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A B S T R A C T

Gerard Joseph Ward:

The Doctrine of Prayer

in

Third-Century

Christian Africa

This thesis takes as its subject the doctrine of prayer in third-century Christian Africa, and it is based on the writings of four authors: Tertullian and Cyprian who lived at Carthage and wrote in Latin, and Clement and Origen, both of Alexandria, who wrote in Greek. The first chapter gives an account of the background, by examining prayer in the New Testament, in the post-apostolic Church and in the Apologists. Chapter two provides an account of Tertullian's doctrine of prayer, by means of an analysis of his treatise, De Oratione. Chapter three does the same for Cyprian and his treatise, De Dominica Oratione. It also includes a comparison between Cyprian's doctrine of prayer and that of Tertullian. Chapter four is an account of Clement of Alexandria's conception of prayer, drawn from his teaching in the Stromateis, especially book seven. Chapter five analyses Origen's treatise Peri Euches, and compares Origen's doctrine of prayer with that of Clement. The final chapter presents a summary account of the doctrine of prayer as found in these four authors, and offers a synthesis. The argument is that these authors proclaim a common witness to the Christian doctrine of prayer, in spite of some differences of terminology and emphasis.



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T H E
D O C T R I N E O F P R A Y E R
I N
T H I R D - C E N T U R Y
C H R I S T I A N A F R I C A

by

Gerard Joseph Ward

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to the

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CHAPTER ONE

The Background

The purpose of this study is to investigate the earliest systematic Christian accounts on the subject of prayer advanced by Christian authors. All the four authors to be studied composed their works on prayer during the first half of the third century, Tertullian and Cyprian writing in Latin in the Roman province of Africa, and Clement and Origen, both from Alexandria, writing in Greek. By taking both Latin authors, a summary examination of the lines of consistency and dissimilarity between them may be made. The same will apply with the Alexandrians. Although Clement does not write a treatise as such on prayer, he does endeavour, in the seventh book of the 'Stomateis', to set out a coherent doctrine of prayer, which is valuable in preparing for Origen's teaching.

The background to these four authors can be outlined by briefly surveying the literary evidence on the subject of prayer during the first two centuries of the Christian era, and by casting a cursory glance at the main factors influencing the understanding of Christian prayer in these early years. For a more detailed treatment of this background one may turn to E.G.Jay's account of the practice and doctrine of prayer from New Testament times to Origen, in his book, "Origen's Treatise on Prayer". (1)

It hardly needs stating that the New Testament itself provides enough material for an entirely separate study. Jesus taught the need for prayer by both word and example. He is recorded as having retreated to a place of solitude on a number of occasions in order to pray, even for whole nights at a time. (2) Perhaps prompted by their curiosity after observing him at prayer on one such occasion, the disciples asked to be taught how to pray.

Jesus replied by giving them the words of the Lord's Prayer. (3)
Jesus taught both the efficacy of prayer: "Ask and it will be given to you", and also the need for insistent and continual prayer. (4) The Acts of the Apostles bears witness to a community frequently engaged in prayer, both publicly, in the Temple, in the synagogues or in Christian assemblies, and also in private. (5)

References to prayer abound in the Epistles. Many begin or end with a prayer or blessing. (6) A few passages in the Epistles contain the first seeds for a doctrine of prayer. Paul speaks of prayer as the action of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians, who are now no longer slaves but adopted sons: "The proof that you are sons is that God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts: the Spirit that cries, 'Abba, Father.'" (7) This and other texts (8) imply a boldness and yet also an intimacy. This confident freedom of man's speech before God (*παρρησία*) is the mark of prayer in the New Testament. It derives from an assurance that Christ is interceding for the Christian. (9) Paul lays down a "canon" for prayer: "In every place, then, I want the men to lift their hands up reverently in prayer, with no anger or argument." (10)

The Apostolic Fathers, as the direct inheritors of the evangelical and apostolic writings, were well aware of the importance and significance of prayer. Clement of Rome, echoing the Pauline "canon", encourages the Corinthians to pray: "Let us then approach him in holiness of soul, raising pure and unsullied hands to him." (11) In this exhortation there is a clear correlation between prayer and life. Other elements of prayer to which Clement makes reference are thanksgiving, confession and intercession for others. (12) Clement's epistle therefore mentions all the four parts of prayer quoted in ¹Timothy 2 : 1 and discussed by Origen in 'Peri Euches', 33.

Clement ends his epistle with a lengthy and solemn prayer, which includes all the intentions of the Church. (13) His prayer is grave and majestic, and seems to be of primitive liturgical origin, perhaps anticipating the later Roman liturgy. (14) It is one of the most precious gems preserved in early Christian literature. Clement's prayer is addressed to God the Father, "through the High Priest and Ruler of our souls, Jesus Christ". (15)

On turning to Ignatius of Antioch, one is presented with "a picture of the Churches of Syria, Asia Minor and Rome linked together by the invisible bonds of prayer". (16) Jay's account of Ignatius on the subject of prayer is adequate for the present purpose:

"He (Ignatius) asks for prayers for the Church in Syria from which he has been led a prisoner (Eph. 21:2); he thanks the Churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, and Bishop Polycarp, for their prayers on behalf of the Syrian Church (Phil. 10:1; Smyrnians 11:1; Polycarp 7:1) ... and he asks for prayers for himself... (Trallians 12:3; Romans 3:2)" (17)

In the letters of Ignatius there is to be found no precise formula for prayer (18) but he speaks of the need for the bishop to set the lead in determining what is to be true prayer and a true Eucharist. (19) He urges Polycarp: "To prayer give yourself unceasingly." (20) Polycarp, in turn, enjoins upon the Philippians the duty of wide intercession. (21) Polycarp himself, immediately before his martyrdom in A.D. 156, uttered a powerful prayer to "the Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved and blessed child Jesus Christ". (22) He went on to offer thanks and praise to the Father, "through Jesus Christ, ... through whom be glory to you together with him and the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen." (23) Here is clear evidence of an early liturgical formula, with an obvious Trinitarian content. (24)

Much debate still surrounds the date and origin of the little manual of Christian practice known as the "Didache". (25) Whatever its date, (first or second century), great prominence is given in the Didache to the duty of prayer. Those who are treading the 'Way of Life' must pray for others, and must not come to prayers "with a bad conscience". (26) Two factors are worthy of note here: life and prayer are again closely related, and, secondly, intercessory prayer is imperative. In addition, the Didache contains definite evidence of a rule of prayer laid upon members of the Church:

"Your prayers, too, should be different from theirs (i.e. the Jews). Pray as the Lord enjoined in His Gospel, thus: Our Father... (the Matthean text of the Lord's Prayer follows with only slight verbal alterations, and a doxological acclamation). Say this prayer three times every day." (27)

The Didache clearly enjoins daily prayer, and specifically that the prayer which Christ taught his disciples must be at the heart of such prayer. Jeremias has recently pointed to the significant connection here between the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. (28)

The "Epistle of Barnabas" shares "with other Christian writers of the second century the conviction that the Christian possesses in his heart a temple wherein a closer devotion to God and more effective prayer may be raised than was ever possible for the Jew". (29)

References to prayer are to be found in "The Shepherd" of Hermas. This recommends great boldness in prayer, when discussing the worthiness of one who prays, and also treats the problem of so-called unanswered prayer. (30) He gives as a condition of prayer that a man must live as one who serves God, and must not be absorbed by mundane cares. (31) "The merit of

his work, is that he does recognise the problems of prayer, and according to his ability attempts to solve them." (32)

Upon moving from the Apostolic Fathers to the writings of the Apologists, towards the end of the second century, one encounters a different context of discourse. Here are men who are defending the Christian religion from the attacks of both Jew and heathen, and who are therefore not primarily dealing with the pastoral aspect. Yet there are indications that the Apologists were well aware of the importance and of the power of prayer. Indeed the prayer life of Christian people, and particularly the spectacle of Christians praying for their persecutors, provided them with one of their more effective arguments. (33) According to Jay, among the Apologists, Justin Martyr has "the deepest conception of prayer. In his writings can be found references to praise, thanksgiving and confession, as well as intercession and petition." (34) Justin dwells on an important and recurring principle of prayer, that of the interrelation of prayer and work, when he says, "He therefore that loves his neighbour will both pray and work for that to happen to his neighbour as for himself." (35) He also speaks of contrite prayer as being particularly efficacious, and of prayers and thanksgivings made by worthy people as being the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God. (36) Jay's conclusion is that in the Apologists there is nothing which can be described as a doctrine of prayer.

Irenaeus of Lyons, in the fourth book of the "Contra Haereses", offers a wider conception of prayer, which includes the whole life of the Christian as being conscious of God's presence and of the possibility of communion with him. Prayer is thought of as a necessity of man's life, without which he ceases to be

fully human: "As God is in need of nothing, so man is in need of communion with God. For this is the glory of man, to persevere in the service of God... to those who need him, he (God) offers communion with himself." (37) Irenaeus' references then relate to the particular moments of prayer in the life of the Christian, and ultimately lead to a consideration of the Eucharist. (38) As Jay has correctly stated, Irenaeus' teaching is that the life of a true Christian is a life in which prayer and service are woven together, and in which specific acts of public worship, as in the Eucharist, complete the pattern. (39)

Another class of literature which testifies to the practice of prayer in these first two centuries is the Acts of the Martyrs, especially "The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas". In this latter work, there is evidence of prayer for the departed.(40) These days of persecution summoned many second-century Christians for whom prayer was central, and to whom it gave strength and courage in death.

From this brief survey of early Christian literature, two main influences on the doctrine of Christian prayer may be discerned: first of all, the tradition of Jewish prayer, and, secondly, the influence of the prayers contained in the Gospels and in the Apostolic Fathers.

The material content of early Christian prayer clearly indicates its Jewish antecedents. This connection is seen not only in such early compositions as the Magnificat, the Benedictus and the Lord's Prayer, but also in many early Christian writings. For instance, the great prayer of St. Clement of Rome is reminiscent of the Jewish prayer of Eighteen Benedictions. Similarly, certain prayers contained in the Didache, seem to coincide closely with

the tenth of these Benedictions. (41) However, the continuity between Jewish and Christian prayer, is coupled with a profound discontinuity. The Christian Church prayed to God Almighty, as her father, a right given to her by the Son who revealed the Father. It seems that Jesus' particular way of praying, the Abba Father, which was highly offensive to the Jews, has been extended to the Church. Therefore, Origen can claim that prayer to the Father is foreign to the Old Testament, but proper to the New. (42) The Church calls upon her Almighty Father because he is the Father of her Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who is seen as both Mediator, and High Priest. (43) Lebreton concludes that this form of prayer which is addressed to God the Father, and is rooted in the intercession of the Son, constitutes the characteristic of Christian prayer and distinguishes it from Jewish prayer. (44) Moreover, even the real content of Christian prayer, that is, the benefits for which the Christians prayed and gave thanks, was also new. A clear example of this is to be seen in the prayer of the Didache just mentioned. The return of the captives from the four corners of the earth was Israel's hope as it was for the early Christians. The Christian hope, however, was not centred on a particular nation but was realised as the incorporation of all people into Christ, and participation in God's Kingdom. Christian hope and prayer, although connected with the Jewish tradition, are in fact determined by the eschatological event of Christ.

Of all the prayers contained in the Gospels, the 'Our Father' is pre-eminent as being the one given by Christ to be the model for all prayer and also as the prayer for Christians actually to repeat. The Didache confirms this, and gives instruction that it must be repeated three times a day. (45) It has been suggested

that the Didache contains evidence for the inclusion of the Lord's Prayer in primitive liturgies, both eucharistic and baptismal. (46) Several of the early Fathers comment on the Lord's Prayer: Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen do so, as do Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory of Nyssa, whilst both Augustine and Chrysostom offer a more popular homiletic treatment. (47) T.W. Manson concludes that knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and the privilege to use it were reserved for the full members of the Church. (48)

As well as this development from the gospel prayers towards set forms of prayer, there is evidence also for improvisation in prayer. The best examples of this are perhaps the prayer of Clement of Rome, and that of the dying Polycarp, both of which have been already mentioned, and also the hymn to Christ found at the end of the "Pedagogue", by Clement of Alexandria. All these examples of inspired personal prayer abound with biblical quotations and allusions.

This is briefly the literary background. We are aware, however, that the wider context of prayer within which these four authors were writing was the entire practice of initiation in the Early Church which included the catechumenate (49) and the worship of the local communities. (50) This context had acquired greater fixity by the third century A.D. and therefore the emergence of systematic treatments of the subject of prayer, as those under discussion, should not come as any surprise. One thing remains clear, as we shall see, that when they came, these systematic treatises reflected ancient traditions going back to the Apostolic and post-Apostolic age. The literary connections between the third century systematic treatises and the literature evidence briefly surveyed in this introduction make this plain.

TERTULLIAN'S TRACT ON THE PRAYER ('DE ORATIONE') - An analysis

The first extant Christian treatise on prayer is Tertullian's tract or homily 'On the Prayer'. It is one of his earliest writings, and is probably to be dated about 198-200 A.D., before his decisive break with the Catholic Church. (1) It is addressed to catechumens, and is concerned with the theory and practice of Christian prayer. In contrast with Origen's later work on the same subject, Tertullian's treatise lacks philosophical preoccupations, and has a "predominantly practical bent". (2)

Some scholars observe that the treatise has the flavour of a homily, and that it may even be only notes to help the preacher's memory.(3) In support of this, many parts of the treatise do seem to be in need of expansion, when ideas follow on from one another in quick succession. Also, the expression 'O blessed ones', in the first section, would be more commonly found in a sermon than in a written treatise. The same would apply to the concluding doxology. It seems that Tertullian's purpose was not to compose a lengthy and comprehensive treatise, in any thoroughly systematic way, on the subject of Christian prayer, but rather a brief, compact, and essentially practical commentary on the "new plan of prayer" (4) marked out by Our Lord Jesus Christ. The main intention of the author is catechetical or pedagogical, and he is concerned to introduce his hearers to Christian prayer, and thereby into the spiritual life and the ecclesiastical discipline. Tertullian wrote his treatise on prayer when he was in the mainstream of Christian thought and life; his words sprang out of his own living experience of the Christian reality, a reality which

was founded on Christ, built on the apostles, and perpetuated by the living tradition of the Church.

As Cyprian and Origen would do later on, Tertullian situates his treatise on prayer in the context of an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. As the work proceeds, he goes on to deal with prayer in general and private prayer in particular. But his doctrine of prayer derives from the commentary on the Lord's Prayer. So the treatise divides naturally into two parts - the commentary on the Lord's Prayer, (Chapters 1-9) and moral prescriptions with regard to prayer in general (Chapters 10-29).

A more detailed analysis of the structure of the treatise reveals the following divisions: (5)

- 1 introductory chapter - the newness of Christian prayer;
- 2-9 commentary on the Lord's Prayer;
- 10 short, transitional passage, emphasising the unity of prayer and life;
- 11-12 conditions of acceptable prayer:
 - (a) peace with one's neighbour;
 - (b) freedom from all defilement;
- 13-27 practices and observances connected with the public prayers of the Church. (6)
- 13 washing the hands before prayer;
- 14 lifting up and spreading out the hands during prayer;
- 15 taking off the overcoat during prayer;
- 16 sitting down at the end of the prayers;
- 17 moderation of the voice in prayer;
- 18 the kiss of peace and private fasts;
- 19 fasting and receiving holy communion;
- 20 women's dress;
- 21-22 the wearing of veils;

- 23 the practice of kneeling for prayers;
- 24-25 the place and time of prayer;
- 26 prayer with one's guest and one's host;
- 27 Alleluia and other ornaments of prayer;
- 28 prayer is the new 'spiritual offering';
- 29 in praise of the power and efficacy of Christian prayer.

As already noted, Tertullian's is the first Christian treatise on prayer which we now possess, and is therefore particularly important. Suggestions have been made (7) that one of his sources was a commentary (now lost) on St. Matthew's gospel by Theophilus of Antioch (c. 175 A.D.). Evans thinks this very unlikely, and concludes that Tertullian, one of the ablest men of his generation, was "competent to be a lender rather than a borrower of ideas".(8) Accepting this judgement, it would seem that this is a very personal exposition, the first in the history of Christian spirituality, on the nature and purpose of Christian prayer. His pupil, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage from 249-258, kept Tertullian's work before him as he was writing his own treatise, 'On the Lord's Prayer'. (9)

The preliminary glance at the structure of the treatise has already revealed the central position of the Lord's Prayer in Tertullian's understanding of prayer. This importance of the Our Father, and its liturgical and devotional use, point towards a factor of major significance in the study of the doctrine of prayer in the early Church. Speaking of the source of unity for five Church Fathers who have written on prayer - Tertullian, Cyprian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Origen and Gregory of Nyssa - Simpson has the following to say -

"...that all the fathers are dealing with a 'given', should cause us to anticipate some degree of continuity between these treatises. The high regard for the Lord's Prayer, its constant use and its very presence enforced itself upon devotion and theology. It stood

in the liturgy; and these five men were men of the Church - witnesses to the reality of the appropriation of God's redeeming acts through participation in the sacramental life of the Church." (10)

It seems then that Tertullian was simply the first author (so far as we know from history) to give expression to a widely held tradition in the primitive Church which saw the Lord's Prayer as the starting-point for all prayer.

After these preliminary remarks, an exposition of Tertullian's treatise will be attempted with the view to expounding his doctrine of prayer.

* * *

Chapter 1. Introduction

Everything is new. Jesus Christ "has marked out for the new disciples of the new covenant a new plan of prayer."(11) It is necessary, says Tertullian, to store the new wine in new bottles, and to stitch a new patch onto a new garment. From the outset, Tertullian throws into sharp relief the completely new character of Christian prayer. In what does its newness consist?

The newness of Christian prayer derives from the very newness of the Gospel.

"Earthly things have given way to heavenly, ... and the new grace of God has renewed all things from carnal to spiritual by the subsequent addition of the Gospel."(11a)

The relationship between God and man is now established on a new basis. The gospel, the good news of the Incarnation is the disclosure of a new congruity between God and man, which has provided a new basis for man's prayer. The person who has provided this new basis is -

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, (who) is approved as God's Spirit and God's Word and God's Reason." (12)

It is of great interest to see how Tertullian goes on to develop

this three-fold division. Christ is God's Spirit in view of his power, he says, God's Word in view of his teaching, and God's Reason in view of his coming (or intervention). This division now becomes the basis for Tertullian's description of the prayer instituted by Christ, and given by him as a formula for prayer. It too is of three constituents: of word, in that it is clearly spoken, of spirit, in that it has great power, and of reason in that it reconciles. (The final clause seems to have been an editorial addition, but seems to fit the context.)

The close relationship between the Gospel and the prayer instituted by Christ is brought out again at the end of the first section. The prayer of Our Lord is breviarium totius evangelii, an epitome of the entire gospel, in that it contains "as it were, the whole of the Lord's discourse, the whole record of his instruction". (13) So that, although it is brief in its wording, it is "copious in meaning". Tertullian repeats the same, when he later summarises the prayer:

"How many edicts of prophets, gospels and apostles, how many discourses, parables, examples, and precepts of the Lord, are touched upon in the brevities of a few short words, how many duties are summed up all at once!" (14)

And this, indeed, is not surprising, infers Tertullian, since "God alone was competent to teach us how he wished to be prayed to." (15)

Having clearly established the uniqueness and novelty of the gospel, and therefore of Christian prayer, Tertullian outlines three precepts relating to prayer, the first of which is the need for praying in secret. The reason for this is the new character of God, which is made known to man in the person of Jesus Christ, and which determines the new character of Christian prayer. Christian prayer demands faith in God Almighty, the God

who both sees and hears in every place, "even in the hidden chamber" (of the heart), and who alone therefore should be addressed.

The second precept is brevity: "We ought not to draw near to the Lord with an army of words" (16), because our faith should tell us that God provides for his own, even without their asking. Here is, perhaps, an example of an idea sketched by Tertullian, but in need of much expansion. The basic pagan conception of prayer was that it was a means of securing from the deity one's own wishes. Man's prayer prevailed upon the deity, in an effort to persuade him to grant man's desire. (17) The image is of a reluctant potentate, mercilessly requiring man's abject entreaties, which, when tendered, obtain what is prayed for, in some sort of legal or mechanical transaction. How different is the picture portrayed here by Tertullian of the God of Jesus Christ who provides for man's needs without man having to make any requests. Tertullian is working from the premise of an entirely new relationship between God and man, opened up by Jesus Christ. Because of the new relationship, or (in Tertullian's words) because of the gospel, Christian prayer is different from any other kind of prayer. And for this reason, we should not babble as the pagans do, who think that by virtue of their many words they will be heard by God. For the Christian, brevity will the more commend his prayers to God, as also will "restraint and humility" in worship. (18) Referring to the interior character of Christian prayer, Tertullian advises that even the tones of our voice need to be subdued, adding with a touch of wit, "or else what lungs are called for if we are heard in proportion to the noise." "For, "God is a hearer... not of the voice, but of the heart." (19)

The third precept is that prayer must be evangelical,

embracing "as it were the whole of the Lord's discourse". (20)
This will ensure that prayer is copious in meaning. Tertullian goes on to prove that the Lord's Prayer fulfils both these last two precepts.

This first, short section of 'De Oratione' contains a wealth of doctrine relating to Christian prayer. There seem to be three main points which Tertullian is anxious to make:

(i) The first of these, which sets the context for all that follows, is the new character of Christian prayer. The discipline of praying (orandi disciplina) "belongs to the Lord Christ and is heavenly". Furthermore, it derives its new character from the "renewal of all things" which has been achieved by the "new grace of God", the Gospel, in which "Our Lord Jesus Christ is approved as God's Spirit, and God's Word and God's Reason".

(ii) The second main point concerns the constituents of this new prayer:

1. It is of word, in being clearly spoken;
2. It is of spirit, in that it has great power;
3. It is of reason, in that it reconciles.

These three constituents seem to refer respectively to the content, the efficacy, and the result or effects, of Christian prayer.

(iii) Finally, Tertullian lists three precepts which derive from this prayer:

1. Praying in secret : interior prayer;
2. Brevity of prayer;
3. Christian prayer is rich in meaning - an epitome of the entire Gospel.

Tertullian also mentions in passing, in this chapter

the two particular functions of prayer, (a) worship of God, and (b) man's petition, to which he will return in section three. He now begins his exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

* * *

Chapter 2. "FATHER, WHO ART IN HEAVEN"

The name Father characterises the God of the Christians. Christ's prayer, says Tertullian, begins with "a testimony to God and a reward of faith". (21) The phrase, 'Father who art in heaven', is both a prayer to God and a confession of our faith in him. Tertullian has not moved away from his main principle, that the prayer is "an epitome of the whole gospel", for reference to the new gospel of Jesus Christ is contained in both these phrases: testimony to God (testimonio Dei) and reward of faith (merito fidei). The gospel involves a new relationship with God, established by Jesus Christ, in which we are able to address God as Father - in this title is contained the new faith relationship. But as well as being a witness to the nature of God and to our relationship with him, the address 'Father who art in heaven' is also a reward of faith. It is the reward of our faith in Him that we are given the right to address God as Father.

This right is also a duty, because Christ commanded us to call no one on earth our father, since we have only one Father in heaven (Mt. 23:9). So when we address God by this title, we "both honour him... and are mindful of the commandment". (22) Israel is reproached with its failure to keep this commandment: 'I have begotten sons,' says God, through his prophet, 'and they have not acknowledged me.' (Is. 1:2) Tertullian here introduces one of his main ideas, which is to recur frequently. As Moffatt succinctly puts it: "For him, Christianity moves under the

commandments of God." (23) The new Christian faith always involves, for Tertullian, law and discipline, and so, in praying to God, the Christian is obeying a commandment. Furthermore, "when we say 'Father', we also give God a name: this form of address involves both affection and authority." (24) The meaning here is plain. God's name reveals something of the very character or nature of God, and that character of the God of Jesus Christ is revealed as being two-fold: affection (pietas) and authority (potestas) are two complementary truths of God's nature.

The general context here is the whole of the Old Testament, as God's gradual communication of himself to the people of Israel, and the particular context is the revelation of the divine name to Moses (Ex. 3:13-15). In semitic thought, to know the name is to know the character, and to participate in the reality, of that which is named. (25) And this is precisely the content of the gospel: Jesus Christ has revealed the name of God, and thus his character, as Father. The Christian is the one who knows God as his Father. As well as the biblical connotations, the notion of fatherhood was particularly rich for Tertullian. The Roman conception of paterfamilias was^{originally} of a father who held absolute authority over his children, (even the authority of life and death), and who was also related to them, and they to him, by piety (pietas) or affection. (26) The combination of these two terms provides a summary of the gospel: God, in his great love and mercy, and in faithfulness to his covenant, (all of which is implied in pietas), has established a "new covenant" for man, in which his authority is to be accepted and his precepts obeyed. In contrast with the Israelites who failed to acknowledge God, Christians bear witness (testimonium) that God is their Father, a witness which comes as a reward (meritum) of their faith.

