the Presanctified."

The reviewer goes on to say that "another, but chronologically impossible, authorship of the 'Liturgy of the Presanctified' is indicated in three MSS. referred to on p. 175, n. 1, of which, *alas!* the editor gives us neither date nor name nor press-mark." We cannot sympathize with his sorrows in this respect, which, indeed, appear to us somewhat hypocritical. Why waste space on giving special indications of the locality of a "*chronologically impossible*" statement?

We come now to a mighty count in the indictment. The reviewer says : "On pp. 195-201 Dr. Swainson professes to print the Gelasian Canon as given by Muratori." Dr. Swainson's words are : "I have taken this ancient Latin from the so-called 'Gelasian Sacramentary,' as reprinted by Muratori from the copy published by Thomasius in 1680." Do these words necessitate Dr. Swainson's treating Muratori's reprint after Thomasius, who is known to have taken liberties with the text, with the sacredness of a genuine early MS.? Is every misplaced comma, every mis-spelling, every blunder, every interpolation, to be reproduced exactly? For instance, Muratori prints *Barnaban* and *Agnem* (*sic*) in the accusative after the Latin preposition *cum*. Dr. Swainson restores the ablative, thus consulting the convenience of those who care nothing for Muratori or Thomasius, but simply wish to compare the Gelasian Sacramentary with the Greek. As to the omission of *Dei* after *Domini* in two places, we believe it to be the rejection of an interpolation which was really "an important and unwarranted tampering with the Gelasian

text." None of the older MSS. mentioned by Gerbert have *Dei*. Thus we think we have fairly shown that the reviewer's lengthy collation of Muratori's text with Swainson's "Transcript," exhibiting thirty-two variations, is a very useless, as well as a very ill-natured work of supererogation!

In p. xxiii., ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύεις οὐ θέλεις, οὐ is a clear misprint for οὐς, arising probably from the ς having been drawn in the printing, and then the accent altered to suit. On p. xxiv. Dr. Swainson does not profess to transcribe the passage taken from B. M. 1, part of which even the reviewer admits to be illegible, but simply says: "In the margin of the roll may be detected *the names*" which follow. Here the reviewer appears to have deciphered, whether rightly or wrongly, two names more than Dr. Swainson has given. He has also, *without notice*, taken four names out of the abbreviated state, in which Dr. Swainson had left them. νικωσωντης contains νικολαου, ιωαννου, and αννης, while νικ. implies νικολαου. A pretty tempest in a teacup!

The reviewer goes on: "In the portion printed on pp. 82-84 there are the following variations from the original text;" and then proceeds to give and correct "*Swainson's Transcript*," which at the top of the next column he prematurely converts into "*Swainson's Notes*." Now as regards this *Transcript*, what are the facts? In p. 74 Dr. Swainson says: "The Barberini MS. has unhappily lost eight leaves in 'St. Basil,' but the differences between the surviving portions and the mediæval copies are such as to enable us to represent with full confidence the character of the portion lost; and this I have done, *following in part the guidance of Bunsen*, as furnished in his work on 'Hippolytus and his Age,' and in his 'Analecta Antenicæna.'" Thus this so-called "*Transcript*" is not a "*Transcript*" at all, but by aid of B. M. 1, Dr. Swainson endeavours to reproduce what would probably have stood in the Barberini MS., had it been perfect! This collation of the reviewer's may also safely be termed an equally useless and ill-natured work of supererogation.

So careless, too, has he been, that he actually sets down the variation of πόλιν for ποίμνην as a blunder of Swainson's, though Dr. Swainson calls especial attention to this curious reading—ποιμνην—in a note on p. 84! And he verily complains that Dr. Swainson has not printed in his text πίεται, for πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, πάντες!

In p. 156, line 1, B. M. 1 agrees so nearly with the text, that the variations are not worth the space they would take up. They are merely κεκλικότας for ὑποκεκλικότας, the blunder of τὰς for τοὺς ἀχίνας, and the insertion of σου before τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ in a prayer of some length.

In p. 157, line 2, where the reviewer asserts Dr. Swainson to have given χερουβίμ for χερουβικοῦ, we must send him back to the British Museum to look again. We believe he will find a little μ (possibly, though, the sign for β) written over the end of χερου, which indicates χερουβίμ rather than χερουβικοῦ. The latter would be the more correct.

In pp. 160 and 161 neither Dr. Swainson's nor the reviewer's mode of collation is satisfactory. The reviewer's, however, is the most comical, amounting to: "B. M. 1 inserts four words, omitting two." The mode

of collation adopted in pp. 162 and 163 with regard to the same words is the proper one.

As to p. 166, line 1, where the reviewer remarks that B. M. 1 has only four words instead of twelve, he is right in the letter, but not in the spirit. It is just as if Dr. Swainson had said: "The Doxology is here," and the reviewer had replied: "Oh no, it isn't! only 'Glory be to the Father,' etc., is there."

By this time our readers will be crying, "Hold! enough!"

Admitting that there has been some carelessness with regard to the unimportant MSS., which Dr. Swainson says he has only used "cursorily," we hope we have satisfied our readers that the available counts of the reviewer's indictment have been reduced to a very small number, and that Dr. Swainson and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press may rather be congratulated that so lynx-eyed and determined a Zoilus has been able to produce so few objections that can really stand the test of examination. However, it has often been remarked that the spitefulness of the learned towards each other is the main guarantee to the unlearned that the truth is really placed before them.

Short Notices.

Canadian Pictures, drawn with Pen and Pencil. By the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T. With numerous illustrations from objects and photographs in the possession of, and sketches by, the Marquis of Lorne, Sydney Hall, etc., engraved by Ed. Whymper. The Religious Tract Society.

THIS is a very attractive volume of that charming "Pen and Pencil" series, published by the Religious Tract Society, which we have often had the pleasure of commending,—*"American" Pictures*, *"Scottish," "English,"* and so forth. *"Canadian Pictures"* reached us too late for notice in the September CHURCHMAN; but there has been time to examine it at leisure, so that we now can thoroughly commend it, as not only both readable and enjoyable, but highly informing. There are many admirable illustrations; some of the sketches of scenery are delightful; the photographs are most tastefully produced. Lord Lorne is obviously a good draughtsman, and the merits of Mr. Whymper's engraving need no remark. In an artistic point of view, indeed, this volume is excellent, and reflects great credit on all concerned in it. But the work, as we have said, not only merits warm praise as "pretty" and "pleasing;" it is able and instructive, giving a large amount of accurate, useful, and interesting information. As becomes an ex-