In his concluding remarks on this second chapter, Simpson makes the following statement:

"The primary act of God does not realise its fulfilment until man responds in faith and accepts the authority of God, and obeys his revealed commandments. The gospel contained in the instruction of Jesus Christ, which the Lord's Prayer brings to summary expression, includes both that which God is and that which man must become." (27)

God is Father, and man must become son by receiving this truth in faith, and then living according to the truth of his calling. It will be interesting later to note the difference in interpretation of this phrase between Tertullian and Origen, who teaches that man can use the title 'Father' only if he lives as befits a true son.

At this point, Tertullian introduces an original and slightly surprising interpretation of God's Fatherhood. He quotes Christ's own words, when he says, "I and the Father are one"(Jn.10:30), and therefore concludes that in the title 'Father' Christians are also calling upon the Son. But this leads him further still:

"seeing that in 'son' and 'father' there is a recognition of 'mother' - for the name of both father and son has its actuality from her", (28)

one should conclude that the address also contains a reference to our mother the Church (mater ecclesia). Evans seems to judge correctly when he says:

"probably Tertullian does not mean that the relation between God the Father and God the Son implies the Church as mother, but that Christians, in calling upon God as their Father, acknowledge the Church as their mother." (29)

The words of Cyprian are anticipated, "He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the Church for his mother." (30)

The Christian community as the context of Christian prayer is immediately obvious. And it is significant that, although the text of the prayer used by Tertullian omits "our" and has only "Father", he yet stresses the corporate nature of the prayer:

"Thus under one generic term, ('Father') we honour God, along with all that are his ('Son' and 'Church')." (31)

The theological insight embedded in this opening address is indeed considerable and profound. The prayer of Christ begins with a witness to God, a confession of faith in him as Father, which is given to the believer as a reward for his faith. But the use of this title is also the object of the Lord's commandment. The name of Father reveals God's two-fold character of authority and affection. It reveals man's obligation to live under the authority of a God who loves him. (32) Finally, because the term Father involves a reference to both Son and mother, the address in the Christian prayer honours both Father and Son, in the community of the Church. And the fruit of such prayer? "Happy are they that acknowledge the Father." (33)

* * *

Chapter 3. "HALLOWED BE THY NAME"

In this chapter, Tertullian briefly continues the theme of "God's name", which previously, i.e., before the advent of Christ, had been revealed to no man. Although Moses had asked concerning it, (Ex. 3: 14f.), he was not given that name which has now been revealed to us in the Son. "For we know," says Tertullian, "that the Son is the Father's new name." (34) And he supports this by three quotations from the Fourth Gospel:

"I am come in the Father's name." (Jn. 5:43)

"Father, glorify thy name." (Jn. 12:28)

"I have manifested thy name to men." (Jn. 17:6)

Evans understands Tertullian to mean "that the Son in person... is the Father's new name", which is true, he says, in that it is only through the Son that the Father may be known. (35)

The main part of this chapter describes a duality in the purpose of prayer. Tertullian here recalls the two-fold

purpose of prayer to which he has already alluded in the first chapter, under the headings of "worship of God" (veneratio Dei) and "man's petition" (hominis petitio). And he sees both these purposes fulfilled in the first petition of the Lord's Prayer: the hallowing of God's Name.

First of all, prayer is man's worship of God. It is man's learning how to use God's heavenly address. Man who is "angel-designate", is learning in this life that service of the glory that is to be. By the prayer, then, he is already being transformed into a heavenly being, a man of the heavenly Sanctus. When he asks that God's name should be made holy, it is not that he is wishing God well, "as though he were in difficulties unless he so wishes". (36) For, in fact, the name of God is always hallowed and holy of itself, since it is the Father who "makes others holy from within himself". (37) Tertullian is clearly saying that man's worship of God does not add anything to God's glory, but, rather, such worship fulfils man's nature and ultimate calling.

Secondly, prayer is man's petition for the worship of God by all men. Tertullian points out that because we do not explicitly pray for God's name to be hallowed "in us", our implicit petition is for it to be hallowed "in all men". So, as well as asking that we "who are in him", may hallow God's name, we also ask that those others may do the same, "whom as yet the grace of God is looking out for." (38) Furthermore, Tertullian understands this to fulfil the precept of Christ that we should pray for all, even for our enemies.

So then, the very first petition of that new prayer which Christ has given to his Church teaches that there is a double dimension to Christian prayer, namely that prayer is firstly addressed to God as thankful worship, simply in order to give him glory; and secondly, that it is a request on the part of those who pray that they themselves, may be joined by all men always and

everywhere in doing the same. There is a complete circle here. Prayer begins the glorification of God and by means of a petition reaches out to the universal fulfilment of this glorification.

* * *

Chapter 4. "THY WILL BE DONE IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH"

The first two points to be noted in this chapter are textual. Tertullian has reversed the order of the second and third clauses, placing the petition concerning God's will before the petition concerning God's Kingdom. That this is no mere mistake can be deduced from the opening sentence of chapter six, where the same order of God's name, God's will and God's kingdom appears again. It seems most probable either that Tertullian received the text as he transmits it, or that he deliberately changed the order, so as better to suit the connection of thought which he sees. The latter seems more probable.(39) A second textual observation is that he omits sicut; it is not 'on earth as in heaven', but 'in heaven and in earth'. Thus, as Moffatt here observes, there is no suggestion of a direct contrast. (40)

This small textual point leads to a significant doctrinal variation. Tertullian says that heaven and earth are figures of spirit and flesh and therefore the petition refers to man.(41) In other words, men are to do God's will both inwardly and outwardly.(42) At the same time they are to ask for God's will "to be done in all men". Tertullian insists that even if the words are to be taken literally, the meaning is the same:"that in us the will of God may be done in earth - so that it may be possible, of course, for it also to be done in heaven." (43)

Particularly important is Tertullian's understanding of the actual petition. It is not as if "someone is opposing the

will of God being done, and that we are praying on his behalf that his will may prosper..." (44) The Christian is praying to, not for God. This is in sharp contrast with the prayer of the pagan religion which presumed that the gods were not in total control of the human situation, and therefore had to be prayed for in order to intervene. Man was seen to be much more independently responsible for his life, and the consequences of his actions were worked out (as in Greek tragedy, for example) through the instrumentality of the Fates, who were not within the absolute power of the gods. (45) Pagan prayer was a request that the gods may prevail over the powers of fate. For the Christian, however, God is not one amongst other gods or powers, but rather, the God of the whole universe who rules everything (good and evil) by His omnipotent will. Hence the petition is that God's all-powerful will may in fact be done in the Christian and in all men. Tertullian understands this petition as countering any existing tendencies to polytheism or dualism.

The crucial question here is what precisely Tertullian understands by 'the will of God'. The different texts in which he employs the term, can help to determine this understanding. The first text which puts forward a sort of definition is the following statement:

"For what is more God's will than that we should walk (incedere) according to his instructions." (46)

In other words, God's will is the moral code which governs human conduct - an idea particularly characteristic of Tertullian's thought. But he goes on to say, more fundamentally, that "the sum total of God's will is the salvation of those he has made his children." (47) God's will is not simply divine moral edicts. Ultimately it is the salvation of men. In another text Tertullian

speaks of "that will of God which the Lord administered by preaching, working and suffering".⁽⁴⁸⁾ This is the will of God, which the Lord declared to be the aim of his mission. (Jn.6:37-39) It is this will, he says, that challenges all Christians to live their lives in imitation of Christ. The three spheres of the Lord's obedience to God's will are to be the same for his followers. In order to obey God's will, they too must preach and teach; they must work and give themselves to a life of active service; finally they must be prepared to suffer, "even unto death". Tertullian particularly emphasises the need for the Christian to suffer. Although, on the one hand, he asserts that, in praying 'Thy will be done', Christians are actually wishing well for themselves, since there is no evil in God's will, on the other hand, there will be times when "something of the other sort (i.e. than God's goodness) is being inflicted". Suffering will come their way, but even this, he seems to be saying, should be seen within the will of God. "In fact, by saying this, (i.e. Thy will be done), we forewarn ourselves with a view to endurance," (sufferentiam).⁽⁴⁹⁾ The example of Christ in Gethsemane is for Christians to follow. The 'weakness of flesh' (infirmi-tatem carnis) was shown in his prayer, 'Father, remove this cup', but in adding 'nevertheless, not my will but thine be done', Christ showed his followers what true patience is. (50)

Three other texts elucidate further Tertullian's conception of God's will. Firstly, referring to Christ, he says that "He himself was the will and the power of the Father." Then, referring to our obligation to follow Christ's example of preaching, working and suffering, he writes, "for us to be able to fulfil these, there is need of God's will." Thirdly, in praying 'Thy will be done', Tertullian says that we are asking that God will "supply us

with the substance and effect (substantiam et facultatem) of his will." (51) These three texts indicate that God's will is not only something active, but an existent reality (substantia) (52) to be seen in fact most clearly in the person of the Son of God, who is the will of God. On this understanding a circular motion seems to be appearing again. The prayer that God's will may be done implies the presence and power of that same will (which is in Christ himself) within the Christians who pray. Moffatt puts it as follows:

"We pray for the realisation of his will in ourselves, because we need the strength of his will to carry out his will." (53) Simpson, speaking more generally, but perhaps with greater clarity, says, "Each of the Fathers (this includes Tertullian) distinguishes between two aspects of the divine will: on the one hand, the will of God is represented in particular precepts and has to do with our moral activity; on the other hand, the will of God as divine grace enables us to accomplish the preceptive will of God." (54)

But this distinction can only be relative. Tertullian writes: "And for us to be able to fulfil these things, there is need of God's will. (55) The will of God, as precept, is only achieved by the will of God as power, at work within man. This is none other than the mystery of Christ - that he both is and does the will of God. He gives men the will of God, by giving them the precepts, the "new commandment" - in this case, the "new form of prayer", (56) but he also gives them the will of God by giving them the power to fulfil these precepts, in this case, the assurance that their prayer is powerful. So, Tertullian can conclude that: "Prayer alone it is that conquers God." (57) It may be at least curious that no specific reference to the Spirit is made here, but in view of Tertullian's opening paragraph where, in speaking of the constituents of prayer, he refers to prayer as spirit "in that it has great power", it is probably better not to press this point any further. (58) Besides, there seem to be echoes here

of St. Paul's words to the Romans (that the Spirit comes to help Christians in their prayer) and of Christ's own words in the last Discourse of John's gospel (on the sending of the Paraclete) which refer to the Spirit.

Tertullian's conception of the will of God will be important for later Latin writers on the Lord's Prayer . (59) Here the depth of theological doctrine and especially the relation of prayer to theology, must be noted. The doctrine can be summed up as follows:

1. We pray to God that His will may be done because He alone is in control of all that takes place, good or evil.
2. The will of God is connected with his precepts or commandments, but ultimately it is aimed at "the salvation of all men," and this must be understood in terms of Christ in whom salvation is fulfilled.
3. Finally, the will of God is appropriated by men as God's presence and powerful activity in them through the Church.

* * *

Chapter 5. "THY KINGDOM COME"

This petition, as the two preceding ones, applies to men (in nobis) and not to God. God is always King, says Tertullian; what men pray for is that they may "reign the sooner, and be no longer slaves".(60) They are asking God to allow them to enter into that kingdom to which they are called. For this reason, Tertullian questions the prayer of "certain persons who ask for what they call a prolongation of the world", because he sees such a prayer to be excluded by the distinctly Christian prayer for the manifestation of God's Kingdom; the Christian prayer, he says, "is directed towards the consummation of the world". (61)

In other words the petition "Thy Kingdom come" has a future eschatological reference. Tertullian underscores this conviction by declaring that:

"even if there were nothing laid down in the prayer about asking for the coming of the Kingdom, we should of our own initiative have uttered that sentiment, while hastening toward the embracing of our hope." (62)

The early Church expectation of the arrival of God's kingdom as an imminent eschatological event marks the whole of Tertullian's exegesis.

"Yes, let thy Kingdom come, O Lord, as speedily as may be, the hope of Christians, the confounding of the Gentiles, the joy of angels, that for which we suffer affliction, yea rather, that for which we pray."(63)

Two other references to the eschatological end of the world which are found elsewhere in Tertullian deserve mention here. The first seems to be opposed to the view he has expressed in the De oratione; the second clearly concurs with it. First of all, in the Apologeticus (32 and 39), where he is addressing a defence of Christianity to the governors of the Roman Empire, Tertullian wants to prove the good citizenship of Christians by reference to their prayers for the emperor, and he makes specific mention of their prayers for "the delay of the end".(64) However, what Tertullian has said about the Church in the opening remarks of this treatise indicates what his perspectives are.

"She knows that her part is that of a foreigner upon earth.. while she has her race, her home, hope, welcome and honour in heaven." (65)

This conviction becomes much more explicit in the second text, which comes from his doctrinal treatise, De Resurrectione carnis; here he tells his fellow Christians that "our prayers yearn for Christ's coming, for the sunset of this age, for the world also to pass away." (66) This is also the force of his interpretation of this third petition in the Lord's Prayer.

In concluding this section, attention should be drawn to one seemingly insignificant sentence, which, however, seems to contain something of particular importance. It reads "but whatever it is we choose for ourselves, we express with reference to him (i.e. God), and reckon to his account that which we look for from him." This contains the kernel of the Christian life. Everything in men's life is given by God and everything, therefore, must be reckoned to God's account and not to man's. This latter attitude - reckoning things to man's account - prevailed in pagan religion and culture, (67) but is unacceptable to Christianity. In Christianity, says Tertullian, "We express with reference to him (God) and reckon to his account" - in other words, Christian life is centered on God rather than man. There is a hint here about the nature of the whole life of a Christian which is suggested by the whole structure of the Lord's Prayer and which is central to Tertullian's theological out-look.

* * *

Chapter 6. "GIVE US TODAY OUR DAILY BREAD"

"But how gracefully has divine wisdom drawn up the order of the prayer, that after heavenly things, that is, after God's name, God's will and God's kingdom, it should make place for earthly necessities too." (68)

This is entirely in keeping, says Tertullian, with the Lord's own principle, "Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and then even these things will be added to you". (Mt.6:33) The exposition of the words 'Give us today our daily bread', is two-fold: first, a spiritual or mystical interpretation, and secondly, a literal explanation.

His mystical interpretation contains a clear allusion to the Eucharist. "For Christ is our bread, because Christ is

life and bread is life." (69) Christ has said as much himself (Jn.6:36). Tertullian actually quotes from the words of institution:

"... and again because his body is authoritatively ranked as bread - 'This is my body'..... By asking for daily bread we request continuance in Christ and inseparableness from his body." (70)

Continuance in Christ and inseparableness from his body are clearly "earthly necessities" for Tertullian. But these must be understood in terms of the central sacrament of the Christian life - the Eucharist, where in fact, this petition is fulfilled. The exact relation between the Lord's prayer and the sacrament of the Eucharist is not worked out, but it is obvious that Tertullian echoes here a truth which was readily available to his addressees at that time and did not require elaboration.

The literal interpretation of these words leads Tertullian to two conclusions. The first one is that Christians are instructed to ask for bread, nothing more, and therefore should be satisfied with the simple things of life. The second conclusion is that they are to take no thought for tomorrow, for the future, but are only to ask for bread "for today". The Lord had said, 'Take no thought for tomorrow, what you shall eat.' (Mt. 6:34) The practical concern of Tertullian, already alluded to, shows itself here. "It is thoroughly characteristic of Tertullian. Anything ascetic, in the sense of a protest against the fashionable, indulgent Christianity which he saw at Carthage, appealed to him." (71)

* * *

Chapter 7. "FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS"

"It is with good reason that having taken note of God's generosity, we also beseech his clemency." (72) For food is of no

use, says Tertullian, if the man who eats is a sinner. And so the fifth petition instructs us in the prayer of confession of sin, for "a request for pardon is a confession of wrong." (73)

In the Scriptures, says Tertullian, debt is a metaphor for wrong-doing. Evans' note on Tertullian's use of the word delictum for wrong-doing is of interest:

"A tort, delictum, is a wrong done not to the state or to society, but to a person: which makes it an appropriate word for offences against God, who is personal in himself and condescends to enter into personal relations with men".(74)

The debt is understood in terms of "a debt to judgement". But God prefers penitence rather than the death of a sinner (Ezek. 18: 23,32). And as illustration the parable of the unforgiving steward is cited (Mt. 18: 21-35).

This parable then serves to explain the second half of this petition - that Christians in turn forgive their debtors, (although it is to be noted that Tertullian does not actually quote the second half in full). Further confirmation of this is adduced from the gospels: Jesus' 'Forgive and it shall be forgiven you,' (Lk. 6: 37), and also his reply to Peter's request concerning the frequency of forgiveness (Mt. 18:21). It is consistent with Tertullian's initial claim that the prayer is an epitome of the whole gospel that each of these sections is littered with quotations from the gospels reinforcing and confirming the actual words of the prayer.

* * *

Chapter 8. "LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION"

BUT REMOVE US FROM THE EVIL ONE" (75)

In order to complete what Tertullian calls "this short and convenient prayer", Christians ask not only for pardon but also for the "total removal of wrong-doings". (76) So "lead us

not into temptation" means, says Tertullian, do not allow us to be led by the one who does tempt, that is, the devil, Quite definitely, according to Tertullian, God does not tempt, for that would be to attribute weakness or malice to God. The weakness would show itself in ignorance of a man's faith, and malice in a desire to overthrow that faith by temptation. These attitudes are not worthy of God but of the devil. F.H.Chase makes here the following illuminating remarks:

"To the devil therefore he (Tertullian) assigns a double part in regard to temptation. He both leads men into temptation (induci ab eo... artificem temptationis) and he tempts them (qui temptat... praesidem temptationis). It is for this reason, (because, that is, the occasion of the temptation and the temptation itself are to be traced to Satan, not to God), that the explanatory clause is added, Sed devehe nos a malo. If malo were neuter, the addition according to Tertullian's exegesis would be without point." (77)

Chase's argument here seems to carry weight.

In the story of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son Isaac, God, says Tertullian, was not actually testing (temptandae) Abraham's faith, but rather proving (probandae) it. The whole question of temptation and its relation with God's providence is a thorny problem for each of the four authors with whom this study is concerned. The Greek text here is *μη̄ εισενε̄γκης̄ η̄μᾱς εῑς̄ πειρασμόν*, and would seem to mean 'do not make us enter'.(78) The suggestion that God could be blamed for human sin was clearly abhorrent, and Tertullian attempts an explanation by inserting a paraphrase, "that is, do not allow us to be led".(79) For Tertullian, it is the devil who is the "patron and artificer of temptation" and for this very reason we also pray, in the words of the prayer, that God will "remove us from evil, (or the evil (one))".(80) It is the devil who tempts men, and men are tempted only when God permits it. This is the contribution which Tertullian makes to the doctrine of God's providence, and there will be cause to return to this question when the other authors are studied.

With chapter eight, Tertullian has completed the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and he now summarises the ways in which the prayer is in fact an epitome of the gospel.

"How many edicts of prophets, gospels, and apostles, how many discourses, parables, examples, and precepts of the Lord, are touched upon in the brevities of a few short words, how many duties are summed up all at once" (81)

This was Tertullian's main interest, to show how the Lord's Prayer implies the full extent of Christian belief. "God alone" , he says, "was competent to teach us how he wished to be prayed to." (82) Prayer, quite clearly, is something which is taught by God, and therefore given to man by God. The gift of prayer comes from God, according to Tertullian, and is given to men, so that men may pray to God in the way God wishes them to pray. This concept of the 'givenness' of prayer is important in any attempt to formulate a doctrine of prayer.

A further development of this is contained in the reference to the "sanctity" (religio) of the prayer.(83) At the very time when it was being spoken by Christ the prayer was given life by the Spirit. And so now, when Christians pray in the words of the prayer, it ascends to heaven "by its own special right" (suo privilegio).(84) The new form of Christian prayer has a new guarantee, which is the Spirit, and this conviction leads Tertullian to the remarkable assertion, "prayer alone it is that conquers God".(85) Receiving life from the Spirit therefore, prayer "commends to the Father the things the Son has taught." (86) Prayer is given by the Son, in order that Christians might know how to pray; it is the Spirit that gives life to Christian prayer, a life (or power) which enables it to come into the presence of God the Father, to whom all prayer is addressed. Thus, prayer

for Tertullian has a distinctly Trinitarian dimension.

The wealth of Christian doctrine contained in the prayer is briefly outlined, and Tertullian's own words suffice:

"how many duties are summed up all at once - in Father the honour of God, in name our witness to the faith, in will the sacrifice of obedience (oblatio obsequii), in kingdom the commemoration of our hope, in bread the petition for life, in the prayer for pardon the confession of debts, in the request for safeguard wariness against temptations"(87)

His moralistic and practical concern is very clearly evident, as it is in the following section, where he stresses the overriding importance of the integrity of both prayer and life: he encourages "mindfulness of the precepts, lest we be as far from the ears of God as we are from the precepts".(88) It is the purity of our life which ensures "spiritual cleanliness" (89) and not ritual washing of the hands. Moreover, says Tertullian, "mindfulness of the precepts paves for prayers the way to heaven".(90) A fine distinction, but an important one, is contained in this metaphor. Tertullian has already said that it is the Spirit who guarantees that Christian prayer will ascend to heaven. A life of virtue ("mindfulness of the precepts") provides no such guarantee - it simply 'paves the way', so that the prayer encounters no obstacle. Tertullian is not saying that the life of the virtuous man has any power of itself to ensure that God will hear the prayer; only the Spirit can bring prayer into the presence of God. But without life being in harmony with the precepts of Christian living, it is impossible for prayer to reach God. Prayer and life are closely and inextricably related. This idea is developed in some detail in chapters eleven and twelve. Before turning to these chapters, it is important to note Tertullian's other teaching in chapter ten. Although Christ has left his prayer as a model for that of his followers, says Tertullian, yet each man will have personal requests

to make according to his particular circumstances, and the Lord has made allowance for this.

"... since the Lord... says in a different context, after the delivery of his instruction on prayer, ('post traditam orandi disciplinam') 'Ask and ye shall receive, (John 16:24)... we have the right, after rehearsing the prescribed and regular prayer as a foundation, ('praemissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento') to make from other sources a superstructure of petitions for additional desires".(91)

It is the Lord's teaching that additional, more personal requests can be made on the understanding that such petition is made in accordance with the precepts of true prayer, to which Tertullian now turns.

The chief precept of which Tertullian bids his addressees be mindful is:

"that we go not up to the altar of God before we cancel whatever of discord or offence we have contracted with the brethren."(92)

Christians are obliged to be at peace with their brothers before they go up to the altar, and this for three reasons: because God is the God of peace, and they cannot draw near to the peace of God if they are not men of peace in their lives; secondly, because it is God who remits debt, and therefore if they retain them (that is, refuse forgiveness to a brother), they cannot approach him; and finally, because they cannot come before God who forbids anger, if they themselves are angry. Tertullian concludes "that when in the way of prayer (via orationis) we should not journey towards the Father in anger." (93) Here the "way of prayer" is spoken of as a "journey to the Father", but the idea is not developed. The symbolism of prayer as a journey towards God is, however, taken up by Clement and Origen, as will be shown below.

The underlying justification for this precept appears more explicitly in the following section:

"And not only from anger, but from all and every perturbation (or anxiety, 'confusio') of mind, ought the intensity of prayer to be free, being sent forth from such a spirit as is that Spirit to whom it is sent forth. For a defiled spirit can receive no recognition from holy Spirit - nor sad from glad, nor fettered from free. No man opens his door to an opponent, no man lets in anyone but his like." (94)

The Spirit, in other words, will only let in someone who is his like. In order to pray, therefore, Tertullian is saying that human spirit must first of all resemble the Spirit of God in being holy, in being unfettered, in being free from every perturbation. Spiritual cleanliness is to be of primary human concern. It is only the man who is like God whose prayer will come before God. Once again, and significantly, Tertullian puts forward an idea which contains within itself the seed of the doctrine of theosis, or divinization, a doctrine so dear to the Greek Fathers of the church. (95)

Tertullian explains such preparation for prayer by his later assertion that "God is a hearer, as he is a discerner, not of the voice but of the heart." (96) In accord with this interior nature of true prayer is a further counsel to subdue even the tones of one's voice, "or else what lungs are called for, if we are heard in proportion to the noise(!)" (97) Worship of God is always to be "with restraint and humility". (98)

As regards the time and place of prayer, the only rule laid down is that of St. Paul, "to pray at every time and place".(99) But as well as this general ruling, Tertullian alludes to the regular daily office of prayer - the third, sixth and ninth hours, and prayer in the morning and at night. He encourages Christians to leave their daily business in order that they may worship:

"not less than at least thrice a day, being the debtors of three, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in addition of course to our statutory prayers which...are due at the coming in of daylight and night." (100)

He adds that prayer should also be interposed before taking food or a bath: "for the refreshment and sustenance of the spirit ought to be given precedence over those of the flesh, because heavenly things have precedence over earthly." (101) There are echoes here of his opening theme in the first chapter. In accordance with this same concern for the times of prayer, Tertullian recommends prayer with one's guest and with one's host.

In the final two sections of the De Oratione, Tertullian moves on to a resounding climax, in which he sets all that he has been saying about prayer in the context of that true worship, in Spirit and in Truth, demanded of Christians by the Father. Prayer is "the spiritual oblation ('hostia spiritalis') which has wiped out the ancient sacrifices." (102) The offering of rams and bulls has given way to the true worship in Spirit and in Truth. Indeed,

"we are the true worshippers and the true priests, who, praying in the Spirit, in the Spirit offer a sacrifice of prayer as an oblation which is God's own and is well-pleasing to him, that in fact which he has sought after, which he has provided for himself."(103)

Christians pray in the Spirit, and it is in the Spirit that they offer a sacrifice of prayer. This very sacrifice of prayer is God's own, since he has provided it and seeks to be worshipped by it. Tertullian clearly draws out the distinction between the sacrifices of the old law, and the spiritual sacrifice of the new. In the following passage, Tertullian cleverly employs the participles to indicate successive stages in the ritual preparation of the victim for sacrifice, but the qualifying nouns specify the manner in which, in the spiritual terms of the new covenant, these previous ritual requirements are now met:

"This, (the sacrifice of prayer), devoted from the whole heart, fattened by faith, prepared by the truth, un mutilated in innocency, pure in chastity, garlanded

with charity, it is our duty to bring to the altar of God, along with a procession of good works, to the accompaniment of psalms and hymns, as that which will obtain for us from God all that we ask for"(104)

The power of intercession which belongs to the sacrifice of prayer is again referred to here by Tertullian. "For what will God deny to a prayer which proceeds from the Spirit and the Truth, seeing it is he who demands this?" And again: "he has conferred upon it all power concerning good."(105) With these words, Tertullian opens his final encomium on the power and efficacy of Christian prayer. Even before the old prayer had received its pattern from Christ, it was powerful in bringing deliverance from fire and wild beasts and hunger: "then how much more fully operative is the Christian prayer!" (106) There follows an impressive list of the powers of Christian prayer: it does not remove suffering, but "it arms with endurance those who do suffer and perceive and grieve. It makes grace multiply in power... the prayer of righteousness turns aside the whole wrath of God, keeps watch on behalf of foes, makes supplication for persecutors." Christ did not want prayer to be used for evil purposes (Lk. 9: 54-56); rather, "he has conferred upon it all power concerning good." (107) Prayer can achieve both subjective and objective benefits.

"Prayer alone it is that conquers God." "It is the bulwark of faith (muris fidei), our defensive and offensive armour against the enemy who is watching us from every side." (108) Tertullian's litany on the power of prayer exceeds all proportions:

"Its only knowledge is how to call back the souls of the deceased from the very highway of death, to straighten the feeble, to heal the sick, to cleanse the devil-possessed, to open the bars of the prison, to loose the bands of the innocent. It also absolves sins, drives back temptations, quenches persecutions, strengthens the weak-hearted, delights the high-minded brings home wayfarers, soothes the waves, astounds robbers, feeds the poor, rules the rich, lifts up the fallen, supports the unstable, upholds them that stand."(109)

The claims of prayer are extended over every aspect of the Christian life.

Finally, Tertullian concludes with a triumphant exclamation on the universality of prayer, giving to the doctrine of prayer a truly dynamic and all-embracing character.

"Even the angels pray, all of them. The whole creation prays. Cattle and wild beasts pray, and bend their knees, and in coming forth from their stalls and lairs look up to heaven, their mouth not idle, making the spirit move in their own fashion. Moreover, the birds now arising are lifting themselves up to heaven and instead of hands are spreading out the cross of their wings, while saying something which may be supposed to be a prayer. What more then of the obligation of prayer? Even the Lord himself prayed: to him be honour and power for ever." (110)

Tertullian's doctrine of prayer can be summarised as follows. In the first place, it must be said that it derives from his exposition of the Lord's Prayer, based on the teaching of Scripture. His whole treatise is enriched with quotations from Scripture which elucidate the meaning of the particular petitions of the Lord's Prayer and supply precise information on all aspects of Christian prayer. The Lord's Prayer is "an epitome of the entire gospel". This gospel is the good news of Jesus Christ, who has been approved as God's Spirit, God's Word and God's Reason. The "coming" (or intervention) of Jesus, his "teaching" and his "power", all reveal firstly, the completely new character of God, then the "new grace of God", that is, the new relationship between God and man, and, finally, the new obligations and privileges involved for those to whom this revelation has been given. The new character of God is that he is the Father, and man has now been given the right to address him as such. Yet this right is at the same time also a duty, for the name 'Father' includes both love ('pietas') and authority ('potestas'). Prayer serves two purposes: the worship or

glorification of God, and the fulfilment of God's commandment. For Tertullian, these two truths about the Father of Jesus Christ, his love and his authority, determine the (new) character of God and, therefore, the (new) doctrine of prayer. In other words, theology governs prayer in a decisive way.

It befits the new character of the God revealed in the person of Jesus Christ that prayer should be interior and should arise from faith. It should also be brief, and offered to God in humility. Since God has revealed himself to man as his Father, man is therefore established in the relationship of son. If man is called upon to address God as Father, he must live as befits a son. This ethical dimension of prayer, indeed of Christianity as a whole, is very important for Tertullian and its ultimate meaning for man is to be found in the notion of the imitation of Christ, the Son of God par excellence.

Tertullian mentions but does not develop the corporate nature of this new prayer. Petition must be catholic and not exclusive: we must pray for all men. In prayer, man gives God thankful worship, and he beseeches that worship may be given to God by all men, in the hallowing of his name, the performing of his will, and the final and "open manifestation of the Lord's kingdom."

If Tertullian's theology influences his doctrine of prayer, then it is equally true that prayer, especially the Lord's Prayer, determines his theology. This can be seen most clearly in his exegesis of the petition for God's will to be done. First of all, this petition is prayer to God, not for him. Polytheistic and dualistic conceptions are thereby excluded, and the Christian doctrine of Creation is indicated. Next, God's will is described in three ways: it is the moral code for human conduct, it is the

salvation of men; but ultimately the working out of God's will is to be seen most clearly in the life and death of Christ, whose example Christians are called to imitate. Here is contained a clear statement of the Christocentric doctrine of salvation. Finally, the will of God, as power, which is necessary to man so that the will of God, as precept, can be fulfilled, seems to imply the Christian doctrine of sanctification: what is ultimately implied here is the power of God in his Spirit at work in men's lives.

As regards the content of prayer, for Tertullian, man's prayer must begin with "heavenly things" - God's name, will and kingdom - and should only then concern itself with "earthly necessities". The first of these necessities is "continuance in Christ and inseparableness from his body", in the Eucharist. Thereafter, prayer for earthly necessities must be only for the simple things of life, and not the luxuries. It must include confession of sins and a request to God for pardon. The person who prays must be one who is ready to forgive. At the end of the Lord's Prayer, the Christian asks for protection from the tempter and "the total removal of wrong-doings." Other more personal requests may be made, provided that the Christian obeys the precepts involved in preparation for prayer. These are, being at peace with his brothers, being recollected and spiritually clean, and always being sure to worship with "restraint and humility". Prayer is to be offered always and everywhere, although there are certain set times for going aside to pray. The "new disciples of the new covenant", says Tertullian, are "true worshippers" because they pray "in the Spirit".

As for the effects of prayer, these are manifold, and embrace every aspect of life. Prayer can certainly obtain subjective benefits for the one who prays, such as greater endurance,

and it can also secure a multitude of objective benefits. Its power is unrivalled: "prayer alone it is that conquers God"! And since "the whole creation prays", prayer is universal.

Tertullian was writing in Carthage at the beginning of the third century. About fifty years later, Cyprian was to follow his lead and produce his De Dominica Oratione. This little work became the recognised standard treatise on the Lord's Prayer in the Latin Church, mainly because Tertullian's espousal of Montanism had discredited him and his works in the eyes of the Catholics.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

Cyprian's treatise De Dominica Oratione -

an analysis and comparison with Tertullian's De Oratione.

At about the time Tertullian was writing his treatise De Oratione, Caecilius Cyprianus, with the cognomen Thascius, was born in Africa, into a rich and highly cultivated pagan family.(1) He entered upon a distinguished career in law as a rhetorician, but dissatisfaction with this way of life led to his conversion.(2) This was probably in 246 A.D., and after having been admitted into the diaconate and presbyterate, he succeeded Donatus as Bishop of Carthage in 249 only to suffer martyrdom nine years later.

Cyprian's main work is the De Ecclesiae Unitate. This was composed immediately following the Decian persecution (250-251), with both the schism of Novatian in mind, and also that of Felicissimus in Carthage. Cyprian's doctrine of prayer is to be found most fully and clearly stated in his little treatise, De Dominica Oratione, which internal and external evidence would suggest was written shortly before or after the De Unitate. (3) Before proceeding with an analysis of the De Oratione, brief mention may first of all be made of references to prayer which Cyprian makes elsewhere.

In his earlier Letter to Donatus he had exhorted him to be "constant as well in prayer as in reading: 'now speak to God, now let God speak to you". (4) In Epistle 7, Cyprian encourages the clergy to be urgent in their prayers, and to combine their prayers with fastings and tears. Epistle 56 also urges frequent and constant prayers. Cyprian tells the readers of Epistle 15

that he is always offering prayers for them. The "rule of prayer" (Lex orandi) discussed in the De Unitate relates to the need for forgiveness of one's brothers, in order to be at peace with them, before coming to prayer. (5) This "rule" recurs frequently in the De Dominica Oratione. Epistle 11 emphasises the intimate connection between the unity of the Church, and the need for unanimity (concordia) of Christians in prayer.

As noted above, Cyprian's De Dominica Oratione became the recognised standard treatise on the Lord's Prayer in the Latin West. Hilary of Poitiers, writing in the middle of the fourth century, about a hundred years after Cyprian, considered it unnecessary to comment on the Lord's Prayer when, in the course of his Exposition on Matthew, he came to chapter 6: 9-13, preferring rather to send his readers to Cyprian's well-known work. (6) Augustine was also indebted to this treatise, quoting it freely in his anti-Pelagian works, and he refers to Cyprian as "superlatively victorious", because he had, in anticipation, refuted heresies as yet unborn. (7)

Cyprian is a man of action rather than of letters, and nearly everything he writes has a close relation to some practical problem of his life and times. He is more interested in the direction of souls than in theological speculation, a fact which is clear from the practical concerns dealt with in his treatises and letters, notably De Lapsis and De Unitate, and confirmed in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer. Cyprian is first and foremost a bishop in charge of his flock, whom he must guide and inspire. Although his personality is entirely different from Tertullian's being more prudent and gentle, he nevertheless depends heavily on him for his theology. According to Jerome, "he was accustomed never to pass a day without reading Tertullian and he frequently

said to his secretary, 'Da magistrum', meaning by this Tertullian."(8)
As well as following Tertullian's general treatment of the doctrine of prayer, he also adopts many of his ideas and descriptions. One clear example of this is to be found in their respective definitions of the Lord's Prayer. The "breviarium totius evangelii" of Tertullian becomes for Cyprian the "coelestis doctrinae compendium."(9)

The De Dominica Oratione appears to fall naturally into three parts:

- Chapters 1 - 6 Introduction to prayer in general, with mention of the main prerequisites for true prayer;
- Chapters 7 - 27 The exposition of the Lord's prayer;
- Chapters 28-36 Further general observations, and conditions for prayer.

Cyprian begins (chs. 1 and 2) by situating prayer in the context of the gospel precepts, which are "nothing else than divine commands". (10) Prayer then, first and foremost, is commanded of us by God.

"The Lord, amongst other saving warnings and divine precepts with which he gave counsel for the salvation of his people, Himself gave also a form of prayer, (orandi forma) and Himself taught and instructed us for what we should pray."(11)

Prayer is commanded of us by God, as a means of salvation. Furthermore, the Lord has prescribed not only the necessity of prayer, but also both its form and its object. The form of prayer, given by Cyprian in chapter 7, is to be the Lord's Prayer. This in turn contains within its brief compass all those things for which a man must pray. In this prayer, Christ "made a sublime abridgement of his precepts, so that the memory of his disciples might... remember with readiness whatever was necessary for a simple faith". (12) However, before turning to Cyprian's main project, the exposition of the Lord's prayer, it is necessary to dwell for a time on the preliminary remarks of the early chapters.

Cyprian begins with "praecepta", the commandments of God, as did Tertullian, (13) and like his master his concern is with concrete, practical matters rather than with abstract theory. Yet Cyprian by no means relegates prayer to the level of rule. Already, in his second chapter, he speaks of that true worship, to which Christ refers when speaking with the Samaritan woman:

"Already he had foretold that the hour was coming when the true worshippers would worship the Father in spirit and in truth (John 4:23); and now He fulfilled what He then promised, in order that we, who have been receivers of spirit and truth through the sanctification which He gives, may worship Him truly and spiritually by using that which He has delivered. For what prayer can be more spiritual than that which has been given us by Christ, by Whom also the Holy Spirit was sent to us? What praying in the presence of the Father can be more true than that which was delivered by the lips of the Son who is the Truth? (John 14:6)" (14)

When we use the words given to us by Christ, we are ensured that we are obeying the divine precept, and in addition that we are worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth.(15) To pray otherwise than He taught, in fact, is not merely ignorance but a fault. It is also important here to note that this prayer "has been given to us by Christ." Prayer is a gift: it is essentially something from God, and not of man's own making. This concurs with Tertullian's teaching. (16) Cyprian continues by pointing to the supreme advantage to be gained by praying with the words given by Christ, since the Father is much more likely to grant the requests if the words of his Son are used:

"When we speak in the presence of the Father, with the petition and prayer which His Son taught, we shall be heard the more readily." (17)

The confidence or boldness of Christian prayer implied here is frequently found alluded to by Cyprian and other patristic writers, and is especially associated with the term $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$.(18)

From chapter two, where Cyprian has been dealing with

the outward form of prayer, and the guarantees possessed by the Christian that his prayer will be true and spiritual, he moves without delay to the inner essence of all true Christian prayer.

"It is a loving and familiar thing to beseech God with His own petitioning and to ascend to Him with the prayer of Christ. Let the Father recognise the words of His own Son when we make our requests. Let Him who dwells within our breast be also in our voice." (19)

With these words Cyprian seems to lead to the heart of his doctrine of prayer. It is an addressing of God the Father, with and through the words or prayer of Christ His Son, in the power of our Advocate the Holy Spirit. Prayer is given a distinctly Trinitarian dimension: to the Father, through (or in the words of) Christ His Son, in the Spirit, who dwells within the Christian's breast. Cyprian does not supply a detailed theological justification for his confession of the Triune God: he has no need to, and this was not his task. What he does make patently clear, as did Tertullian (20) is that Christian prayer is determined by the specifically Christian notion of the Triune God and of His self-revelation to man. (21)

Having taken only three short chapters to bring his reader to the central essence of Christian prayer, Cyprian then speaks briefly of the attitudes and preparations required in one who would "stand in the sight of God". He who prays must be "restrained by quietness and modesty", and attend to "the posture of his body and the tone of his voice". (22) Furthermore, the Lord gave directions that we should pray "in secret... so that we may recognise that God is everywhere present." And again, "God is the Hearer not of the voice but of the heart," says Cyprian, echoing once more the words of Tertullian. (23) Hannah from the O.T., ^{(1 Sam. 1),} who prayed to the Lord with manifest faith but with secret

prayer in her heart, is given as a type of the Church. Prayer, Cyprian teaches, must arise from faith in God. In the same chapter where he expounds Christ's injunction to pray "in secret", he also mentions the times "when we come together into one place with the brethren and celebrate divine sacrifices with God's priest" (24) clearly referring to the climax and centre of Christian worship, the Holy Communion. For Cyprian, prayer in secret and prayer in common actually belong to each other and must be practised together. In the same context, quoting from Jeremiah, he gives the true ground and justification for all Christian prayer: "I am a God near at hand, and not a God afar off." (Jer. 23:23) The dialogue which is prayer is enabled to take place because God has first brought himself close to man. The initiative is divine. Christians call on God because he has first come close to them and has called them. Prayer can be understood only against the background of God's work in Christ, and man's resulting new relationship of son.

Finally, the example of the tax-gatherer (Lk.18:10 ff) is held up for our imitation.

"Not with eyes presumptuously raised to heaven, not with hands proudly held aloft, but beating upon his breast and testifying to the sins therein enclosed, he implored help from the divine mercy. And while the Pharisee was self-contented, it was rather granted to this other man who thus prayed, to be sanctified..." (25)

Humility is the only proper attitude of man before God, and this should always lead to a confession of sin. The prayer of the man who relies on his own innocence will not be heard, for no one is innocent, says Cyprian.

It is now possible to summarise these first six chapters of introduction. Cyprian presents prayer as having a Trinitarian context. All true Christian prayer is to God the Father through (or in the words of) Christ His Son, in the power of the Holy

Spirit. Prayer itself is a precept of divine wisdom given by God to man as a commandment for his salvation. But the words of the Lord's Prayer do not reduce prayer to a slavish, mechanical system: rather, since they are words given by Him who is the Truth and who sent the Holy Spirit to be our Advocate, they enable those who use them to be true worshippers, worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth. Faith, after the example of Anna, is therefore required. The Christian's faith is in the Triune God. Tranquility, modesty and humility must characterise our attitude at prayer. All our prayer must be "in secret", in the sense that it must avoid all hypocrisy and pride. Finally, there is no radical disjunction between private prayer and prayer in common.

After this introduction, Cyprian devotes twenty-two of the remaining thirty chapters to an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The concluding eight chapters are concerned with the relation between prayer and life, and with the times of prayer.

In chapter eight Cyprian first teaches that prayer must be unselfish or catholic. "Before all things the Teacher of peace and Master of unity, is unwilling for prayer to be made singly and individually, teaching that he who prays is not to pray for himself alone." (26) The point is actually made by the words of the prayer: we say "Our Father", and not "My Father", and all the petitions are in the first person plural. "Prayer with us", he goes on, "is public (of the people) and common, and when we pray we do not pray for one but for the whole people, because we the whole people are one." True Christian prayer, Cyprian is saying, must always be prayer offered for the whole people of God, that is, for the whole Church. Individualism has no place in prayer, as it has no place in the Church. The Church is one,

says Cyprian and therefore the members of the Church must pray for the whole Church.

"The God of peace and Master of concord who taught unity thus wished one to pray for all, as He Himself bore all in one." (27)

Christ is the true "catholic" person since he "bore all in one", and it is possible for men to become as he is by learning to pray for all, and not for themselves alone. Here, one encounters what was to become a central idea in patristic theology: an absolutely new form of existence, the Christian conception of Hypostasis or Person. It is the category of personhood in later patristic writings which resolved the tension formerly existing between the physical categories of Aristotelianism and the metaphysical ideas of Platonism. Christian philosophy united these two extremes by introducing the apophatic category of the person. Cyprian is not only speaking of the prayer of the Church when assembled together in worship, but also of the individual: "he who prays is not to pray for himself alone". The person who prays becomes the focal point of the whole. His prayer, and therefore his life, becomes not just his own private affair, but embraces, in communion, the lives of all men. That is, the Christian who truly prays becomes truly the catholic person.(28) Although Cyprian does not here extrapolate all these details, later doctrinal articulation reveals that his thought refers to such themes. Tertullian, who had omitted the word "Our" from the address, makes only passing mention of the need for prayer to be for all. Undoubtedly, Cyprian's experience of schism within the Church led him to abhor any tendency towards factions or sectarianism, and, positively, led him to draw out the implications of unity.

If prayer must have a catholic reference, there is need

also for unanimity between those who pray. Cyprian cites two Scriptural illustrations of this point, one from the Old Testament and the other from the New. The former is the case of the Three Children in the fiery furnace, who "as if from one mouth sang a hymn and blessed the Lord". (Daniel 3:51) God heard their prayers "for they were in unison in prayer and concordant in unanimity of spirit". (29) The New Testament illustration is taken from Acts 1:14 - "they all continued with one accord in prayer" - which proved to Cyprian "that God only admits into the divine and eternal house those among whom prayer is unanimous."

From a consideration of the unselfishness of prayer and the need for unanimity at prayer, Cyprian moves to a discussion of the true Father-son relationship pre-supposed by the prayer and demanded of one who can say 'Our Father, who art in heaven'. The sacramental and catechetical context of prayer is here alluded to, since Cyprian links the saying of the prayer and the confession of God as Father with the sacrament of baptism by which a man is born again as a son of God. (30)

"The new man, born again, and restored to his God by His grace, says first of all FATHER, because he now has begun to be a son." (31)

Once a man begins to be God's son in baptism, he ought to profess this fact by declaring that God is his Father. The Lord's prayer ought to be "among the very first words of his new birth", by which he renounces "his earthly and fleshly father", and witnesses that he "recognises and has begun to have as his Father only Him who is in heaven." (32) The sacrament of initiation and the entitlement to pray, and to call God Father, which baptism brings with it, imply a definite renunciation of that which is earthly and fleshly. An asceticism is required of the Christian who prays.

This asceticism, as well as having a negative side,

has also a positive aspect. The fact that Christians can call God Father leaves them with a moral obligation to live as befits those who are sons of God.

"We ought then, dearly beloved brethren, to remember and to realise that when we call God Father, we ought to act as sons of God, in order that, as we are pleased at God being our Father, so he too may be pleased with us." (33)

Here for the first time in Cyprian's treatise, one sees the clear relationship between prayer and life. If we pray 'Our Father', then we must live in a way which is worthy of those who call themselves sons of God. The conduct of our life must conform to our true identity.

"Let us behave as temples of God, so that it may appear that God dwelleth in us. Let not our conduct fall away from the Spirit, but let us who have begun to be heavenly and spiritual ponder and perform naught but heavenly and spiritual things." (34)

Prayer is not a flight from reality, but a reminder to the praying person of his deepest reality. If prayer is that activity by which man allows himself to become aware of the truth about himself, then the next question is, of course, what this truth about himself really is. For Cyprian, the truth about man is that he can call God Father, and is thereby constituted in the relationship of son to God. In other words, the truth about man is to be seen only when he is understood in terms of his relationship with God. (35)

The Father-son relationship which the prayer presupposes is closely bound up with the concept of *παρρησία* or confidence, to which earlier reference has already been made. (36) Christians are, or rather have begun to be, children of God at baptism, so they are entitled to address God as Father with a confidence which belongs to no other.

"For not one of us would have dared to aspire unto this title in prayer had not He Himself permitted us so to pray."(37)

It is only because Christ has instructed and permitted Christians to pray in this way that they dare to do so: but they do not make bold to say precisely because he has instructed them.

In turning to the second phrase of the Lord's Prayer, Cyprian echoes Tertullian's words when he explains the prayer that God's name be hallowed as meaning that "His name may be hallowed in us". (38) The Christians' prayer is that they who have been made holy or sanctified in Baptism "may be constant in that which they have begun to be". They need a daily sanctification to purge away their offences. They were sanctified in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of their God, and they must pray that this sanctification may abide in them.(39)

So also, in like manner, Christians pray in the next petition that God's Kingdom may come, in the sense of it being "made present to them".(40) It also contains a request that they may reign with Christ hereafter. Cyprian then makes what appears to be a novel interpretation. "The Kingdom of God," he says, "may also be interpreted of Christ Himself... For as He is the Resurrection, because we rise in Him, so also He may be regarded as the Kingdom of God, because we are destined to reign in Him."(41)

The author then speaks about there being two kingdoms, and it is necessary for him who has dedicated himself to God to long for and to pray for the heavenly rather than the earthly kingdom. Continual prayer is necessary, "lest we fall from that heavenly kingdom as the Jews fell to whom it had first been promised".(42) When Cyprian talks here of there being two kingdoms, one heavenly and one earthly, he must not be understood in a dualistic sense. He is making the same kind of distinction

Augustine was later to make between the civitas Dei and the civitas terrena. The earthly and the heavenly are not mutually opposed, within a radical dualism, such that flight from the earthly to seek refuge in the heavenly is the way of Christian perfection. This is the gnostic doctrine of salvation. The Christian doctrine of salvation unites the earthly and heavenly in Christ who gives to creation - the earthly - its true dignity. The immanent is shot through with the transcendent. The earthly is becoming heavenly. Here is the sacramental model, so dear to Cyprian.(43) The relationship of the Kingdom of God to the empires of history, the relationship of eternity to time, the relationship of Creator to created: Cyprian here touches on all these difficult and crucial areas of Christian theology. The same theme recurs in chapters sixteen and seventeen, when Cyprian is commenting on the next petition, and it is also to be found in the first chapter of Tertullian's treatise.

Cyprian devotes chapters fourteen to seventeen to his treatment of "Thy will be done in heaven and in earth". Like Tertullian, he understands the phrase to mean that we may be able to do what God wills rather than meaning that God may do his own will. (44) God, he goes on to say, is not prevented from doing as he wills, but "since we are opposed by the devil", we are "hindered in every way from being in submission to God". Christians then, must pray that God's will may be done "in them". Tertullian had taught the same, although he had extended it to "all men".(45) Cyprian then makes the same transposition as his master from God's will as moral imperative to God's will as enabling power.

"And that it (i.e. God's will) may be done in us, there is need of God's will, that is, of his aid and protecting care, because no-one is strong by his own strength, but is secure only by the kindness and mercy of God." (46)

Not only does God lay down the prescriptions for man's behaviour, he also offers to supply man with the power or grace (here, "aid") to carry them out. Cyprian urges us to follow the example of Christ who bore witness in himself both to the weakness of human nature and to the need to subordinate this to the will of God.

Cyprian's next concern is with what this obedience to the will of God means in practice. He begins by stating, as did Tertullian, that the will of God is that which Christ did and taught. There follows a long list of practical requirements, more detailed than Tertullian's, no doubt springing out of a bishop's pastoral concern. The disciple is expected to show forth:

"humility in conduct, stability in faith, modesty, in words, justice in deeds, mercy in works, strictness in morals, unwillingness to do wrong: it is to preserve peace with our brethren, to love God with our whole heart, to have affection for him as our Father, to fear him as our God, to prefer nothing before Christ because he preferred nothing before us, to cling inseparably to his love, to stand bravely and faithfully by his Cross..."(47)

The clauses which follow, culminating in patience in death, are evidence of Cyprian's experience of a Church under persecution.

Cyprian gives yet another interpretation of the will of God, one omitted by Tertullian.

"... this is the will of God, that the earthly should yield to the heavenly, that the spiritual and divine should prevail."(48)

This recalls his interpretation of the previous petition. Cyprian's mysticism, or perhaps more correctly sacramentalism, is here very much to the fore. This last quotation is very reminiscent of the thought of the two Alexandrians we have yet to study.

Taking his lead once again from Tertullian, the author interprets "in heaven and in earth" of man, who has a body from earth and a spirit from heaven. Cyprian's anthropology reappears. Man's calling is to live as the being, standing between two worlds and belonging to both at once. The spirit does not renounce the

body. Rather "we pray that by the assistance and help of God there may be agreement (concordiam) between these two".(49) For there to be this agreement, it is necessary that "the earthly should yield to the heavenly, that the spiritual and divine should prevail". Cyprian here seems to anticipate in outline much of later Greek patristic anthropology. It is a point frequently made by the Fathers that man's frame was formed erect for the contemplation of heaven, (50) an observation which seems to be totally compatible with Cyprian's in this chapter.

There is yet another interpretation of "heaven and earth". "Heaven" is seen to stand for those who are believers, and "earth" for non-believers. We fulfil the Lord's command to pray for our enemies by praying that God's will may be done in those who are still "earthly". Recalling the teaching already given in chapter eight Cyprian proposes that our prayer must needs be catholic - that is for all, and not for some, or for oneself. Christian prayer cannot be private or individualistic, but must always be conscious of the communal nature of the life of faith.

The request, "Give us this day our daily bread", may be understood both spiritually and literally. Here again Cyprian follows Tertullian's interpretation closely. The spiritual interpretation is eucharistic: Christ is their Bread and therefore Christians pray never to be prevented from receiving this heavenly food daily.

"We pray that our bread, that is, Christ, may be given to us daily, so that we who abide and live in Christ may not fall away from His sanctification and His Body."(51)

The literal interpretation is that, since the Christians have rejected the riches and pomps of this world, their prayer should be only for food, or, in other words, the basic necessities of life. Nor should they extend their prayerful desires into the future, but

should be content to pray simply for the needs of the day. Furthermore, "it would be an inconsistent and contradictory thing for us, who pray for God's kingdom to come quickly," (see Chapter 13), "to ask to live long in the world. Riches are not merely despicable," he goes on to say, "but dangerous", (52) since they seduce man into evil ways. The Lord's counsel of perfection is advocated: by selling all that he has and distributing it to the poor, a man may become perfect and complete. At the end of this chapter, the theme of the unity of prayer and life is once more reiterated. Man, he says, "learns to pray, and from the terms of the prayer to know what manner of man he ought to be".(53) It is prayer which makes clear to man his true identity. Finally, Cyprian reminds his readers of the evangelical principle that there will be nothing lacking to the just man who seeks God's kingdom.

Next, Cyprian proceeds to the request for forgiveness, and yet again takes his lead from Tertullian. By asking for their sins to be forgiven, Christians do two things: they first of all make provision for their eternal life, and, secondly, by the very words of the prayer, they are taught and reminded that they are sinners, daily. (See I John 1:8). This, says Cyprian, is a necessary and salutary admonition. Furthermore, the forgiveness for which they ask "cannot be obtained unless they themselves have acted in a similar way towards those who have sinned against them." (54) This is a definite condition and prerequisite to a Christian's own forgiveness by God.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This is because prayer and life are always intimately united. Christians must be peace-makers, and of one mind and heart, before they come to prayer. The greater sacrifice to God is that of their peace and brotherly concord. Cyprian adduces the example of Cain and Abel to show that God regards the heart first, and not the gift. Fraternal dissension is forbidden since it prevents life with God, or the attainment of

the Kingdom of Heaven. (56)

From the final petition - "and suffer us not to be led into temptation" - Cyprian derives the same conclusions as does Tertullian. By these words it is shown, argues Cyprian, that "the adversary can avail nothing against us unless God previously give him permission".(57) A bishop's pastoral concern is here evident since he turns the reader's attention away from any negative considerations, and urges that "all our fear and devotion and heedfulness should be turned towards God, since... no power is allowed to the evil one save that which is derived from God." And power, says Cyprian, is given to the evil one against the Christians in proportion to their sins.

God has two reasons for granting this power: so that he may punish Christians when they sin, and so that he may be glorified if they resist temptation. The words of this petition also warn of weakness, and act as a precaution against pride and arrogance. No Christian must assume anything to himself but,..."everything is referred to God". (58)

The final phrase, "But deliver us from the evil one", comprises the sum total of all the petitions of the dominical prayer. For when this petition is granted, "we stand secure and safe against the devil and the world", because God is the protector. (59) All petitioning can in fact be condensed into this one saving phrase.

Such then is the "Prayer which God taught".(60) Cyprian's closing chapters are of great interest, and much can be gleaned from them to throw more light on his general doctrine of prayer.

Mention is first of all made of the fact that Christ taught his disciples how to pray not only in words, but also by his actions! Mt. 7:12 and Lk. 5:16 testify to his going apart to pray. "But if He," adds Cyprian, "Who was without sin, used to pray, how

much more ought sinners to pray!" (61) And again, in following Christ's example, the disciples ought to spend the night in prayer. Here, Cyprian returns once more to his theme of unity and peace, quoting from Christ's prayer for unity in John's Gospel. (Jn. 17:20) It is true to say that at the time of writing, this was probably Cyprian's predominant pastoral concern. In addition, however, he has also discovered that the doctrines of peace and unity are deeply embedded in the substance of Christian prayer.

Cyprian calls his readers to watchfulness and wholeheartedness in prayer, so as to avoid distractions. (62) This same chapter situates prayer in the sacramental context of the Eucharist, once again. In addition, prayer is to be accompanied by the good deeds of fasting and almsgiving, since prayer which is not fruitful in works "cannot be well-pleasing to God". (63) Moreover, Cyprian's teaching is that Christian works of charity have the effect of speeding prayers to God. As Scriptural evidence for this he quotes from Tobit 12: 11ff and Isaiah 58:6ff. It is almost as if our good works compel God's listening ear, since those who "hear what God commands to be done," (and, it is implied, do it), "they themselves deserve to be heard by God". (64) Paul also teaches the same intimate relationship between prayer and conduct when he speaks of good works as being spiritual sacrifices to God. (Phil. 4:18)

On the observance of the three hours of prayer - the third, the sixth and the ninth - Cyprian offers a fascinating mystical-allegorical interpretation. The Old Testament knew these hours, he says, (cf. Daniel 6:10) and they contain a hidden symbolism to that doctrine of the Trinity revealed in the New Testament. Cyprian refers to these hours as "the appointed and lawful times for prayer". (65) However, he then adds to these the dual necessity of praying in the morning, "in order that the Resurrection of the Lord may be

celebrated by morning prayer", and in the evening,

"for, since Christ is the true Sun and true Day, when we pray at the decline of the world's sun and day and entreat that the light may again come upon us, we are asking for the Advent of Christ, which will bestow on us the grace of eternal life."(66)

And even this is not sufficient. For those who are in Christ, there is no hour excepted when they ought not constantly and continually to worship God. Cyprian's last three chapters rise in a gradual crescendo towards the final encouragement to pray at all times. Since the Christians are ever in the light of the Lord, they should not cease from prayer even by night. But whereas the original fixed hours of prayer were "the appointed and lawful times" those now "who are ever in Christ," are urged to continual prayer, not in obedience to any external rule, but in order to "imitate that which we are destined to be". The "rule" is now written upon our hearts. We pray, so as to "remember and hold fast what we have begun to be by grace given".(67)

For since it is this ultimate calling in the Kingdom "to pray and give thanks to God for ever, the Christian should not cease here also to offer prayers and thanksgivings". (68)

C H A P T E R F O U R

The Conception of Prayer in Clement of Alexandria

Turning from the treatises of Tertullian and Cyprian to the writings of Clement and Origen, means entering into a different world. Clement was a contemporary of Tertullian, but whilst the African resounded throughout Carthage with his rhetorical question, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" (1), Clement, further along the coast in Alexandria, was attempting to make Greek philosophy serve Christian theology.(2)

In his own words, Clement tells of how he travelled widely, receiving instruction from various Christian teachers,(3) until he eventually arrived at Alexandria where he settled, becoming head of its Christian school in about 200 A.D. (4) There were here many 'simple Christians' (simpliciores) who agreed with Tertullian, and who felt that philosophy was the avenue to heresy, and so Clement did not have an easy task. Nevertheless, his work was rendered a pastoral necessity for him, living as he did among the cultured and educated hellenistic classes of Alexandria. There is a section in the Stromateis where Clement offers reassurance to his Christian readers, lest they should be worried to find him presenting his arguments in words other than those from the Scriptures. His purpose, he states, is not to repeat the Scriptures word for word, but to convey the meaning they contain. (5)

Unlike the other three authors under consideration here, Clement did not write a treatise on prayer. Of those works of Clement which are still extant, three form his great Trilogy. The Exhortation, Προτρεπτικός, is an apologetic work addressed to the Greeks, aimed at trying to convince them to accept the only true

religion, that of Christ. In The Tutor, Παιδαγωγός, Clement addresses himself to those who have responded to the initial exhortation, and who now need further practical guidance. The Stromateis (Στρωματεῖς, Miscellanies) are a series of ideas, not always connected, concerned mainly with the relation of the Christian religion to secular learning, especially Greek Philosophy. In book two of the Stromateis, Clement gives an outline of his doctrine, stressing first of all faith as the necessary basis of all knowledge, (6) and then the virtues which find their perfection in charity and what Clement calls the "true gnosis"; (ἡ ἀληθῆς γνῶσις) (7) This second book also includes a brief account of the "true gnostic", Clement's perfect Christian. (8) A fuller description of the true gnostic, and of his religious life, including the practice of prayer, is reserved for book seven of the Stromateis. This study, therefore, will be concerned mainly with a close examination of the Stromateis, with particular reference to book seven, where Clement's teaching on prayer is to be found. Before looking at this teaching, it will be helpful to set the scene by briefly relating the main lines of Clement's thought.

Clement believes that philosophy was of divine origin, (9) and he attributes to it the role of paedagogue to the Greeks, (10) a role which Paul had given to the Law of Moses in connection with the Hebrews. "Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation, preparing the way for him who is perfect in Christ." (11) Yet in the Christian context faith is always primary for Clement: knowledge builds on faith. (12) "If you will not believe, surely you will not understand." (Isaiah 7:9, LXX). This quotation from Isaiah provides Clement with the basis of his epistemology. (13) Philosophy assumes a secondary role, subservient to faith. (14)

With this epistemology clearly established, Clement moves

on to a refutation of gnosticism, (the heresy prevalent at that time) and its false religious and moral principles, contrasting it with the true gnosis and its relation to faith and morality. The notes which characterise the true gnostic are contemplation, the fulfilling of the precepts, and, finally, the instruction of good men. (15) Clement says that without any one of these, true knowledge will limp. If there is any intellectualism in Clement, it certainly seems to be very closely related to right conduct and the practical Christian duties. (16) Mayor makes the following judgement of Clement:

"So far from his pressing the claims of doctrine apart from practice, I think it may be safely asserted that he never lays stress on doctrine except with a practical aim in view. His ideal Christian is characterised as much by prayer and love as by knowledge and thought. To know what is right, to do what is right, and to help others to do the same are the ἀποτελέσματα of the gnostic... the fact that they are joined together by him (i.e. by Clement) as components of the Christian ideal is sufficient to show how little he is liable to the charge of turning Christianity into an abstract system of doctrine."(17)

Prayer and love are just as important for Clement's ideal Christian as are knowledge and thought: this is a claim which will be substantiated by reference to Clement's own words.

Clement states as his purpose in book seven, "to prove that the Gnostic alone is holy and pious, worshipping the true God as befits him". (18) And the reason why the gnostic alone is truly devout, is because it is only the true Christian (the gnostic) who has the knowledge of the true God.(19) This knowledge of the Father of the universe the gnostic has received from the Son, (20) who manifested him "as far as it was possible for the learners to understand". (21) Those, therefore, who truly apprehend God must worship him by paying him service. And this service consists in "constant self-discipline and...unremitting charity."(22) The one who lives such a life, always preserving the fitting attitude towards God, he it is who is dear to God.

"And such would he be who knows what is fitting in both theory (ἐπιστήμην) and life (βίον), as to how one should live who will one day become god (ἔσομένῳ θεῷ) aye, and is even now being made like to God. (ἔξομοῦμένῳ)." (23)

Here is the first hint in book seven of any doctrine of "deification". (24)

The gnostic is above all a lover of God. (25) And as such, he manifests three achievements: first of all, the knowledge of the facts of the Christian religion, secondly, the accomplishment of whatever the Word enjoins, and thirdly, the capacity to impart to others after a godly manner the hidden things of truth. (26) The first proof that one knows God, says Clement, is that one in no way does wrong, since this befits the knowledge of God. (27) Knowledge and right action go together. This is confirmed in the next quotation, where the Christian virtues are seen to follow directly from knowledge. After attempting to describe "the apprehensive vision of God", which is the goal of all knowledge, Clement defines the life-work of the true gnostic as being:

"to hold communion (also translated 'converse') with God, (προσομιλεῖν τῷ θεῷ), through the Great High Priest, being made like the Lord as far as may be, (ἔξομοιούμενον εἰς δύναντα τῷ κυρίῳ), by means of all his service towards God; a service which extends to the salvation of men, by his solicitous goodness to us, and also by public worship and by teaching and active kindness. Aye, and in being thus assimilated to God (ἔξομοιούμενος θεῷ), the gnostic is making and fashioning himself and also forming those who hear him, while, so far as may be, he assimilates to that which is by nature free from passion that which has been subdued by training to a passionless state (ὑπὸ θεῶν): and this he effects by undisturbed intercourse and communion with the Lord (alternatively, 'converse and fellowship') (προσομιλῶν τε καὶ συνῶν τῷ κυρίῳ). Of this gnostic assimilation the canons, as it appears to me, are gentleness, kindness and a noble devoutness. These virtues I affirm to be an acceptable sacrifice with God..."(28)

Such a life of virtue demands a training (ἄσκησις) in order

to be free from passion. For the purpose of our being made is to be obedient to the commandments. (29)

Clement goes on to condemn the atheism of the heathens who liken God to men, and who think to contain him in their temples and placate him by their sacrifices. (30) The true temple of God is the congregation of the saints, and his true image is to be found in the righteous soul, where he is continually enshrined. (31) Using the Greek poets themselves, Clement points out the absurdity of offering carnal sacrifices to God, who is neither circumscribed by place nor subject to passions, such as hunger. (32) What kind of sacrifice then does find acceptance in God's sight? The answer is very clearly given:

"But if the Deity, being by nature exempt from need, rejoices to be honoured, we have good reason for honouring God by prayer ($\delta\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$), and for sending up most rightly this sacrifice, the best and holiest of sacrifices when joined with righteousness, venerating him through whom we receive our knowledge and through him glorifying him (i.e. the Father) whom we have learnt to know." (33)

The only sacrifice God demands is the prayers and praise of his people. Prayer combined with right conduct is the best and holiest sacrifice. The sacrifices of the Mosaic Law figuratively express or symbolise Christian piety. (34) Now, the altar is the truly righteous soul, and the incense which arises from it is the prayer of holiness.

Clement has now brought his reader to the heart of his teaching on prayer. Before proceeding to a closer examination of his teaching and of the vocabulary he employs, it should be said that Clement's teaching about prayer does not imply a systematically outlined framework. Neither does he provide a fully worked-out treatment of what might be called a 'doctrine' of prayer, (as perhaps might be said of Origen in his $\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$); rather he offers a very unsystematic presentation of the prayer of the gnostic (35).

Accordingly, this study will endeavour to reflect his loosely organised treatment by trying not to confine Clement's thought within a framework alien to him. Although it will be necessary, for the sake of clarity, to categorise the material to some extent, it is hoped that this will not hide the discursive and unsystematic approach which characterises the author's treatment of prayer.

A survey of the material suggests the following plan, for analysing Clement's thought. (The subdivisions found in Stählin's Register of Clement, GCS, vol.39, under εὐχῆ have been partially employed).

- (i) Essence of prayer:
 - (a) the terminology;
 - (b) general conception;
 - (c) the Lord's Prayer.
 - (ii) Types of prayer and their content:
 - (a) prayer for oneself;
 - (b) prayer for others;
 - (c) prayer of the wicked.
 - (iii) Time and Place of prayer.
 - (iv) Preparation for prayer - 'apatheia' and the life of virtue;
 - (v) Benefits of prayer (its effects or results) -
union with God, or 'deification'.
- (i) (a) The terminology

When Clement comes nearest to what may be called a definition of prayer, the Greek word he uses is $\delta\mu\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$, which, is variously translated as converse or communion:

"Prayer, then, to speak somewhat boldly, is converse with God..."

"But if prayer is thus an occasion of converse with God..."

"For all his life is prayer and communion with God..."(36)

This *δμιλία*, which is prayer, enables the gnostic to be united with God:

"... the gnostic at all events prays all his life through, striving to be united with God in prayer." (37)

Repeatedly, Clement emphasises that prayer is this continual fellowship or intercourse with God, by which man realises the end of his existence. This is clearly demonstrated in the following passage from The Exhortation:

"For man has been... constituted by nature, so as to have fellowship with God (*οἰκειῶς ἔχειν πρὸς θεόν*)... We invite him - born as he is for the contemplation of heaven, and being, as he is, a truly heavenly plant - to the knowledge of God, counselling him to furnish himself with what is his sufficient provision for eternity, namely piety. Practise husbandry, we say, if you are a husbandman; but while you till your fields, know God. Sail the sea, you who are devoted to navigation; yet call the whilst on the heavenly Pilot." (38)

Apart from *δμιλία*, Clement employs the terms *εὐχή* and *προσευχή*, together with their cognates such as *εὐχόμεναι*, *προσεύχομαι*, etc. (c.f. Stahlin's Register, G.C.S. Vol.39), but the former term seems to be preeminent. So then, Clement's terminology of prayer points to the fact that he regards prayer primarily as converse or communion between man and God. This understanding is further confirmed when Clement's general conception of prayer is examined.

(i) (b) The General conception of prayer

Concerning the general conception of prayer, Clement says that it is determined by our conceptions of God.

"Where then there is an unworthy conception of God, passing into base and unseemly thoughts and significations, it is impossible to preserve any sort of devoutness either in hymns or discourses or even in writings or doctrines." (39)

And he continues, "Prayer is most fitting for those who have a right knowledge of the Divinity and that excellence

of character which is agreeable to him." (40) What is the nature of this knowledge, or γνῶσις? Clement describes the spiritual perfection of the true gnostic as a ladder of ascent, from heathenism to faith, (πίστις) from faith to knowledge (γνῶσις), and it is this knowledge which, "as it passes on into love (ἀγάπη) begins at once to establish a mutual friendship between that which knows and that which is known. And perhaps he who has arrived at this stage has already achieved equality with the angels. At any rate, after he has reached the final ascent in the flesh, he still continues to advance... into the Father's house..." (41) The knowledge concerning which Clement writes is nothing less than the knowledge of God, which "is the most important of all things and teaches us to discern the things which can help to the permanence of virtue....And he who knows God is holy and pious." (42) Here knowledge leads to virtue. But this is no static knowledge leading to a formalistic morality. Rather it is a knowledge which is dynamic, conceived of as man's movement of ascent to God which is to continue after death.

A number of questions emerge here. What sort of prayer will the true gnostic employ, when he has received this knowledge? And how is his prayer heard by God? Two quotations, both from chapter seven of Stromateis Book Seven, will be used as windows onto Clement's teaching about prayer.

"Further, we are bidden to worship and honour the Son and Word, being persuaded that he is both Saviour and Ruler, and to honour the Father through him, doing this not on special days, as some others do, but continuously all our life through, and in all possible ways;... Wherefore it is neither in a definite place or special shrine, nor yet on certain feasts and days set apart, that the gnostic honours God, returning thanks to him for knowledge bestowed and the gift of heavenly citizenship; but he will do this all his life in every place, whether he be alone by himself or have with him some who share his belief. And if the presence of some good man always moulds for the better one who converses with him, owing to the respect and reverence

he inspires, with much more reason must he, who is always in the uninterrupted presence of God by means of his knowledge and his life and his thankful spirit, be raised above himself on every occasion, both in regard to his actions and his words and his temper. Such is he who believes that God is everywhere present, and does not suppose him to be shut up in certain definite places, so as to be tempted to incontinence by the imagination, forsooth, that he could ever be apart from God whether by day or night. Accordingly all our life is a festival; being persuaded that God is everywhere present on all sides, we praise him as we till the ground, we sing hymns as we sail the sea, we feel his inspiration in all that we do. And the gnostic enjoys a still closer intimacy with God, being at once serious and cheerful in everything, serious owing to his thoughts being turned towards heaven, and cheerful, as he reckons up the blessings with which God has enriched our human life." (43)

This is Christian prayer in its highest state of perfection, the constant worship and honour of the Son and through him ($\delta\iota' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$) of the Father. The perfect Christian does not pray only in a special place, or at a special time or only in certain ways, but everywhere, in every way and at all times, rising above himself into the actual presence of God. The whole of his life is indeed a festival. Grace and thanksgiving are fundamental to it. ($\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha$ are both used in this paragraph). Clement's principle, already noted, that true prayer will only result from a true conception of God, is at work again here. He is eager to stress that God sees and hears all things, even the secret thoughts of the heart. (44) This idea is repeated later: "Even if we address him in a whisper, without opening our lips, or uttering a sound, still we cry to him in our heart. For this reason God never ceases to listen to the inward converse of the heart." (45)

The second quotation echoes this first encomium on the perfect prayer of the gnostic:

"Wherefore also he who holds intercourse with God must have his soul undefiled and absolutely pure, having raised himself to a state of perfect goodness, if possible,

but at any rate both making progress towards knowledge and longing for it, and being entirely withdrawn from the works of wickedness. Moreover it is fitting that he should offer all his prayers in a good spirit and in concert with good men, for it is a dangerous thing to countenance the errors of others. The gnostic will therefore share the prayers of ordinary believers in those cases in which it is right for him to share their activity also. But all his life is a holy festival. For instance, his sacrifices consist of prayers and praises and the reading of the Scriptures before dining, and psalms and hymns during dinner and before going to bed, and of prayers again during the night. By these things he unites himself with the heavenly choir, being enlisted in it for ever-mindful contemplation, in consequence of his uninterrupted thought of heaven while on earth. Again, is he not acquainted with that other sacrifice which consists in the free gift both of instruction and of money, among those who are in need? Certainly he is. On the other hand he is not wordy in his uttered prayers, (Mt. 6:7) since he has been also taught by the Lord what to ask for. Accordingly he will pray in every place, not however publicly or for all to see; but in every sort of way his prayer ascends, whether he is walking or in company or at rest or reading or engaged in good works; and though it be only a thought in the secret chamber (Mt. 6:6) of the heart, while he calls on the Father in groanings which cannot be uttered, (Rom. 8:26) yet the Father is nigh at hand, even before he has done speaking." (46)

Most of this needs no comment, but it is noteworthy that great emphasis is placed on the moral requirements of one who prays.

Elsewhere, Clement urges us not to miss any opportunity for approach to God and converse with him. (47) Ὁμιλία is the word used once again. But most essential to a right understanding of this prayer, which is defined as converse, is the freedom which underlies it and supports it, as it were, on both sides of the relationship. The divine freedom by which God both creates men and calls them (in Christ) into a relationship with him, and the human freedom by which man is enabled freely to respond to this invitation are both of fundamental importance to Clement. The holiness of the gnostic is the result of freedom on the side of God and of man. The doctrine of Creation underlies Clement's doctrine of prayer. (48) Human freedom and divine gift co-operate. (49)

Freedom characterises the relationship: God, out of the goodness of Divine Providence (*πρόνοια*), freely creates man, who can choose in freedom to hasten towards salvation. (50)

(i) (c) The Lord's Prayer

It seems best to mention here Clement's references to the Lord's Prayer. Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen all include an exegesis on the "Our Father" in their treatises on prayer, and it clearly assumes for them a role of central importance in their doctrine of prayer. For Clement, the Lord's Prayer remains in the background. There are certain passages in Clement which contain phrases from the prayer and which confirm this view. For example, in Paedagogus : « δὲ κυριός φησιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ . Πατερ ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς »; in Stromateis : "And the earthly church is the image of the heavenly, as we pray also that the will of God may be done upon earth as it is in heaven"; in Adumbrationes : "For so you have in the Lord's Prayer: 'Hallowed by thy name'" (51) Finally, book seven of The Stromateis, which describes the nature of gnostic prayer, includes two further references to the Lord's Prayer, the first of which is a direct quotation:

"He (the perfect Christian) never remembers those who have sinned against him, but forgives them; wherefore also he has a right to pray: 'Forgive us, for we forgive.'"

"Prayer for the avoidance of evil is also a kind of prayer." (52) This may suggest that Clement has in mind the clause, "but deliver us from evil". These references imply that the Lord's Prayer has a basic and normative place in Clement's doctrine of gnostic prayer. The lack of an explicit commentary on this prayer, which plays such a central role in the treatises on prayer by the three other authors, should most probably be explained by Clement's deliberate reserve when discussing "the holy tradition", which has been well expounded

by E.L. Fortin. (53) Fortin has written that:

"The very sublimity of the mysteries involved precludes their being revealed clearly in writing and made available to all indiscriminately." (54)

It may be that the Disciplina Arcani, according to which the symbols of the faith - the Creed and the Lord's Prayer - were not openly revealed, has influenced Clement in this regard.

(ii) Types of prayer and their content.

Clement is preoccupied with the Gnostic (Perfect) prayer. He regards *ὁμιλία* (converse or communion) as the basic notion for understanding the nature of this prayer. This converse includes both petition and thanksgiving. Gnostic prayer seems to fall quite naturally into two categories: prayer for oneself and prayer for others. The Gnostic's care is first for himself and then for his neighbours." (55)

(ii) (a) Prayer for oneself.

In a section in which Clement gives his most clear definition of prayer, he also states briefly that such prayer should be "that we may receive from him alone (God)... the bestowal... of good things." (56) And in particular, "prayer for the avoidance of evil is also a kind of prayer." (57) This is immediately followed by a warning that prayer must never be for the injury of other men. In the previous section, Clement has said that, in the gnostic, desire takes the form of prayer, and that the desire of one who knows the truth about God, will always be for the things that are really good.

"Now the objects of the appetites and desires and of impulses generally are also the objects of our prayers... We pray therefore for the same things that we request, and we request the same things that we desire... Accordingly, the gnostic makes his prayer and request for the things that are really good, i.e. those pertaining to the soul, and he prays and joins his own efforts as well, that he may no longer have his good things attached to him like ornaments, but may be himself good." (58)

The really good things are defined as "those pertaining to the soul", and these, says Clement, must be the subject matter of our prayer of petition. This heralds Origen, who later makes this the basic principle of his treatise on prayer, quoting a saying which he claims is of Scriptural origin: "Ask for the great things, and the little things shall be added to you; ask for the heavenly things, and the earthly things shall be added unto you."(59) The gnostic, it is also to be noted, must "join his own efforts" to his prayer. This inter-relation between prayer and life will be looked at more closely a little later.

It follows then, that in Clement's mind the gnostic will always obtain his petitions, since, having a right knowledge of the Divinity and knowing, therefore, the things that are really good, he will make these good things the object of his petitions. (60) There will even be times when good things will be granted to him without his making any petition, because God knows who is worthy to receive such good.

"When he who is at once right-minded and thankful makes his request in prayer, he in a way contributes to the granting of his petition, receiving with joy the desired object through the instrumentality of his prayers. For when the Giver of all good meets with readiness on our part, all good things follow at once on the mere conception in the mind. Certainly prayer is a test of the attitude of the character towards what is fitting."(61)

This last sentence illustrates the subjective aspect of prayer. Prayer forms a person's attitude towards what is fitting. What Clement seems to be saying is that God will grant favours unasked to him whose attitude is right.

However, Clement hastens to add that this does not render petition superfluous. God is only too willing to give good things to those who ask him. But they must ask him. The prayer of the gnostic is "the claiming of a promise from the Lord". (62) Not only does he say that prayer is not superfluous, but even that

"the gnostic has risen to such a pitch of holiness that he is ready rather to pray and fail than to succeed without prayer." (63) Nothing is to be done without prayer. His request will always be for "a continuance of the things he possesses, and fitness for what is about to happen, and indifference as to what shall be denied; but as for the things that are really good, i.e., those pertaining to the soul, his prayer is that they may both be granted to him and may continue." (64) When the gnostic reaches the summit of perfection, he will pray "that the power of contemplation (*θεωρία*) may grow and abide with him... and ... that he may never fall away from virtue..." (65) Once again, contemplation and virtue - theory and practice - are linked.

In addition to requests for his own good, it is the duty of the gnostic to offer thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*). (66) If his disposition is such that "he is well pleased with all that happens" (67), it is only right that an attitude of thankfulness should mark his prayer. "And the form of his prayer is thanksgiving for what is past and what is present and what is future, as being already present through his faith." (68) As far as prayer with regard to himself is concerned, therefore, the gnostic prays, first of all, by making request for that which is really good, and secondly, he always prays in a spirit of thanksgiving.

(ii) (b) Prayer for others.

Gnostic prayer is to be not only for ^{the} Gnostic, but also for others.

"He will pray that as many as possible may become like him, to the glory of God, which is perfected through knowledge. For he who is made like the Saviour is also devoted to saving... And this is to worship God by deeds and knowledge of the true righteousness." (69)

He is to pray "for us, that we may be comforted about our sins and may be converted to knowledge." (70) Moreover,

"when he has once formed the habit of doing good, the gnostic loses no time in benefitting others also, praying that he may be reckoned as sharing in the sins of his brethren with a view to the repentance and conversion of his kinsfolk..." (71)

He prays also for the repentance of those who hate him. (72)

And what is true of his prayer must also be true of his life.

Love, which Clement has often spoken of in connection with contemplation as the highest achievement of the gnostic, (and often in terms which might have seemed to imply a barren, speculative intellectualism), is far from being an abstract ideal. Love, for Clement, leads a man to lay down his life for his friend.

"Through the perfection of his love, he impoverishes himself that he may never overlook a brother in affliction, especially if he knows that he could himself bear want better than his brother. At any rate, he esteems the other's grief as his own pain." (73)

These last two quotations indicate that, in the thought of Clement, the prayer and the life of the true Christian must, in the perfection of each, become saving for others. It is through prayer that a man may act in a saving capacity towards his fellow men, thereby participating in Christ's own work of salvation. Prayer must also be offered for those of his fellow-men who may be in some kind of need.

"And in the case of his brethren who are in need the gnostic will not ask a superfluity of wealth for himself to distribute, but will pray that there may be to them a supply of what they need. For so he not only gives his prayer to the needy, but he provides that which comes through prayer in a secret and unostentatious manner." (74)

And if anyone has sinned against him, the gnostic never remembers, but always forgives. For in this way, he has a right to pray for forgiveness for himself: 'Forgive us, for we forgive'. (Mt.6:12) (75)

In summary, therefore, it may be said that the prayer of the gnostic contains both petition and thanksgiving. Prayer of petition is necessary not superfluous, and consists mainly of requests for those things that are really good, i.e. spiritual goods.

Thanksgiving must be continual. And petition for others, (which Origen later calls intercession, εἵρεσις (76)), takes on a saving character, that of praying for their repentance, together with a willingness to seek the forgiveness of their sins and share in their grief.

(ii) (c) Prayer of the wicked.

Finally, in this section, there is the effect of the prayer of a person who is not virtuous. "In the case of the wicked," says Clement, prayer is most hurtful, not only to others, but even to themselves." (77) As has been shown, the success of the gnostic when he prays is because he knows the right things to request. Therefore he who is ignorant of the will of God and of the virtuous life will fail in his petitions.

"It is clear, then, that those who do not perform good actions, do not know what is for their own advantage. And if so, neither are they capable of praying aright, so as to receive from God good things; nor, should they receive them, will they be sensible of the boon..." (78)

The rare times when the wicked do receive their request poses a problem to Clement, which he answers in two ways. His first answer is that the wicked receive no real benefit when their prayers are answered.

"If in answer to prayer they were to receive what they call pieces of good fortune, they are injured by receiving them, because they know not how to use them. For...they ask for apparent, not real good." (79)

Secondly, he suggests that the reason why the wicked have their prayers answered is in order that through their instrumentality another might be saved. (80)

(iii) Time and Place of Prayer

The time and place of prayer call for a short comment from Clement. The gnostic, he says, does not need a special, holy place in order to pray. (81) In fact, it is precisely prayer which makes a time or place sacred. "Every place then and every time at which we entertain the thought of God is truly

hallowed." (82) In this same section, however, Clement does make mention of the ancient practice of turning in prayer towards the East, as being symbolic of dawn and of the day of birth. As for the time for prayer, "The whole life of the gnostic is prayer and communion with God." (83) From this and other supporting quotations (84) it is clear that the whole life of the Christian should become a time of prayer. Clement does mention the three fixed hours of prayer, the third, the sixth and the ninth, but he goes on to add that the perfect Christian does not confine himself to these, "but prays all his life through". (85) This constant prayer, coextensive with one's life does not need the aid of words, but constitutes a condition of the mind: a perpetual memory of God:

"prayer then may be uttered without the voice, by concentrating the whole spiritual nature within on expression by the mind, in undistracted turning towards God." (86)

Here we find the first clear expression of 'mental prayer' which became the backbone of Egyptian monasticism and Eastern Orthodox spirituality.

There remains for consideration what Clement has to say about that which precedes prayer and that which follows it, that is to say, the conditions for prayer, or the preparation needed, on the one hand, and the effects of prayer, or the benefits derived from it.

(iv) Preparation for prayer.

Purification is the fundamental condition of prayer.

It is a purification of the heart in life.

"We ought to go washed to sacrifices and prayers... Now purity is to think holy thoughts... For sanctity is perfect pureness of mind and deeds, and thoughts, and words too, and in its last degree sinlessness in dreams." (87)

Here, and in the next quotation, it is very clear that only by the purity of a man's life is he made ready for prayer. "... his action and his thoughts are holy, so that he is always purified

for prayer." (88) Earlier in book seven, when he was contrasting the false notion of sacrifice with the true one, Clement gave an allegorical interpretation of that composite incense of the O.T. (Ex. 30:25), in terms of the many people and nations brought together by prayer into the unity of faith. This 'incense' is "brought together in our songs of praise by purity of heart and righteous and upright living grounded in holy actions and righteous prayer." (89) Purity of life is the only preparation for prayer. This does not come as a surprise, since Clement has already indicated the essential nature of this relationship between prayer and life, in saying that prayer combined with right conduct is the best and holiest of sacrifices to God. (90)

(v) Benefits of prayer.

The benefits of prayer for the gnostic are spoken of in sections 44 and 45 as being two-fold: a command over his passions, so that he does not even desire anything which he has not, and union with the Spirit through the love that knows no bounds. (91) Another benefit, which we have already touched upon, is that the gnostic always has his prayer heard and answered.

"The whole of our Scripture is full of instances of God, in reference to the prayers of the just, hearing and performing each one of their petitions." (92)

The gnostic is given a "confidence" in prayer. (93) The Lord does not wait for the voice of the righteous man in prayer, but says to him, 'Ask, and I will give; think and I will do it.' (94)

Clement calls the first benefit of prayer, ἀπαθεία, variously translated as a command over passions, a freedom from passions, passionlessness, or impassibility. This is one of the keystones in understanding the piety of the true gnostic. Clement seems to speak of ἀπαθεία as the means of advancing in the spiritual or virtuous life. (95) 'Apatheia' is that condition

of being free from the disturbance and division caused by conflicting passions. Since such a condition is characteristic of God himself, it follows that, for Clement, the life of virtue is a life of sharing in God's life, so much so, that *apatheia* is seen as a means of becoming deified. (96) And as was noted in the preceding paragraph, 'deification', or as Clement calls it 'union with the Spirit', is the supreme benefit of prayer.

A greater clarity in the relation of these ideas is becoming evident. The preparation for prayer is to be in life, the life of virtue. When prayer and the life of virtue coincide in the same person, they constitute the best or holiest sacrifice or offering to God. And the benefit of such prayer will be advance in the life of virtue, particularly the virtue of *ἐπιθεσία*, which advance will lead eventually to union with God, or deification.

Nevertheless, as well as this 'negative' characteristic of virtue, understood as a divesting process, virtue also manifests positive attributes. That Clement does not in fact intend there to be any real distinction between these two in life can be seen from the following quotation, where he relates freedom from the life of passion with virtue.

"This is the truly good man, who stands outside the passions, having risen above the whole life of passion by the habit or disposition of the virtuous soul." (97)

These virtues are given by Clement as meekness, gentleness, affability, forbearance, consideration, approachability, conscientiousness and a freedom of speech, which Clement defines as the power of straightforward utterance. (98) The ladder of ascent, from faith to knowledge, to love and contemplation, is an ascent which leads to a kind of Christian mysticism, which results in the life of virtue, a sort of second nature. (99) For Clement, contemplation and the ascetical life require each other, as can

be seen from the following:

"... and persisting in uninterrupted contemplation, (θεωρία), while he exercises himself (δοκίμασει) in the discipline which teaches the curbing of pleasures and the right direction of action." (100)

He makes the same point again:

"The chief end (of the gnostic) is in each case knowledge and action in accordance with knowledge." (101)

The ultimate good for those who co-operate with God in knowledge and right action is eternal salvation (102) and the eventual vision of God. (103) The following text sums up Clement's conceptions concerning the perfect life and prayer of the true gnostic:

"Wherefore also he who holds intercourse with God must have his soul undefiled and absolutely pure, having raised himself to a state of perfect goodness if possible, (104) but at any rate both making progress towards knowledge and longing for it, and being entirely withdrawn from the works of wickedness... But all his life is a holy festival. For instance, his sacrifices consist of prayers and praises and the reading of the Scriptures before dining, and psalms and hymns during dinner and before going to bed, and of prayers again during the night. By these things he unites himself with the heavenly choir, being enlisted in it for ever-mindful contemplation, in consequence of his uninterrupted thought of heaven while on earth..." (105)

Here Clement paints the picture of true gnostic worship. He who truly prays must be undefiled by sin. His sacrifices are prayers and praises and study of the Scriptures, and the free gift of money and instruction to others. His prayer is not wordy, but continues incessantly whatever his activity. The intimate unity there is to be between prayer and life is very clear from this and other passages. (106)

As already noted above, the second main benefit to the gnostic of his prayer is "union with the Spirit". Clement, at times speaks of this state as 'deification' and before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to examine what he means by this term.

The progress from faith (πίστις) through knowledge (γνώσις) eventually to love (ἀγάπη) is Clement's ladder of ascent. It has been seen how he speaks of love and contemplation (θεωρία) together. "Love is born of knowledge" (107), and it is this love which is the climax of Christian perfection:

"God is love, and is known to those who love.... we must be allied to him (Bouyer translates, 'enter into his intimacy'), by divine love, so that by like we may see like (Bouyer, 'so that we can contemplate the like by the like')." (108)

Bouyer points out that:

"Clement is the first author to characterise this state as 'deification', using the word θεοποίησις in a spiritual sense completely without precedent, which was to become current in the Alexandrian tradition." (109)

Butterworth had made a similar point earlier this century:

"The possibility of man being deified, or becoming a god, is asserted by many Christian Fathers from the middle of the second century onwards, but by none more frequently or unreservedly than by Clement of Alexandria." (110)

Clement speaks of "those who are deified" by the divine knowledge of virtue. (111) He also refers to Christ as "deifying man by heavenly teaching." (112) Heraldizing a phrase to be repeated in Alexandrian and Cappadocian theology, Clement says that "the Word of God became man, that thou mayest learn from man how man may become God." (113) In addition to his use of θεοποίησις Clement also employs the category of sharing or participation in order to express this same truth about man's relation with God. The benefits to the gnostic are spoken of in terms of intimacy with the Lord and having a share in the divine will.

"And as he not only admires the commandments of the Lord, but is made, so to speak, a partner of the Divine Will by actual knowledge, he is a true intimate of the Lord and of his commandments.... Wherefore also both in eating and drinking and in marrying, if reason so dictates, and even in his dreams, his actions and his thoughts are holy, so that he is always purified for prayer. He prays

also with angels, as being already equal to angels, and never passes out of the holy keeping; even if he prays alone he has the chorus of saints banded with him." (114)

The gnostic never prays alone, but always as a member of the communion of saints. And it is also clear from these words that it is by his way of life that the true Christian makes himself pure for prayer. (115) Sharing in the divine will also involves a participation in divine power.

"By thus receiving the Lord's power, the soul studies to be God (or divine) (μελετᾷ εἶναι Θεός)... and giving thanks always for all things to God, by righteous hearing and divine reading, by true investigation, by holy oblation, by blessed prayer; lauding, hymning, blessing, praising, such a soul is never at any time separated from God." (116)

A similar passage also begins with the idea of close union with God, and leads to the corollary of a perfect life, which shows the effects of knowledge in the good works which result. Clement's thought has a depth and beauty which is revealed in his own words:

"What shall we say then about the gnostic himself? 'Know ye not,' says the apostle, 'that ye are the temple of God?' (I Cor. 3:16) The gnostic therefore is already holy and divine, carrying God within him and being carried by God... Now the temple is either large like the Church or small like the individual who keeps safe the seed of Abraham. He then who has God enthroned within him will not desire anything else. At any rate, leaving behind all hindrances, and scorning all the distractions of matter, he cleaves the heaven by his wisdom, and having passed through the spiritual entities and every rule and authority, he lays hold of the throne on high, speeding to that alone, which alone he knows. So blending the serpent with the dove he lives perfectly and with a good conscience, faith being mixed with hope as regards that which is to come. For he feels that he has been made worthy to obtain the gift which he received, and that he has been translated from servitude to sonship (Rom. 8:15) in accordance with his understanding, being on the one hand not without a knowledge of God (or rather being known by him), (Gal. 4:9) and on the other hand showing in the end the effects thereof in a manner worthy of the grace received. For works follow knowledge, as the shadow the body." (117)

Christian perfection is conceived as a ladder of ascent. The steps to perfection are from unbelief to faith, from faith to

knowledge, from knowledge to love, and from love to the vision of God, deification and immortality. Prayer, in essence, is that continual intercourse with God, throughout a man's life, by which he realises the end of his existence. Put in a nut-shell Clement believes that the end of all prayer is nothing less than the end of man's very life. This is life in God, restored by the purification, illumination and deification of the human soul. It is a state of mysticism which entails the renewal of the human mind and as a consequence the renewal of the entire human nature including the body.

This mystical perception of Christian prayer has been variously evaluated by the scholars. Pourrat, in his Christian Spirituality, vol. 1, relegates Clement's case to a place in his chapter entitled "Eccentricities of Early Christian Asceticism", side by side with the heresies of Encratism, Montanism, Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. Lilley, on the other hand, writing only two years later in 1924, says:

"The specifically Christian doctrine of prayer first assumes something like systematic consistency in the writings of Clement of Alexandria." (118)

The debate on the evaluation of Clement's mystical prayer still continues. But one thing remains clear, the profundity of Clement's spirituality, which, as in the past so in the present, continues to fascinate and inspire, as for example in the work of Vladimir Lossky. (119)

Origen's treatise "Peri Euches" - an analysis and a
comparison with Clement's conception of prayer

Origen, it seems, has been requested by Ambrosius and Tatiana to write on the subject of prayer. (1) The treatise he has written is the longest of those with which this study is concerned. However, despite its length, it is well-ordered. It begins, after the two introductory sections, with an account of the use and meaning of εὐχὴ and προσευχή in the Scriptures. It turns next to a consideration of the philosophical objections to prayer, in sections V to VII. Sections VIII to XVII relate to the preparation needed for prayer, the various types of prayer, and the proper object of prayer. The bulk of the treatise (sections XVIII to XXX) consists of an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and it then concludes with four chapters of pastoral and practical concern. It is to be noted that Origen, in common with Tertullian and Cyprian, is also of the opinion that the Lord's Prayer is of central importance in any discussion of Christian prayer.

Origen begins his treatise on prayer with the essentials of the Christian viewpoint: on the one hand, the impossibility for man of the knowledge of God, but on the other, the gratuitousness of God's gift and its universality.

"Things which cannot be grasped by rational and mortal kind..." amongst which he classes prayer, "...nevertheless by the will of God become capable of being so grasped by reason of the abundant and immeasurable grace of God poured out from him towards men through Jesus Christ..." (2)

These introductory words are reminiscent of Tertullian's opening remark in his De Oratione: "The ways of God have been made known

to men by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ." (3)

Origen then goes on to state clearly his field of study:

"One of the impossible things, (to which he has just been referring), "is to explain the whole subject of prayer accurately and reverently, both concerning the manner in which we ought to pray and what we ought to say to God in our prayer, and also what occasions are more suitable for prayer than others... it is necessary not only to pray, but also to pray as we ought, and to pray for what we ought." (4)

This mention of the necessity of prayer passes without more comment here, but Origen returns to it in sections five and six. He proceeds by defining his terms:

"Praying for what we ought, consists in the words of our prayer... praying as we ought consists in the disposition of him who prays." (5)

His later discussion of the words and meaning contained in the Lord's Prayer, a preliminary reference to which is made at II, 4, is a more comprehensive treatment of "praying for what we ought". Here, he adduces several quotations from the gospels to indicate what we ought to pray for. As elsewhere, Origen bases his teaching on concrete examples from the Bible rather than on deductions from a theoretical system. (6) In addition to the well-known exhortations, (7) Origen, echoing Clement, first of all quotes what he clearly believes to have been sayings of Jesus: "Ask for the great things, and the small things shall be added unto you", and "Ask for heavenly things and earthly things shall be added unto you". (8) These words, which seem to represent for Origen the governing principle of prayer, frequently recur in the treatise (9), and could well be said to be the main theme of the whole treatise. (10) Origen is anxious to teach that Christian prayer must ask of God only those gifts which are fitting, or, to use his own words, "the spiritual and mysterious gifts". (11)

In determining the 'how' of prayer, or the disposition of the one who prays, Origen once again turns to the Bible for

examples. Adequate preparation in the way one lives is certainly necessary. In his insistence upon the intimate relationship between prayer and life, Origen is very clearly at one with the three previous authors of this study. He stresses the need for good deeds and forgiveness before prayer. Moreover, there is the need to be aware of one's own weakness in prayer and the assistance provided by the Holy Spirit, who will "make intercession for us to God". (12) Of the four authors under consideration, Origen supplies the fullest treatment of the place of the Holy Spirit in prayer, even referring to the action of the Holy Spirit in the prayers of those who lived before Christ. He teaches that the man who comes to prayer in "purity of heart" (13) - by which he means the man who has prepared himself for prayer by good deeds and by forgiving his brother - such a man,

"through his purity of heart... will become a sharer in the prayer of the Word of God, who stands in the midst even of those who know him not, who neglects the prayer of nobody, and who prays to the Father, together with him whose mediator he is. For the High Priest of our offerings and our advocate with the Father is the Son of God, who prays for those who pray, and beseeches with those who beseech." (14)

Such a man is also said to become "more fit to be mingled with the Spirit of the Lord". (15) The phrase "a sharer in the prayer of the Word of God" is pregnant with implication and seminal for later articulation of the doctrine of prayer. Origen himself explicitly states, during his discussion of *ἐπιούσιος*, that "being fed by God the Word... (we) may be transformed into God".(16) Be that as it may, the point here is the divine assistance of the Word of God which is available to the one who prays. He is also accompanied by the angels, and by the saints who have fallen asleep, that is, the Communion of Saints. Origen dwells on this theme of the Communion of angels and saints at some length, and returns to

it again later. (17)

After these words of introduction, Origen presents the reader with a markedly scientific analysis of the two words, εὐχὴ and προσευχή, which he claims are the words used in the Bible to denote prayer. (18) Of εὐχὴ he observes that Scripture employs it as a general word for prayer, but that its more specific meaning is a "vow" in the sense of a solemn promise of something consecrated to God. Προσευχή denotes prayer in the sense of a request of something from God, although Origen advances one Scriptural example of it meaning a vow. It seems that Origen's motive here in giving so much detail is to counter a suggestion put abroad by certain gnostic heretics that prayer was unnecessary and that εὐχὴ did not in fact mean "prayer".(19) Immediately following these semantic considerations, Origen turns his attention to the philosophical question of the necessity of prayer for Christians. (20) He disregards the atheist and the person who rejects Providence, and answers the arguments put by those who state that the very fact of Providence renders prayer futile, since if God foreknows the future, or has preordained it, then prayer is in vain. (21) Origen replies by arguing from human experience for the existence of self-determination or free-will. He asserts that this is not inconsistent with God's foreknowledge or predestination, since that same predestination will take account of man's free-will, and even of such events as whether a man will pray or not and whether his prayers will deserve to be answered. This doctrine that God adapts his graces to his foreknowledge of the use we shall make of them is "hard to distinguish from pure Pelagianism", observes one commentator,(22) but it seems closer to the thought of Origen to argue, as Greer does,(23) that man's freedom is itself the gift of God's Providence

and is therefore only to be understood in relation to it.

Origen next returns to the theme of the disposition of the one who prays. He stresses the need for proper preparation before prayer. In order for prayer to be effective, certain conditions are necessary: the proper method, the proper disposition, the proper belief, and the proper manner of life, prior to prayer, must be followed by the one who would pray.

Origen outlines the main requirements:

Thus, he must not make vain repetitions (Mt.6:7), nor must he ask for small things, nor pray for earthly things, nor come to his prayer with anger or with confused thoughts, and neither is it possible without purity to contrive the leisure which prayer requires, nor can he who prays obtain remission of his sins, unless he from his heart has forgiven his brother who has trespassed, and who asks to receive pardon." (24)

Supremely important in this preparation is the recollection of God. He who prays must be concerned with

"disposing himself to approach God and speak in his presence as to one who watches over him and is present." (25)

Such composure before prayer, says Origen, can itself procure for a man certain subjective benefits over and above whatever objective efficacy of prayer there may be.

"If this happens frequently, those who have given themselves over to prayer with great constancy know by experience how many sins it prevents and how many virtuous actions it brings about." (26)

In addition to being thus recollected, there are also moral demands to be fulfilled. Origen echoes St. Paul and St. Clement of Rome when he says,

"he who prays must lift up holy hands, (I Tim.2:8), by forgiving each of those who have trespassed against him, banishing the feeling of anger from his soul, and bearing wrath to no man." (27)

Repeated stress is also laid on the need to forgive as a preparation for prayer. (28) Furthermore, any secret murmurings or

complaints about God must be totally banished from one's mind.(29)

There is call, he is saying, for complete trust in God's goodness.

In the midst of his consideration of these practical Christian duties, Origen makes passing mention of the kind of Christian mysticism already discussed by Clement of Alexandria.

In IX, 2, he describes the "eyes of the mind" as being:

"lifted up from their preoccupation with earthly things and from their being filled with the impression of material things. And they are so exalted that they peer beyond the created order and arrive at the sheer contemplation of God and at conversing with Him reverently and suitably as He listens. How would things so great fail to profit those eyes that gaze at the glory of the Lord with unveiled face and that are being changed into His likeness from glory to glory? For then they partake of some divine and intelligible radiance... And the soul is lifted up and following the Spirit is separated from the body. Not only does it follow the Spirit, it even comes to be in Him." (30)

There is more than a hint here of a mystical element, and echoes of this can be found in Origen's "De Principiis", Book IV, 3, 14. (31)

Without further digression, Origen returns to the simple piety of the average Christian, whom he never forgets for very long. He stresses again the "purity of heart" necessary before coming to prayer. The man who prepares himself for prayer according to Origen's instructions can hope to achieve this purity, and will be rewarded greatly, not only by God's assurance, "Here I am", (32) but also by being made "a sharer in the prayer of the Word of God".

Origen next addresses himself to the question which each of the three previous authors has touched upon (33): how Paul's injunction "to pray without ceasing" is to be understood? He first of all claims for prayer the power to attack and destroy evil spirits "that are hostile to God" (34), and then proceeds to reaffirm Paul's instructions to Timothy, in these words:

"The man who links together his prayer with deeds of duty and fits seemingly actions with his prayer is the man who prays without ceasing, for his virtuous deeds or the commandments he has fulfilled are taken up as a part of his prayer. For only in this way can we take the saying "Pray without ceasing" as being possible, if we can say that the whole life of the saint is one mighty integrated prayer. Of such prayer, part is what is usually called "prayer", and ought not to be performed less than three times a day." (35)

Nothing could be more clear than this statement. Origen lays very great emphasis upon the relationship between prayer and life, between word and act. This doctrine is reaffirmed in Peri Euches XXII, 3, where Origen teaches that one may say 'Our Father' or 'Jesus is Lord' only if one's life is in harmony with one's acclamation. Origen outlines the particular times of "prayer" as being at midday, in the evening and during the night.(36) Origen first of all adduces Jesus' own example of frequent prayer, at all times of the day or night (37), and then quotes the example of other eminent men and women of prayer from the Old Testament.(38) Finally, he teaches, as Clement had done, that one essential feature of prayer is to be gratitude. (39)

At this point, Origen returns to one of his opening themes: the benefits for which we ought to pray. He exhorts "those who desire the spiritual life which is in Christ" to pray not for "small and earthly things", but for the "mysteries" (μυστήρια), or what he calls the "spiritual and mysterious gifts which are set before us". (40) The context here is Origen's own exegesis of Scripture. He analysed Scripture into different senses, distinguishing, in the main, the literal and the spiritual senses.(41) Taking his Scriptural hermeneutic as guide, Origen teaches that our prayer should focus on the inner, spiritual gifts which are described in Scripture, rather than on any literal benefits to which Scripture may seem to refer; prayer, that is, must be concerned with the eternal realities. As an example of

a "small and earthly" thing, he quotes the rain for which Samuel and Elijah prayed, (42) whereas he who receives "the rain of the soul" is receiving "true and spiritual realities", or "heavenly and great things".(43) Origen is also quick to counter the argument of anyone who would suggest that Scripture, by giving an account of spiritual gifts granted in answer to prayer, seems to be encouraging prayer for such gifts. The illustration he uses is arresting. In just the same way that one is unable to separate a shadow from its body, he says, so neither does God choose to withhold the insubstantial, or shadowy gifts, when he is granting the "great and heavenly spiritual gifts".(44) God's wisdom alone will determine what are man's bodily needs, and he will grant them.

"For all material and bodily things, whatsoever they may be, have within them the principle of the fleeting and feeble shadow and can in no wise be compared with the saving and holy gifts of the God of all. For what comparison is there between bodily riches and the riches which consist in all utterance and in all knowledge?"

"We must pray then, pray for those things which are chiefly and truly great and heavenly. And what is concerned with the shadows which accompany the antecedent gift of God we must leave to God..."(45)

There is great similarity here with Clement of Alexandria's thoughts on this subject. (46)

Next, Origen briefly analyses what seem to him to be four different kinds of prayer mentioned by St. Paul in I Tim.2:1. With Paul, he distinguishes supplication (δέησις), prayer (προσευχή), intercession (έντευξις), and thanks-giving (εὐχαριστία), and he gives examples of each from Scripture. His distinction between supplication and prayer seems to be rather forced:

"'supplication' is the prayer of a man who lacks something, sent up with entreaty for the obtaining of it; 'prayer' is that sent up with greater magnanimity (i.e. less selfishly) by a man for greater gifts and accompanied by words of praise." (47)

By 'intercession', Origen intends a request to God for certain things, by someone who possesses more than usual confidence, and he argues that the Holy Spirit is properly the one who intercedes for men to God. (48) Taking an overall view of this chapter, one is forced to agree with Jay, when he says:

"Origen is not at his best in this chapter, in which he is seeking to impose on the four words descriptive of prayer in I Tim. 2:1 a sharp distinction which they were not intended to convey." (49)

The next question - to whom must prayer be addressed? - is treated extensively, both in this treatise and elsewhere in Origen's writings, (50) and it is a subject which has been the cause of much debate and criticism of Origen. In the present work, Origen begins by stating that because supplication, intercession and thanksgiving can justifiably be addressed to men, it follows that there is every reason why they should be addressed to Christ. (51) Prayer, properly so called, however, is to be addressed not even to Christ himself, but "to the God and Father of all alone, to whom even our Saviour himself prayed... and to whom he teaches us to pray." (52) Prayer in this sense must be made to God the Father, through Christ Jesus and always in his name, by which means it is assured of a speedy hearing. Space does not allow a full treatment of this question here, but certain facts may be stated. First of all, Origen must be seen as a man of his times: he lived before the Trinitarian controversies and consiliar decisions of the fourth century. One cannot therefore demand of him a fully articulated Trinitarian theology, into which his doctrine of prayer can be made to fit. Secondly, Origen argues here, as always, from the biblical texts. (53) If any subordinationism exists in his thought, it arises from his passionate zeal to discover the inner meaning of the Scriptures.

Moreover, if it is suggested that there is some inconsistency of doctrine in these sections, (54) then reference to three texts towards the end of the treatise may help to resolve this. In chapter XXXIII, Origen first of all distinguishes, and gives examples of, four different "sections" of prayer. (55) This four-fold division recalls that of XIV, 2, but on this occasion, it is based not upon one Scriptural text, but on many examples "found scattered in the Scriptures". (56) He advises that Christian prayer must include praise, thanks-giving, confession and petition. The three relevant texts are these:

"...at the beginning of our prayer we must address praises to God through Christ, who is praised together with him in the Holy Spirit..."

"... our prayer ought to end in praise to God through Christ in the Holy Spirit."

"... hymning and glorifying the Father of all, through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever." (57)

These texts would seem to leave little room for doubt concerning Origen's orthodoxy, in respect of the actual practice of prayer, even if the theological justification for it in chapters XIV and XV is not so precise. It is also important to note that Origen expresses a plea for unity on this matter: "Let us all say the same thing and not be divided in our method of prayer." (58) This first main section, dealing with the subject of prayer in general, concludes with a restatement of Origen's main theme:

"We must pray then, pray for those things which are chiefly and truly great and heavenly." (59)

The second part of the treatise, comprising more than half of what is written, is given over to a consideration of "the prayer outlined by the Lord and the power which fills it".(60)

Origen begins by giving the two versions of the Lord's Prayer which are found in the Scriptures, the Matthean and the

Lukan, (61) and he discusses how the two versions may have come to be recorded. He then expounds the Matthean words of introduction to the Lord's Prayer, which indicate the need for humility and quietness in the one who comes to prayer. (62) Prayer "on the street corners" is to be avoided, which Origen interprets to mean "in the midst of the world's pleasures and distractions".(63) The Christian is enjoined to pray not in the synagogues but in the churches. (64) Moreover, prayer must take place in the "secret chamber", which is entered into by the person who shuts "every door of the senses", and gives himself single-mindedly to prayer. To such a person it is promised that God the Father will be present: "For I and the Father will come unto him, and make our abode with him." (65) Vain repetition must not enter into prayer. Taking up his main theme once again, Origen explains that this vanity consists not only in a proliferation of words and phrases, but also in the request for "inferior things". Clear echoes of Clement's doctrine of gnostic prayer can be heard here:

"But if any man knows not God, he also knows not the things of God, and knows not what things he needs, for the things he thinks he needs are the wrong things. But he who has contemplated the greater and more divine gifts of which he is in need, will obtain what he has contemplated, for they are known by God..."(66)

Our Father, which art in heaven. (XXII, 1 - XXIII, 5)

After a very careful search through the Old Testament, Origen announces that nowhere is there to be found a prayer of anyone who addresses God as Father.(67) God is certainly spoken of as Father on a number of occasions in the Old Testament, he says, but the novelty of the New Testament witness is that "boldness of speech (*παρρησία*) (mentioned by the Saviour) in calling God 'Father'." (68) Origen has already referred to the importance of ensuring a harmony between prayer and life, and he

reinforces this teaching in the present section:

"... we shall hesitate to offer this address to Him if we have not become genuine sons, lest we should somehow be guilty of the charge of impiety..."

"... since the only ones who say 'Jesus is Lord' in its true sense are those who serve the word of God and make public proclamation in whatever they do that they have no other Lord."

"...so, too, 'everyone who is born of God' and does not sin because he partakes of God's seed, which turns him away from all sin, through his deeds says 'Our Father in heaven'". (69)

Hence, man's sonship consists in the moral purity of a good conscience, and the opening words of the prayer are meant to exhort us to a virtuous life. The men who live in this way, that is the saints, will become "an image of an image, (the image being the Son)," and will "become conformed to him who is in a glorious body, being transformed by the renewing of the mind". Such are they "who in all things say, 'Our Father, which are in heaven'". (70) Clearly echoing the sentiments of chapter XII,2, Origen reasserts the nature of continuous prayer, which is to be achieved by living one's whole life in such a spirit of true sonship:

"Let us not, then, consider that we are taught to say these words at some fixed time of prayer. On the contrary,... let our whole life as we pray without ceasing say 'Our Father, which art in heaven, having its citizenship in no wise upon the earth but in every way in the heavens, which are God's thrones, inasmuch as the kingdom of God is set up in all those who bear the image of the heavenly and for that reason have become heavenly." (71)

This is indeed a fine passage, (72) and very reminiscent of Clement's teaching on the continuous prayer of the gnostic. Clement calls such prayer *δμιλία*, converse or communion, with God (73), but here Origen employs no one word for this. He simply states that the man who would achieve a life of continuous prayer must effect such a harmony between his thoughts, words and

actions that in all these areas of his life he may give evidence of living as a true son of his heavenly Father. There is a great similarity between the thought of these two Alexandrians here.

Origen's doctrine here is different from the thought of Tertullian and Cyprian, and also from the later teaching of John Chrysostom in his Homilies on Matthew. Origen insists that true sonship is the prior condition upon which men are permitted to call God Father, and this sonship is to be understood ethically. Only if they live as true sons, by being morally pure, do they have the right to address God as Father. The other writers reverse the order: it is only by God's prior grace that men are called by the name of sons, and therefore they should behave as God's sons. God's forgiveness is primary, by which Christians are adopted as his sons, and their ethical obligations are consequential upon God's prior gift of the possibility of addressing him as Father. Origen's line of thinking is repeated by Gregory of Nyssa. The two approaches seem to complement each other, and ought not to be opposed.

Origen then dwells for a time on the phrase "in heaven", (74) and he is at pains to explain that such language, numerous other examples of which he gives from the Scriptures, must not be construed in a literal and therefore localising sense. God, he teaches, is not a body, and neither is heaven a place in the commonly accepted sense of the word. "God in heaven" is to be understood "in a mystical sense", (75) as meaning that God is where Christ, the saints and the angels are, and also as indicating the distance between man and God, and the distinction of God's essence from all created things.

Hallowed be thy Name - Thy Kingdom Come (XXIV, 1 - XXV, 3)

"A name is a summary designation, indicative of the proper quality of him who is named." (76)

God's name, the 'He who Is' of Exodus, indicates that God's proper quality, his essence, is beyond our understanding, and can only be conceived in terms of his holiness, which, in turn, can only be observed in God's acts of creation, providence, judgement and election. If there were hints earlier in the treatise of Origen's lack of precision with regard to Trinitarian theology, his teaching here contains a very solid basis for later distinctions between the essential and the economic Trinity. The hallowing or exalting of God's name is accomplished by the man who "attains to the true and lofty knowledge of God's essence", (77) and manages thereby to overcome sin:

"For this is 'to exalt the name of God together', when a man partakes of an effluence of divinity by being lifted up by God, and by having overcome his enemies, who are thus unable to rejoice at his fall, and exalts the very power of God of which he has obtained a share... And a man extols God by dedicating a dwelling-place for him in himself..."(78)

To exalt God's name, then, is to overcome sin and rise to the knowledge of God's essence, or holiness.

There is the same personal and moral interpretation of the next petition. "Thy kingdom come" is the prayer of a man that

"the kingdom of God may spring up in him, bear fruit and be rightly perfected. This is because every saint is ruled by God, and obeys the spiritual laws of God."(79)

This is a prayer that God, and not sin, may rule in the heart, since God's kingdom is precisely the conquest of sin.(80)

Prayer for each of these requests should continue unabated, even if it does sometimes appear to have been heard and granted. Origen's thought here is very profound. It is of the very nature of the knowledge and wisdom of God, he says, and of the virtuous life, that it will always lie ahead and require

further perfection, until the final perfection when God will be all in all. For this reason, prayer for the hallowing of God's name and the coming of his kingdom will always be necessary. He speaks of the Christian life as a "journey towards perfection"(81), imagery which is very close to Clement's "ladder of ascent".

Thy Will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. (XXVI, 1-6)

Origen's first interpretation of this petition is that its fulfilment will occur "if we do nothing contrary to his will", in imitation of those already who do his will, and can therefore be said to be "in heaven". He says that the same qualification, "in earth, as in heaven", could also be applied to the first two petitions. The second explanation suggests that "heaven" may mean Christ, and "earth" may refer to the Church. He brings the section to a close by resuming the first interpretation that sin and those of evil disposition are "earth", whereas the good, or those who already do the will of God, are "heaven". It is important to note Origen's assertion that it is by their will that men may be said to be "in heaven" whilst on earth. Origen admits no concession to emotional or intellectual mysticism.(82)

Give us this day our daily (ἐπιούσιος) bread. (XXVII, 1-17)

This, states Origen, is not a petition for actual bread, for that would be in direct conflict with Christ's teaching that his followers should pray for great and heavenly gifts. On the evidence of the sixth chapter of John's gospel, he argues that "bread" here means Christ.

"And true bread is that which nourisheth the true man who is made in the image of God: he who is nourished thereby grows in the likeness of the Creator."(83)

"He then who partakes of the ἐπιούσιος bread, being strengthened in his heart, becomes a son of God." (84)

It is Christ, the Word of God, who nourishes. He does so in

different ways for different hearers, by giving simpler teaching to the weaker members, and "strong meat", that is, more advanced teaching, to those who are stronger in the faith. The rest of this chapter is concerned with the meaning of ἐπιούσιος, and bears little on the present theme. However, in the midst of philosophical and etymological considerations, Origen feasts his readers with the following doctrine, already mentioned above, that "being fed by God the Word...(we) may be transformed into God (Θεοποιηθῶμεν)." (85) The Eucharistic context is obvious here even if it is not developed.

Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. (XXVIII, 1-10)

Origen interprets this petition by means of Paul's instruction to the Romans:

"Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; fear to whom fear; custom to whom custom; honour to whom honour. Owe no man anything, but to love one another." (86)

In this chapter, which is much more concerned with ethical duties than the last, Origen returns to one of his central themes: that only the man who discharges his debt of love to others is worthy of addressing words of prayer to God. Debts to others include the duty of giving, and of gentleness in speech and other such deeds, and, especially, a kindly disposition towards them. Those to whom this debt is owed are not only co-religionists, relatives and fellow-citizens, but in fact all men. (87) Man's debts, or duties, extend to God, whom he must love with his whole heart and strength and mind, because He has created him; to Christ, in gratitude for his redemption; to the Holy Spirit, for his gifts of sanctification, and even to the angels. (88) Furthermore, he says that the memory of our failure to discharge our own debts, when we recall how we have often failed in the commandment of love, should make us more gentle and understanding, "bearing ourselves



without malice" towards those who are in debt to us. Not only must we forgive him who has sinned against us, when he repents, but even if he does not repent, we must "by every means seek to bring healing" to him. (89) Origen concludes this section with instruction about those who have the power to forgive sins in God's name, and about which sins do not admit of any forgiveness. The aim of this petition, then, and, it might be said, of the whole of the Christian life, is forgiveness of one's neighbour and charity towards him. The debt or duty of love is one of Origen's most common themes, as it was for Clement.

And lead us not into temptation (XXIX, 1-19)

Origen asks what this can mean, since, as Scripture itself attests, man's whole life is one continual temptation. He observes that God tests all men, even the righteous, whatever their material, physical or social condition may be. (90) He asks whether the Apostles' experience of having to suffer trials and temptations suggests that their prayer was not heard. (91) Origen's eventual explanation is somewhat ingenious. (92)

"We must pray, then, not that we may not be tempted (for this is impossible), but that we may not be engulfed by temptation, which happens to those who are held within it and overcome." (93)

The interpretation seems to rely on an emphasis on the word "into"; Origen distinguishes "being tempted" from "being lead into temptation". Man's prayer is that he may not be totally overcome by temptation.

In spite of this, Scripture does speak of God delivering men up to sin and allowing them to be overcome by temptation. (94) Origen's explanation of this is based on the remedial or medicinal theory of punishment. God, who is really concerned with man's eternal welfare, allows some to continue in evil, so that, being finally satiated, they may repent. At the same time,

Origen is anxious to safeguard the cardinal doctrine of free-will.

"My opinion is indeed that God deals with each rational soul with a view to its eternal life, while each soul always possesses its own free-will."(95)

So if, on occasion, God leads a person into temptation, he does this for his eventual restoration.

Origen then briefly refers to the usefulness of temptation in making clear to Christians what manner of men they are, and therefore how much in need of God's goodness. Finally, he exhorts his readers to prepare themselves against future temptations, assured as they are of God's assistance. (96)

But deliver us from evil (XXX, 1-3)

The prayer of this petition is not that God should prevent "the enemy that wrestles against us" from doing so, but that God should assist and enable us to withstand evil. The pre-eminent example of this is Job, who, in the words of St. Paul, was "afflicted on every side, yet not distressed".(97) Christians too must beseech God that "when (they) are tempted (they) be not killed", (98) or, as it were, consumed by the temptation.

In the third main section,(XXXI - XXXIV) Origen returns to some more practical issues. In chapters eight and following, advice had been given on the preparation necessary for prayer, and this subject is now taken up again. The right disposition is achieved by an attentive and untroubled mind, focused on God, and by ensuring a spirit of forgiveness towards all.(99) Instruction is also given on bodily posture: the ideal way to pray, in normal circumstances, is standing, with the hands outstretched and the eyes uplifted.(100) Confession of one's sins should be done kneeling, however. (101) Regarding the place of prayer, he says that "every place is made suitable for prayer by him who prays well", (102) echoing Clement once again. He suggests

that everyone should have a place of quiet in his own house, so as to be able to pray without distraction. Such a place should be one where no sin has been committed. Origen expresses doubt as to whether the marital bedroom is a suitable place for prayer . He goes on to describe the place where believers assemble together for prayer as possessing "something of joy", (103) because of the presence there of Our Lord, His Spirit, and his angels, together with his saints, both those alive and those who have fallen asleep. The Church therefore, as the place where the saints gather together, seems to have additional advantages, and is the preferable place for prayer.

Origen is in agreement with Clement of Alexandria, and others, in teaching that prayer should be made facing east, towards the sunrise. (104)

Finally, Origen asks his readers, Ambrose and Tatiana, to pray for him and read his treatise with indulgence, expressing the hope that he might, at some future time, "discourse again on the same subject with greater excellence, depth and clarity". (105) This concluding remark should act as a restraint on any attempt to regard this treatise as Origen's last and definitive word on the subject of Christian prayer.

C H A P T E R S I X

CONCLUSION

So far, analyses have been made of the earliest systematic accounts on the subject of prayer advanced by Christian authors. In their doctrine of prayer and piety, the four authors seem to provide a united witness. Despite some differences of emphasis or expression, they reflect a convergent spiritual unity. It is this unity which this final chapter will attempt to bring out by offering a synthesis.(1)

The main concerns of the authors should be first of all taken into account. The primary category for the two Alexandrians is knowledge ($\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$), but only in so far as this is related to, and built on, faith. Clement stresses this foundation of faith, and sees knowledge in its relation to the life of virtue, which has its fulfilment in love ($\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$). The same is also true of Origen. Knowledge is directed towards the eventual vision of God. For both the Gospel "mystery" is not an exclusive cultic matter as it was for the gnostics, but catholic and personal. The two Carthaginian authors, it must be said, are equally conscious of "the mystery", even though their emphasis is more practical.

The main stress is laid on the experience of God's mystery in all four of them and seems to be their primary focus. Therefore artificial distinctions based on certain secondary considerations, such as that the Alexandrians are more speculative than the Carthaginians, should not be made. Of course, it is no less important to draw out any differences of emphasis or attitude which do occur. The central fact remains that our four authors are four distinct witnesses to the same mystery of God and their

articulations exhibit remarkable affinities.

For Origen, the absolute transcendence of God and the correlative impossibility of man's knowledge of Him left to himself constitute the starting-point in his treatment of the subject of prayer. However, he stresses the grace of God which is made available to men through Jesus Christ and which makes such knowledge possible. (2) Clement anticipates Origen when he expounds the knowledge of God which is confined to the Christian, who alone is truly devout, worshipping the true God.(3) He, too, operates with the category of grace, which he has in mind when he describes the Christian as receiving from the Son the knowledge of the ultimate cause, and indeed of all things.(4) Tertullian speaks of the "new covenant" and of the "new grace of God renewing all things by the subsequent addition of the Gospel".(5) Cyprian also begins with the Gospel, emphasising the coming of the Son who shows Christians the way, so that "illuminated by the light of grace", they might "hold to the way of life".(6) In each author, therefore, the mystery of God is not spoken of without reference to Jesus Christ who reveals the new relationship with God opened up for men. In each treatise, the central fact of Christ is the setting for the author's discussion of prayer.

The second point of agreement follows immediately. If the mystery of God is revealed by Christ, then Christ is revealed by the Scriptures, which are the Word of God. For these authors, the Bible acts as a governing principle in determining the authentic tradition of Christ as opposed to that of the heretics like the Gnostics. As Origen says:

"Christians, who believe that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, and that Christ is the Truth, do not take their knowledge of how to live a good and blessed life from any other source than the very words and teaching of Christ."(7)

His devotion to the biblical text derives from his conviction that the living Word of God, is mystically and inseparably united with the Word of Scripture. This principle, articulated most clearly by Origen, is basic to the other three authors. All of them acknowledge the normative role of Scripture, both explicitly and implicitly. This applies particularly to the teaching on prayer which is expounded on strictly Biblical lines with all the relevant biblical texts.

Once again, the next point of agreement follows straightaway. Three of these authors make extensive use of the Scriptural text of the Lord's Prayer, which they then take as their basis for advancing their general doctrine of prayer. Clement, who is addressing himself to the educated classes of Alexandria, feels constrained not to divulge τὰ μυστήρια to all.(8) Yet, in the course of his discussion on prayer, he alludes to the petitions of the Lord's prayer. There is no doubt that for all four of them the Lord's Prayer is prayer κατ' ἐξοχήν.(9)

Two central tasks in the foregoing chapters have been, firstly, to discern the essence of prayer, or its definition, in each author, and secondly, to ascertain to what extent each author has stamped his own character on that definition. Tertullian speaks of the dual functions (officia) of prayer (10) as being worship of God and man's petition. His background in law evidently influences his interpretation of Christianity and therefore of prayer. For him, prayer is a duty (officium),(11) by which the commandment (praeceptum) of God is fulfilled.(12) He assigns to it great power: "Prayer alone it is that conquers God."(13) Furthermore, Christian prayer is worship in spirit and in truth. The Christian's sacrifice of prayer ("sacrificamus orationem")

is an offering ("hostiam") which is God's own, and which he has actually provided for himself. (14) But ultimately, Tertullian's definition of prayer is to be found in the Lord's Prayer, which he variously calls "the prescribed and regular prayer", ("legitima et ordinaria oratio") and the "new plan of prayer", ("novam orationis formam").(15) The dual function of Christian prayer is seen very clearly in this prayer. There is, first of all, the addressing of God as Father; and secondly, the petitioning of Him for those benefits contained in the Lord's Prayer. A central preoccupation, for both Tertullian and Cyprian, is the ethical imitatio Christi: the Christian life is the imitation of Christ who performed the Father's will perfectly. For both of them, part of this imitation consists in the very words of the dominical prayer.

Cyprian's experience, too, lies behind his teaching. A bishop's pastoral concern is everywhere evident, pre-eminently in his insistence on concord, unity and unanimity. He is very conscious of the Church as the realisation on earth of that unity which is in God. He sees the Church as the source of unity for Christians and, through them, for the world. (16) Cyprian follows his master, Tertullian, by seeing in the Lord's Prayer the essence of true, spiritual prayer. (17) He also refers to prayer as "speaking in the presence of the Father", and of "ascending to God with the prayer of Christ". (18) Both these authors stress that it is of the essence of prayer that it is taught by God, through Christ. (19) In saying this, they draw out prayer's essential givenness. True spiritual prayer is given to men by God. Significantly, the God each speaks of here is the Triune God:

"Let the Father recognize the words of His own Son when we make our requests. Let Him who dwells within

our breast be also in our voice." (20)

As prayer "did... receive life from his Spirit, so... it ascends into heaven, commending to the Father the things the Son has taught." (21)

It is obvious that for these two authors, prayer has a clear Trinitarian reference.

The conviction that prayer has been taught is held also by Clement. For him, it is the Logos who is the universal teacher - ὁ Παιδαγωγός and ὁ Διδάσκαλος (22). It is precisely because the Christian gnostic has full knowledge of God's gifts that he honours God everywhere and always, "returning thanks to him for knowledge bestowed and the gift of the heavenly citizenship". (23) For Clement, prayer is essentially man's ὁμιλία (converse, communion, intercourse) with God. (24) This converse, which is spoken of as continual, often involves requests. Sometimes, Clement refers to it as union with the Spirit, and ultimately, as that vision of God (θεωρεῖα) promised to the pure of heart. Yet at the same time, Clement does not in any way overlook the Christian's ethical duties. He too speaks of living in accordance with "whatever the Word enjoins", (25) and he emphasises apatheia and the life of virtue. If Clement is concerned with true knowledge leading to true worship, he nevertheless insists that "the first proof that one knows God... is that one in no way does wrong". (26) The hallmark of the perfect Christian is charity: a love of God and of men. Prayer and ethical duty are closely linked, as they are in the Carthaginian authors.

In the course of examining εὐχή and προσευχή in the Scriptures, Origen distinguishes two elements in prayer. First of all, Christian prayer involves a vow, which is an offering to God; secondly, it includes a request of something from God.

Although this distinction is couched in different terms, it would appear to coincide with Tertullian's distinction between, on the one hand, prayer as worship of God, which is the offering of glory, and on the other, prayer as the petition of man. Origen also refers to prayer as something given by God to men, when he speaks of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, who "prays too in the heart of the saints". (27) Origen is such a powerful and gifted person that it is difficult to isolate any one factor as his peculiar, characteristic contribution to the doctrine of prayer. He combines, in himself, biblical theology with loyalty to the Church, a rigorous intellect and enquiring mind with pious devotion to God, a passionate zeal for the mysteries with an equally passionate pre-occupation with the life of virtue and asceticism. With Origen, one is left with an ever-growing conviction that it would be a gross disservice to him to exalt one quotation above the rest, or one theme above the others, or, in this case, to isolate one treatise from the remainder of his work. For Origen, the three aspects of the Christian life, moral, intellectual and contemplative or spiritual, must be held together in unity. This is a judgement which the Peri Euches repeatedly confirms.

All four authors, therefore, present a harmonious witness to the essence or definition of prayer. It is converse with God. Its dual function is God's glorification and man's petition. It is given, or taught, by God, through Christ. And it is intrinsically linked with the ethical life, seen as the imitation of Christ. True to say, each author does stamp his own personal character on his definition of prayer, but not to such an extent as to distort the fore-going central aspects. Finally, the God to whom prayer must be offered is in all cases the Triune God.

Oulton finds what he calls "an important difference" between Tertullian and Origen, since "Origen speaks almost entirely of private prayer, of individual prayer", whereas Tertullian "places prayer in the context of the Church". (28) A fortiori, the same difference would presumably be found between Cyprian and Origen. A more adequate judgement than this may be made. To do this, it will be necessary to analyse and evaluate each author's concept of the Church.

It is true, as Oulton asserts, that Tertullian finds in the title 'Father', an implication of our Mother, the Church (mater ecclesia) (29), and his treatise does contain many references to the liturgical setting of prayer - liturgical seasons, Church ordinances and customs. (30) Tertullian certainly does place prayer very much in the context of the church. Even so, he also teaches that prayer must be made "at every time and place". (31) Origen, on the other hand, is not without some specific references to Church ordinances. (32) In one chapter, he contrasts prayer in the synagogues with prayer in the churches, and teaches that the latter is required of Christians; in another, he discusses the superiority of public over private prayer, a superiority which results from the presence with the praying community of "the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ", (33) together with his angels and saints. The presence of angels and saints, that is, the spiritual church, when Christians come together to pray, is frequently mentioned by Origen. (34) Again, Origen clearly has the Church in mind when he speaks of many who "come together in the same mind and heart and are made one body in Christ". (35)

Oulton seems to assume that, because Origen fails to mention the externals of public worship as often as does Tertullian, therefore Origen is not as conscious as his contemporary of the

ecclesiological dimension of prayer. However, it does not seem a strong case to argue from silence to either ignorance or a minimal interest. The converse is often true. Daniélou has in fact demonstrated that Origen had a deep sense of the Church and its unity, (36) even if his spiritualising tendency inclined him to play down the importance of the Church's visible aspect. (37) It does not seem justifiable therefore to argue for the absence of any ecclesiological dimension for prayer in Origen, whilst finding it in Tertullian. What is correct to state, however, is that in their doctrine of prayer, each author betrays his concept of the Church. Tertullian and Cyprian are characterised by an "extremely concrete concept of the Church".(38) One example of this is to be seen in their exegesis of "Thy Kingdom Come", which is interpreted more literally than Origen, and with greater emphasis on the final eschatological nature of the Kingdom. In contrast, Origen is more concerned with the spiritual reality of the Church than with its externalities. So, it seems fair to conclude that in both Carthage and Alexandria, stress is placed on the necessary relation of prayer with the Church, even if each operates with a different emphasis on what is important in ecclesiology.

This subject - the corporate nature of prayer in these authors - may be pursued a little further. Cyprian clearly situates prayer in the context of the Church, (39) and this teaching appears to contain two strands. First of all, prayer is not to be made "singly and individually", but must be "for all".(40) It is not to become an introverted, self-preoccupation. Rather, it must have a catholic reference. Secondly, prayer for Christians, he says, is "public and common" ("publica et communis"). That is, God's gift of true, spiritual prayer has been given only to his

Church, and the individual prays only as a member of the Church, so much so that even when he does pray "privately", he still employs the title "Our", not "My". For Origen, as we have just seen, the most fitting context for prayer is the praying community. Clement, although he speaks of the gnostic in the singular, always situates his discussion in the plural:

"...we have good reason for honouring God by prayer... Further, we are bidden to worship and honour the Son and Word..."(41)

On occasion, however, he does make explicit mention of what is assumed the rest of the time:

"At any rate, our altar here on earth is the congregation of those who are devoted to the prayers, having, as it were, one common voice and one mind." "Even if he prays alone he has the chorus of saints bended with him".(42)

Yet again, all four authors are found to present a united witness to a belief held in common, that prayer is the privilege of the community of believers.

This church is precisely that community of believers to whom Christ has revealed the new truth about the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. Each author emphasises the new character of Christian prayer, which is determined by the new title of God revealed by Jesus Christ. The Old Testament did not know to call God by the name of Father, but now Christ has made known to Christians both the possibility and the necessity of so addressing Him. Even Clement, who does not supply a detailed exposition of the Lord's Prayer, where this new title of God was first revealed, makes frequent mention of the Father "whom (Christians) have learned to know".(43)

The corollary of God's new name is man's new relationship. God has been revealed as man's Father: man, in turn has become God's son. Each author draws out the moral implications

for man of this new relationship. The moralistic interpretation of the first petition has been observed. Man must behave as befits his new relationship, or alternatively, in Origen, his life must first ^{be} purified so as to be worthy to address God as Father. Apart from the exegesis which derives from the address, frequent mention occurs in all the authors of the intimate unity of prayer and life, of word and action. Christian prayer gives man the right to address God as Father and imposes on him the obligation of living as a son of the Father.

As one might expect, all the authors teach the directives for prayer found in the New Testament. They all emphasise prayer "in secret" (44) and advocate the avoidance of vain repetition.(45) They each take up Paul's instruction to "pray without ceasing", (46) usually whilst referring to the three set hours for prayer which tradition seems to have laid down.(47) The need for the recollection of God is taught, as also is humility, sincerity and reverence on coming to prayer. (48) All agree that forgiveness and reconciliation with one's brother must precede prayer.(49) The faith and trust which the New Testament requires of Christ's followers is developed by each. Tertullian asserts that "God is a hearer, as he is a discerner, not of the voice but of the heart".(50) Cyprian teaches the same, basing himself on Jeremiah: "I am a God nigh at hand, and not a God afar off." (51) Both authors bear witness here to the true Christian conception of God that he is everywhere present. Origen seems to have this thought in mind when he refers to "the Word of God who stands in the midst of those who know him not".(52) Clement says that the Father is "nigh at hand", and "never ceases to listen to the inward converse of the heart".(53) The nearness of God to the one who prays is unanimously attested.

It is perhaps in their interpretation of Paul's instruction to pray unceasingly that these authors reveal an important aspect of their doctrine of prayer. Tertullian first mentions the instruction only in passing, (54) but in his final encomium on the power of prayer, he refers to Christians praying whilst awaiting the angels trumpet. Prayer is universal - "the whole creation prays" - and it is the ultimate activity for the time before the end of the world. Cyprian's work reaches its climax in praise of continual prayer:

"Let us... imitate that which we are destined to be... Since we are to pray and give thanks to God for ever, let us not cease here also to offer prayers and thanksgiving." (55)

Prayer is conceived of as a movement back to our true nature.

"From the terms of the prayer," he says elsewhere, referring of course to the Lord's Prayer, man learns "to know what manner of man he ought to be." (56) Clement frequently refers to continual prayer, (57) in terms which almost suggest an identification between prayer and life. Origen no less explicitly combines prayer with the life of virtue:

"The man who links together his prayer with deeds of duty and fits seemly actions with his prayer is the man who prays without ceasing..."(58)

This lesson is in fact derived from the terms of the Lord's Prayer, which teaches, in the third petition, the intimate relationship between prayer and life. In all these authors, prayer is not an optional activity but something intrinsic to man's true nature, by means of which he sees the truth about himself, and moreover, actually realises his true calling. Evident here is the sacramental nature of prayer, according to which the man who prays is actually brought into communion with the God to whom he prays. This is confirmed in the area of prayer's efficacy.

The terms of the Lord's Prayer indicate that prayer's efficacy is limited to those requests which it outlines, together with those which are modelled on it. Furthermore, prayer can only be efficacious if a man's life is morally conformed to the virtues, especially the virtue of forgiveness and reconciliation. "Prayer is hypocrisy if a man's life does not exemplify his aspiration in prayer." (59) In this too, these authors are in direct continuity with the Christian tradition. In addition, each stresses both the objective and subjective results of prayer. Origen suggests that even if prayer was powerless to secure objective benefits, it is nevertheless of great advantage to the man who prays, who "obtains no ordinary result". For regular prayer keeps him from sin, and encourages the practice of the virtues. (60) For Origen, prayer's efficacy in the objective realm is to be judged according to his principle of the subject of prayer. If Christians must ask for great and heavenly things, as he instructs, then it is in the order of these spiritual realities that the real efficacy of prayer must be sought - in the hallowing of God's Name, the coming of His Kingdom, and the performing of His Will. But then, the objective and the subjective are becoming identified, for these petitions are to be realised "in us". Tertullian and Cyprian teach the same. Prayer operates by bringing one to see his situation from the divine perspective. As Clement says, "Certainly prayer is a test of the attitude of the character towards what is fitting." (61) Prayer's efficacy is a function of the true relationship between man and God. Man is not attempting to manipulate God, but rather to bring himself into harmony with the divine Will. And, as we have seen, God's will as precept is accomplished only by means of His will as power. Not only does God supply the form and

content of prayer, but He is also the source of its efficacy. "It is within the prayer which God ordains that man's orientation to life finds its actualisation." (62) This is once again the sacramental model. (63) Prayer is not simply a human activity, for it begins with God's own initiative and it becomes man's participation in His grace or divine life, by means of the words and power of His prayer.

The doctrine of prayer in Third Century Christian Africa is indeed a profound and exciting doctrine. The points on which our four authors present an harmonious witness can now be summarised:

1. Christians have been given the right to address God by His new name of "Father". This is the biblical witness.
2. This right of address and the Christians' confidence before God (*παρηγορία*) is given to them by Christ.
3. Prayer is given to man by God through Christ.
4. The Holy Spirit, or the grace of God, assists man in prayer.
5. The prayer taught by Christ, the Lord's Prayer, forms the basis and model for all true Christian prayer.
6. The authors derive their teaching on prayer from the Scriptures.
7. Christian prayer demands an asceticism or training in the life of virtue - the imitatio Christi. So Christian prayer and the Christian life are almost identifiable.
8. Christian prayer is converse with God.
9. Christian prayer has two functions:
 - (a) the worship of God;
 - (b) man's petition.
10. Prayer is necessary for the Christian.
11. Christian prayer is prayer "in the Church" - it has a corporate nature.

12. Christian prayer must reflect the catholic dimension - it must be "for all" and not selfishly determined.
13. Christian prayer must ask fitting things of God. This will determine the efficacy of prayer.
14. Christian prayer is meant not to change God but to change the man who prays, and it will do so.
15. Prayer is interior - it arises from faith.
16. Christians must carry out Paul's instruction to pray without ceasing: the whole of life must become prayer.
17. Christian prayer is a movement back to man's true nature, or an imitation of that which man is destined to be.
18. Clement and Origen teach that the goal of prayer is equivalent to the goal of man's life: the vision of God (θεωρεῖν), union with the Spirit, and deification (θεωσις).
19. Prayer is sacramental: by the grace of God, it brings about what it signifies, viz., relationship or communion between the Creator and His creature.
20. There is in all the authors an intimacy between prayer and faith, between piety and dogma. Theology and prayer are one.

The precept of Evagrius Ponticus is anticipated:

"If you are a theologian, you will truly pray,
and if you truly pray, you are a theologian."(64)

* * *

A few words of conclusion remain. First of all, it is of no small significance to today's theologian that these authors, in their doctrine of prayer, do not treat of prayer's relationship with the Sacraments, and more especially with the Eucharist. They make only passing references. If an explanation

of this could be given it might assist modern discussion, in the Church, on the relative importance for the Christian life of prayer and sacrament. Perhaps this study has opened up possible avenues for an explanation. Two alternatives seem to suggest themselves. Either, these authors omit any mention of the Eucharist because it is irrelevant to their discussion of prayer, or, their relative silence betokens a conviction on their part that prayer and sacrament were not two separate realities. In the latter case, they would have seen their doctrine of prayer as including the sacramental aspect of Christian life. If the analysis of the foregoing chapters is correct, the espousal of the second explanation would seem justified. The teaching of these authors on unceasing prayer, and their teaching on prayer as *ὁμιλία* (communion), and as the imitation of that which man is destined to be, contains much affinity with language subsequently used of the sacraments.

Secondly, it has seemed just in this study to show the harmony of the doctrine presented by these authors, even when they differ in their terminology. The spirituality to which they bear united witness would seem to give the lie to the disjunction which appears throughout Heiler's great work Prayer, between "prophetic" prayer which he sees as biblical and Christian, and "mystical" prayer, which he assigns to Neo-platonism. These authors would not admit of any such separation.

Finally, modern man finds himself torn, in worship, as in life, between individuality and community. Florovsky expresses this succinctly when he says:

"There is an essential duality in Christian existence. Christianity stands by personal faith and commitment, and yet Christian existence is intrinsically corporate: to be Christian means to be in the Community, in the Church and of the Church."(65)

These four authors do not admit of prayer apart from the community of believers. The necessary tension between individual, private prayer and communal, public prayer is maintained, by a refusal to see the individual otherwise than in terms of his membership of the church. Perhaps their doctrine of prayer may suggest the foundations for a true Christian subjectivity, as over against the false subjectivisms of modern life, which tend to polarise in either some form of individualism or some model of totalitarianism. If man is today substituting himself as the measure of his own maturity and fulfilment, then the doctrine of prayer, as found in these authors, will help man to return to a genuine dependence on God - that is, the acknowledgement of his status as a son of God, and his vocation, in common with all men, to call God Father - as the only way to true maturity.

It has been the intention of the author that this study should contribute to the search, in all parts of the Church, both East and West, Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic, for a truly ecumenical Christian theology.

Let us conclude with the words of Paul Evdokimov;-

"In the immense cathedral which is the universe of God, each man, whether scholar or manual labourer, is called to act as the priest of his whole life - to take all that is human, and to turn it into an offering and a hymn of glory."

"It is not enough to possess prayer: we must become prayer, we must be prayer - prayer incarnate. It is not enough to have moments of praise; our whole life, every act and every gesture, even a smile, must become a hymn of adoration, an offering, a prayer. We must offer not what we have but what we are." (66)

CHAPTER ONE : THE BACKGROUND

Notes.

1. See Eric George Jay, Origen's Treatise on Prayer, Translation and Notes with an account of the practice and doctrine of prayer from New Testament times to Origen, (London, S.P.C.K., 1954), pp. 3-75. Two other articles should be mentioned here: Jules Lebreton, "La Prière dans l'Eglise Primitive", in Recherches de Science Religieuse, 14, 1924, pp. 5-32 and 97-133; Gauthier Adalbert Hamman, "Genèse et signification de la prière, aux origines Chrétiennes", in Texte und Untersuchungen, Vol. 64, 1957, pp. 468-484.
2. See Luke 3:21; 4:42; 6:12; 9:18; 9:28 and 11:1; also Mark 1:35. For a thorough study of this subject, see Joachim Jeremias, The Prayers of Jesus, (Studies in Biblical Theology - Second Series: 6), (SCM, London, 1967). Origen makes specific mention of Jesus' own example of prayer: see Peri Euches, XIII, 1.
3. Luke 11:2-4 and Matthew 7:7-11.
4. Luke 11:9. Cf. also John 14:13f., and 16:24; also Luke 18:1ff., "Then he told them a parable about the need to pray continually and never lose heart." Also Luke 11:5-8.
5. See Acts 1:14, 24; 2:42, 46; 3:1; 4:24-31; 6:4; 7:59-60; 8:15; 9:11, 40; 10:3-16, etc.
6. Eg., Romans 1:8-9; 16:25-27; 1 Cor. 1:4; 16:23.
7. Gal. 4:6. See also Rom. 8:15-17, and 8:26-27.
8. See Hebrews 7:25 and 9:24. See also Rom. 8:34.
9. See below, note (18), chapter three, on παραρωσία.
10. 1 Tim. 2:8.
11. The First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, (in future, 1 Clem.) 29:1. (Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. I, p. 27.)
12. For thanksgiving, see 1 Clem. 38:4; (ACW I, p. 33). For confession, see 1 Clem. 48:1 and 53:5 (ACW I, pp. 39 and 42). For intercession, see 1 Clem. 55:6 and 56:1-2 (ACW I, p. 43).
13. 1 Clem. 59:3 - 61:3 (ACW I, pp. 46-47).
14. For a discussion of this question, see J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 385-6, referred to by Lebreton, op. cit., p. 17, note 37.
15. 1 Clem. 61:3 (ACW I, p. 47). Origen later deals at some length with prayer to the Father, through Christ: Peri Euches, XV.

16. Jay, Origen's Treatise on Prayer, p. 6.
17. Jay, loc. cit.
18. Lebreton, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
19. Ignatius of Antioch, To the Smyrnians, 7:1 - 8:2 (ACW I, pp. 92-3).
20. Ignatius, To Polycarp, 1:3 (ACW I, p. 96).
21. Polycarp, To the Philippians, 12:- "Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings and magistrates and rulers, and for such as persecute and hate you, as well as for the enemies of the Cross." (See ACW Vol. VI, p. 82).
22. The Martyrdom of Bishop Polycarp, 14, in Early Christian Writings, The Apostolic Fathers, translated by Maxwell Staniforth, (Penguin, 1968), pp. 160-1;
Lebreton comments: "...la grande prière que nous avons de lui est toute chargée de réminiscences liturgique.... Cette prière solennelle s'adresse à Dieu le Père comme celle de saint Clément, comme celles de la 'Doctrina des Apôtres'; comme elles aussi elle loue Dieu, avant tout, de s'être fait connaître à nous par son Fils. Elle dit à Dieu: "Seigneur, Dieu tout-puissant", mais elle ajoute aussitôt "Père de Jésus Christ". On saisit dans cette formule toute la plénitude de la révélation, tout l'Ancien Testament et tout le Nouveau." Op. cit., pp. 27-8.
23. The Martyrdom of Bishop Polycarp, 14.
24. Lebreton's article is precisely a study of the Trinitarian dimension in early Christian prayer: "...notre but est seulement de rechercher dans le culte chrétien l'expression de la foi en la Trinité." Op. cit., p. 16.
25. See J.-P. Audet, La 'Didachè': Instructions des Apôtres, (Paris, 1958).
26. Didache 2; and 4; and see also 14 (Early Christian Writings, p. 228ff.).
27. Didache 8.
28. See J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 84f.
29. Jay, op. cit., p. 9.
30. The Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate 9.
31. The Shepherd, Parable 4.
32. Jay, op. cit., p. 11.
33. Jay, op. cit., p. 13. Jay quotes in this connection, Justin Martyr, Apology, 1:13, and Dialogue with Trypho, 96:2-3; 108; 133:6, and also Athenagoras' Legatio pro Christianis, 11.
34. Jay, op. cit., p. 15. For praise, see Dialogue with Trypho, 74:3, and Apol. 1:13. For thanksgiving, see Apol. 1:13. For confession, see Apol. 1:61.

35. Dialogue with Trypho, 93:3.
36. Dialogue with Trypho, 90:5 and 117:2.
37. Irenaeus, Contra Haereses, Book 4:14. Irenaeus' theory of 'recapitulation' is at the heart of his theology. Christ's work of recapitulation ensures for man the recovery of holiness and of communion with God. See Epideixis 6, which speaks of Christ restoring union between God and man. In Contra Haereses, 4:38, 1-2, Christians are said to receive in Christ Jesus the image and likeness of God. See also Contra Haereses, 3:18,7; 19,3; 4:13,1; 5:1,1-3; 16,2 for other passages which affirm the communion of God with man, in Christ.
38. Irenaeus, Contra Haereses, 4:18.
39. So Jay, op. cit., p. 17.
40. The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, 7-8.
41. Didache 9:4 :- "As this broken bread, once dispersed over the hills, was brought together and became one loaf, so may thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom." Also 10:5.
42. See Peri Euches, XXII,1; also In Ioannem, 19:1, 5, 27-32.
43. Eg., Didache 9:2-5; 1 Clem. 59:2 and 61:3; Ignatius, To the Ephesians, 4:1-2 and To the Romans, 2:2.
44. Lebreton, op. cit., p. 11.
45. Didache 8.
46. See J. Jeremias, op. cit., chapter III: "The Lord's Prayer in the light of recent research", pp. 82-107, esp., pp. 84-5. See also T. W. Manson, "The Lord's Prayer", in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 38, (1955-56) pp. 99-113 and 436-448. For a brief summary of the evidence for the knowledge and use of the Lord's Prayer in the Church of the first three centuries, see F.E.Vokes, "The Lord's Prayer in the First Three Centuries", in Texte und Untersuchungen, Vol. 107, 1970, pp. 253-260. Vokes' main thesis is contrary to that of Jeremias and Manson. Cf., also J.A.Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, (Benziger, New York, 1951-5) Vol. II, p. 277; also G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, (Second edition, Dacre Press, Westminster, 1945), pp. 108-9, 130-1.
47. Tertullian, De Oratione, 2-9; Cyprian, De Dominica Oratione, 7-27; Origen, Peri Euches, XXII-XXX; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetica mystagogica, 5:11-18; Gregory of Nyssa, De Dominica Oratione, (Five Sermons); Augustine, The Lord's Sermon on the Mount; John Chrysostom, Hom. in Matt. 19:4-5 and 7:14.
See Geoffrey Lampe, "'Our Father' in the Fathers", in Christian Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp, ed., Peter Brooks, (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1975) pp. 11-31.
48. T.W.Manson, op. cit., p. 103.

49. For the development of the catechumenate system, see Jules Lebreton, "Le Développement des Institutions ecclésiastiques à la fin du IIe et au début du IIIe siècle", in Recherches de Science Religieuse, XXIV, (1934), pp. 129-164. See also chapters IV and V in Geraldine Hodgson's Primitive Christian Education, (Edinburgh, 1906), and chapter IX, "Christianity and Classical Education", in H.I. Marrou's A History of Education in Antiquity, translated by George Lamb, (London, 1956). See also the article, "Catéchuménat", in Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Vol. II, pp. 1979ff.
50. For the worship of the Early Church, see Lebreton, op. cit., and Louis Duchesne, Les Origines du culte chrétien, translated as Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution, (London, SPCK, 1903) by M.L. McClure.
- The following quotation from Hamman is of importance, as we turn to a consideration of the first treatise on prayer: "Les premières générations chrétiennes n'ont pas traité de la prière pour elle-même, en soi, séparée de la liturgie ou de la vie, séparée de la Bible. Nous la trouvons toujours liée à tout le contexte de la vie; elle affleure de l'existence chrétienne elle-même. Il est significatif que les premiers traités sur la prière aient été des commentaires du Pater, comme pour mieux montrer que toute prière chrétienne se référait à la présence invisible du Seigneur Jésus." G.A. Hamman, op. cit., in Texte und Untersuchungen, 64, 1957, p. 468.

CHAPTER TWO : TERTULLIAN

Notes

1. Johannes Quasten, Patrology, vol. 2, p. 296. Bardenhewer also dates the treatise to "the Catholic period of his life", Patrology, p. 186. A. Hamman dates it between 200 and 206, making the same observation as Bardenhewer, in Gustave Bardy, La Vie Spirituelle d'après les Pères des trois premiers siècles, tome II, p. 167. (The chapter on Tertullian was added by A. Hamman to Bardy's original work). Ernest Evans decides that there are not enough references to date it precisely, and he locates it "during the early years of the third century", in Tertullian's Tract on the Prayer, Text and Translation with Introduction and Notes, by Ernest Evans, (London, SPCK, 1953), p. xi.

The text of the De Oratione is given in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, (ed., Reifferscheid and Wissowa), (Vienna, 1890), vol. XX, pp. 180-200. The translation employed is that of Ernest Evans, mentioned above.

2. Quasten, op. cit., p. 297.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of this treatise, a few words of introduction to Tertullian and his thought are necessary. For this, A. Hamman's chapter, already mentioned, is relevant. Use has also been made of the article on Tertullian in the Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature, (ed., Wace and Piercy), (London, 1911), and of the work by H.B. Timothy, The Early Christian Apologists and Greek Philosophy, of which chapter three is devoted to Tertullian.

In his youth, Tertullian had received an excellent academic training in law and rhetoric, which was later to influence and determine his juridical interpretation of Christianity. (See Tixeront, History of Dogmas, vol. 1, p. 305). A tendency towards strict discipline marked his entire life, so much so that his fiery temperament and rigorous outlook eventually took root in Montanism. Hamman, explaining the reason for Tertullian's initial conversion to Christianity, says: "Tertullien cherche moins une doctrine pour son esprit, à la manière de Clément ou d'Origène, qu'une discipline pour sa vie." (op. cit., p. 164-5). Bouyer is of the opinion that it was Tertullian who first proclaimed Christianity's refusal of the world, long before monasticism, for he expresses "the reality essentially contained in the Christian faith which refuses to lend itself to any compromise with the world, which cannot make a definitive and final peace with it." (Louis Bouyer, The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers, which is volume 1 in his History of Christian Spirituality, p. 453). Tertullian's numerous moral treatises, in which he exhorts the faithful to perfection, often witness to an ideal approaching heroism.

In his attitude to Greek intellectualism, Tertullian was fiercely intransigent. He accused the philosophers of being stupidly curious of natural phenomena, instead of directing their curiosity towards their Creator. (See Ad nationes, II, IV; ANCL, vol. 11, p. 473). True wisdom, according to Tertullian, derived from the fear of God. (See Ad nat. II, II; ANCL, vol. 11, p. 465-6). The school of heaven is the school for Christians, asserts Tertullian, (see De Anima, I, 5-6:

2. "...Christianae sapientiae...Haec sapientia de schola caeli...", (cont.) making very clear what he regards as his presuppositions. Furthermore, Christians are to know, only according to the rule of faith: "Adversus regulam (fidei) nihil scire omnia scire est." (De Praes. Haer. XIV, 4,5). In what would seem to be his battle-cry against Greek philosophy, Tertullian exclaims: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? The Christian's instruction comes from the porch of Solomon who taught that the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart. Away with all efforts to produce a mottled Stoic-Platonic-dialectic Christianity! Where is there any likeness between the Christian and the philosopher; between the disciple of Greece and the disciple of heaven; between the man whose object is fame and the man whose object is life; between the talker and the doer; between him who pulls down and him who builds up; between the friend and the foe of error; between one who corrupts the truth and one who restores and teaches it?" (De Praes. Haer. VII, 9-11, quoted by Timothy, op. cit., p. 58. See also Apol. XLVI, 18).

It is right to stress Tertullian's rigorist attitude in morality, and his negative attitude towards philosophy. Unfortunately, a full treatment of his theology cannot be given here. However, one chapter of his treatise Adversus Marcionem deserves mention for its originality of thought and beauty of expression. In ^{Book II} chapter twenty-seven, whilst describing the humility of God in becoming man, Tertullian asserts that "nothing is so worthy of God as the salvation of man". It is often said that mysticism and contemplation do not figure in Tertullian, and that he is more concerned with morality and asceticism, eg., Hamman, op. cit., p. 166. The following quotation, taken from the same chapter, seems to bear this out: "God entered into converse with man, so that man might be taught how to act like God. God treated on equal terms with man, so that man might be able to treat on equal terms with God. God was found to be small, so that man might become very great."

3. R.L. Simpson, The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church, p. 22. Also Evans, "Introduction", p. xi. See also James Moffatt, "Tertullian on the Lord's Prayer", in The Expositor, vol. XVIII, (July, 1919), p. 26. The commentators suggest that this homily may have been given in, or inspired by, the ceremony of initiation, during which the traditio (handing over) of the Lord's Prayer to the catechumens occurred. See chapter one, note (49) above. Paul Monceaux describes the scene: "Ce jour-là, après une courte exhortation, le prêtre récitait solennellement l'oraison dominicale, en s'arrêtant à chaque phrase pour la commenter; et il en dégagéait les conclusions dans un petit discours final." Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe, vol. 1, (Paris, 1901), p. 371. The first part of Tertullian's treatise seems to contain precisely these elements. See also Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution, L. Duchesne, (translated by McClure), p. 302. Several of St. Augustine's sermons, (56-59), were composed for the ceremony of the traditio of the Lord's Prayer.
4. De Oratione, 1; "novam orationis formam".

5. The titles of these divisions are taken mainly from Evans' "Introduction", pp. xii-xiii, with minor changes and abbreviations.
6. At times, the subjects of these chapters which follow seem comparatively trivial. For example, Tertullian devotes a totally disproportionate amount of space to the question regarding the wearing of veils.
7. Evans, op. cit., p. xiii; Simpson, op. cit., p. 24.
8. Evans, op. cit., p. xiv.
9. Quasten, Patrology, vol. 2, p. 353.
10. Simpson, op. cit., p. 39. But see F.E. Vokes, "The Lord's Prayer in the First Three Centuries", in Texte und Untersuchungen, 107, (1970), pp. 253-260, who argues that the Lord's Prayer did not hold in Christian life and thought of that time the predominant position which it now holds.
11. De Orat., 1.
- 11a. Loc. cit.
12. Loc. cit. It seems that the two Latin words Sermo and Ratio are used by Tertullian to convey the full force of the Greek term λόγος. See Appendix A.
13. Loc. cit.
14. De Oratione, 9.
15. Loc. cit.
16. De Oratione, 1. See Mt. 6:7-8.
17. See, eg., the article on "Prayer", in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 728. The prayer of Chryses in the Iliad, I, 37ff., contains an address to the god in "complimentary phrases: 'thou of the silver bow...mighty Lord of Tenedos'. He then reminds Apollo of his own acts of piety, and finally makes his petition, that the God shall avenge him on the Greeks." Such prayer was often also "accompanied by other acts of worship (generally sacrifice)." O.C.D.
18. De Oratione, 14.
19. Loc. cit.
20. De Orat., 1.
21. De Orat., 2. Simpson's translation of merito fidei as "reward to faith" seems preferable to Evans' "work of faith". Evans' comment here is that the phrase means "literally, 'desert of faith', but by metonymy the work by which merit is acquired." (Op. cit., p. 45). Simpson feels that "this assumption of a metonymical figure of speech disrupts the unity of this chapter's development". (Op. cit., p. 45-6). As Simpson goes on to say, Tertullian immediately continues that the reward (meritum) of this faith is this form of address.

21. "The right to address God as Father is the reward which is (cont.) given to faith," (Simpson, p. 46), and Tertullian reinforces this by quoting from John's Prologue: "To those who believed in him, he gave power to be called sons of God." Jn. 1:12.
22. De Orat., 2.
23. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 28.
24. De Orat., 2.
25. Cf., Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, where he says: "A man's name was not looked on as something additional to his personality,...on the contrary, it contained an essential part of his nature, and was at times looked on as his double." (Vol. 2, p. 83). Martin Noth in his Exodus Commentary writes: "For in ancient Eastern thought the name of the person who existed was a necessary part of his existence, and one knew of a reality, only if one was able to pronounce its 'name'." (p. 42). So also, Peake's Commentary on the Bible: "The name is, to primitive thought, an essential part of the personality; to know it is to get its bearer into one's power...This applies to gods as well as men. Great pains are taken in prayer to secure that right names shall be employed, not simply that the deity intended shall be reached, but that pressure may be brought upon him by the efficacy of their use." (p. 160, commentary on Gen. 32:22ff.).
26. Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary includes both the concept of love and that of authority in its definition of pater, (pp. 1313-1314).
27. Simpson, op. cit., p. 47.
28. De Orat., 2.
29. Evans, op. cit., p. 46, in his note.
30. Cyprian, On the Unity of the Church, 6.
31. De Orat., 2. The phrase cum suis would seem to refer to the Christian community of the Church.
32. See chapters 11 and 12 of De Oratione for further elaboration of the indispensable relationship between life and prayer.
33. De Orat., 2.
34. Ibid., 3.
35. Evans. op. cit., p. 46, in his note. The implications of this phrase for Trinitarian theology are worthy of note, although there is some doubt regarding the text here.
36. De Orat., 3.
37. Loc. cit.
38. Loc. cit.
39. Cf., Evans, "Introduction", where he says: "that the changed order is not due to a mere slip of memory....appears from

39. Tertullian's own argument, in which he shows how the one clause (cont.) depends upon the other....the changed order is due to Tertullian himself who saw the connection of thought in this way and altered the text accordingly." p. xiv-xv.
40. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 32, note 1, where he says that "the omission of sicut was evidently common in the African Church."
41. De Orat., 4.
42. Cf., Augustine, Enchiridion, XXX, 115: "sicut in caelo et in terra, quod non absurde quidam intellexerunt, in spiritu et in corpore."
43. De Orat., 4.
44. Loc. cit.
45. See Kurt von Fritz, "Greek Prayers", in The Review of Religion, Nov. 1945, pp. 5-39, from which the following quotations are taken. The most significant aspect of Greek religion seems to be the impassable gulf between men and the gods. Von Fritz speaks of the special concept of the relation between gods and human beings which Greek religion had developed in its higher forms. "This concept implies a gulf between gods and mortals which cannot be bridged from either side. Hence it implies a certain remoteness of the gods. Yet, at the same time, the Greek gods, at least outside of philosophy, are also nearer to men than in monotheistic and strictly moralistic religions, because they are more similar to them." (p. 16) As well as "the aloofness of the gods which determines all their relations with human beings", von Fritz also speaks of a corresponding "unencroachability of the innermost core and kernel of the human individual by the gods". (p. 14) Speaking again of this "impassable gulf" between the gods and men, he says that "it is also expressed by the famous inscription of the temple at Delphi, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, which certainly does not mean that a person should try to gain a metaphysical insight into himself which is identical with the god of the universe, but, quite the contrary, has to be supplemented to γνῶθι σεαυτόν ἀνθρώπου ὧν ('know that you are a human being and not a god,' or more simply, 'know your place')....the general attitude of the Greeks of the classical period seems to indicate that, to them, a prayer seeking a mystic union with a god would have seemed impious, rather than an expression of the highest piety." (p. 10) Again, "however great the mutual liking and friendship, even complicity, between a god and a human being may be, the distance between god and mortal is always carefully observed. In fact, the more subtle the prayers become, the greater care is taken not to encroach in any way upon the individual freedom of decision of a god. There is no old or new 'testament' in ancient Greek religion, no pact or treaty between a god and his chosen people, or human-kind. A Greek god cannot be bound. In this respect, the Greek gods are more remote than in most monotheistic religions. On the other hand....the Greek gods are nearer because more human." (p. 23) This same point is again emphasised: "The gulf between gods and mortals which makes it impossible for either of them to encroach upon the other's innermost personality, remains unbridged." (p. 36)
46. De Oratione, 4.

47. De Oratione, 4.
48. Loc. cit.
49. Loc. cit.
50. See Moffatt, op. cit., p. 33.
51. De Orat., 4 - all three quotations.
52. See Simpson, op. cit., p. 88.
53. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 32.
54. Simpson, op. cit., p. 88.
55. De Orat., 4.
56. Ibid., 1.
57. Ibid., 29.
58. Ibid., 1.
59. Eg., Cyprian, De Dominica Oratione, 14-17; Augustine, Sermo Domini in Monte, II, 6,20-24, and Enchiridion, 115.
60. De Orat., 5.
61. Loc. cit.
62. Loc. cit.
63. Loc. cit.
64. "We pray for the emperors, for their ministers and those in authority, for the state of the world, for general quiet, for the postponement of the end (pro mora finis)." (Apol. 39) Again, "while we pray for its postponement (ie., of the end), we are favouring the long continuance of Rome." (Apol. 32) Moffatt's comment on these texts throws some light on the apparent contradiction: "But Tertullian the apologist is one thing; Tertullian, speaking not to outside pagans, but to his fellow Christians, is another. It suited his purpose, in defending the Church against the charge of disloyalty, to lay stress upon their prayers for the emperor, and to assert that the last thing Christians hoped for was the end of the world. But here (De Oratione, 5), and elsewhere, his ardent longing for the second coming catches fire from other passages of the New Testament." Moffatt, op. cit., p. 34.
65. Apol. 1.
66. De Resurr. Carnis, 22.
67. Kurt von Fritz makes the following observations on Greek philosophy: "Essentially a person has to work out his own salvation. Socrates, in Plato's Phaedrus, may pray to the gods, 'Grant that I may become beautiful within', and the Stoic Cleanthes may ask Zeus to make him follow his will

67. voluntarily. But in both cases the context shows very (cont.) clearly that while it is right and pious to ask the divinity for help when striving for the good, it is, in actual fact, the individual human being himself who must make himself 'beautiful within', or bring himself in harmony with the rest of the universe." Op. cit., pp. 15-6

Further confirmation of this view is to be found in the article on "Prayer" in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church: "As to vocal prayer, while the Stoics recognised praise and the summoning of the soul to acquiescence in God's will, but not petition, Christianity allows petitions for benefits and virtues. Though Cicero had recommended prayer to Jupiter for the gifts of fortune, he declared that 'no one has ever referred to God the acquiescence of virtue' (De Natura Deorum, III, 36), since virtue is a human achievement. By contrast, Hebrew and Christian prayer, while asking God for both, regard especially the practice of virtue as the reward of prayer..." The following observation is also of interest: "To the Hebrew requirement of holiness as a precondition of true prayer, Christianity adds the converse that true holiness only comes of prayer." O.D.C.C. p. 1115.

68. De Orat., 6.

69. Loc. cit.

70. Loc. cit. "The words 'corpus eius in pane censetur' are one of the debated sentences in the problem of determining Tertullian's view of the relation between the body and the bread in the Eucharist." Moffatt, op. cit., p. 35. Cf., also Evans, op. cit., p. 49.

71. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 36.

72. De Orat., 7.

73. Loc. cit.

74. Evans, op. cit., p. 50.

75. See the treatment of this petition of Tertullian by F.H. Chase, "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church", in Texts and Studies, vol. 1, number 3, ed., J. Armitage Robinson, (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), pp. 133-6.

76. De Orat., 8.

77. F.H. Chase, op. cit., p. 134.

78. However, Moffatt observes: "The permissive sense which Tertullian attaches to $\mu\eta$ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς is possibly in the Aramaic already, so that his interpretation may have been more accurate than he realised." Moffatt, op. cit., p. 38, note 1.

79. Simpson provides a long and helpful note on the problems surrounding this petition, which we here reproduce in large part: "Matthew's 'hard saying' ($\mu\eta$ εἰσενέγκης) is explained by Tertullian's paraphrase: 'that is, do not allow us to be led'. A.J.B. Higgins feels that Matthew himself had already found difficulty with these words: "the presence

79. therefore in Matthew of the words ἀλλὰ ἕσται ἡμῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 (cont.) πονηροῦ is the first attempt to explain the preceding
 difficult words. The explanation became part of the text.
 This tendency continued in the Latin tradition, and some-
 times the explanation even replaced the traditional text."
 (A.J.B. Higgins, "Lead us not into temptation: Some Latin
 Variants", in Journal of Theological Studies, XLVI, (1945),
 p. 179). Tertullian's gloss solved the problem for the Latin
 Church so well that it became part of the extra-biblical
 tradition. Thus, Cyprian cites a text in which Tertullian's
 paraphrase appears as the text of the prayer, (De Dominica
Oratione, 7)...As for Tertullian's source, liturgical usage
 and the text of Marcion have been suggested (F.H. Chase,
op. cit., p. 61ff.; and Higgins, op. cit., p. 181, respectively).
 Neither account seems necessary in view of the fact that
 Tertullian, seeing for himself the difficulty, did not lack
 the skill to have originated the explanatory comment." Simpson,
op. cit., p. 63, note 62.

80. De Oratione, 8.
81. Ibid., 9.
82. Loc. cit.
83. Loc. cit.
84. Loc. cit.
85. De Orat., 29.
86. Ibid., 9.
87. Loc. cit.
88. De Orat., 10.
89. Ibid., 13.
90. Ibid., 11.
91. Ibid., 10.
92. Ibid., 11. See Mt. 5:23-24.
93. De Orat., 11.
94. Ibid., 12.
95. See the article by Petro B.T. Bilaniuk, "The Mystery of
 'Theosis' or Divinization", in The Heritage of the Early
Church, Essays in Honour of The Very Reverend Georges
 Vasilievich Florovsky, pp. 337-359.
96. De Orat., 17.
97. Loc. cit.
98. Loc. cit.
99. De Orat., 24. See Eph. 6:18; 1 Thess. 5:17 and 1 Tim 2:8.

100. De Oratione, 25.
101. Loc. cit.
102. De Orat., 28. See 1 Peter 2:5.
103. De Orat., 28. Evans is of the opinion that the two phrases "spiritual oblation" and "sacrifice of prayer" may refer to the eucharistic prayer of consecration, thus giving to prayer a eucharistic setting. Evans, op. cit., "Introduction", p. xvi. The hostiam dei propriam acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisivit, quam sibi prospexit may be taken to refer to the novam orationis formam of chapter 1. In addition, Tertullian almost certainly had in mind the text of Hebrews 10:5, which speaks of the sacrifice of Christ.
104. De Orat., 28.
105. Ibid., 29.
106. Loc. cit.
107. Loc. cit.
108. Loc. cit.
109. Loc. cit.
110. De Oratione, 29 - conclusion.

CHAPTER THREE : CYPRIAN.

Notes

1. See Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, pp.340-383.
Also Bardenhewer, Patrology, pp. 190-201.
2. See Jerome, De viribus illustis, 67, quoted in Quasten, op. cit, vol. II, p.341.
3. The internal evidence consists mainly of the repeated emphasis in the De Dominica Oratione on the subjects of unity (chapters 8 and 30), brotherhood (chapters 9-11), peace, concord and unanimity (chapters 23-24, et passim), which would seem to suggest a close link with the De Unitate where these subjects were Cyprian's main concern. E.W.Benson is inclined "to place this essay in date close to that 'On Unity'." (Cyprian: His Life, His Times, His Works, p.268).
T.H.Bindley, in the introduction to his translation of the treatise, dates the De Unitate in 251, and the De Dominica Oratione a year later. (St. Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer,p.14).
Jean Daniélou, however, is of the opinion that the treatise on prayer came before that on the Church. See A History of Early Christian Doctrine, vol.III, The Origins of Latin Christianity, p.455. (Translated by Smith & Baker).

It is convenient here to mention some of the texts and translations of Cyprian's De Dominica Oratione. The text is to be found in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. III, pars.1. pp.265-294, and in Corpus Christianorum (Series Latina), vol. IIIA, pars. 2, pp. 87-113. Volume III, pars 1, of this latter series contains an extensive bibliography on Cyprian. The treatise is presented as a single work by M. Réveillaud, S. Cyprien, L'Oraison Dominicale (texte, traduction introduction et notes), Strasbourg/Paris, 1964 (- Etudes d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses de l'Université de Strasbourg, 58). It is translated in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 5, pp. 447-457, and in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 8, pp. 398-423. For the purposes of this study, the translation used is that of T. Herbert Bindley, St. Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer, an English Translation, with Introduction. A more recent translation is to be found in the series The Fathers of the Church - A New Translation, (New York, Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958), Vol. 36, pp. 127-159. Translated and edited by Roy J. Deferrari.

4. Ad Donatum, 15. Although this particular instruction is a very practical directive, and quite typical of Cyprian in his pastoral role, it is interesting to note that the context (Ad Donatum, 14-15) in which it occurs is one where Cyprian seems to employ mystical categories in describing the life of the soul. Lactantius, writing about fifty years after Cyprian, says of him:

"he is unable to please those who are ignorant of the mystery (sacramentum) except by his words, inasmuch as the things which he spoke are mystical (mystica), and prepared with this object, that they may be heard by the faithful only." (Divinae Institutiones, V, I. 26)

Bardy, in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, observes:

"Cyprien est un mystique qui ne cesse pas de chercher à découvrir les harmonies du monde invisible sous le voile dont les recouvre à nos yeux le monde visible. Un de ses mots préférés, - on en a relevé 64 exemples dans ses écrits -, est le terme sacramentum qui, avec des nuances plus ou moins accentuées, désigne toujours quelque chose de sacré et de mystérieux, par quoi les choses visibles sont mises en relation avec les choses invisibles. (cf. J. de Ghellinck, E. de Backer, J. Poukens, F. Lebacqz, Pour l'histoire du mot 'sacramentum' tome 1, les anténicéens, Paris-Louvain, coll. Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1924, pp. 153-220)".
(Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, tome II, deuxième partie, col. 2663-4)

Bardy goes on to say that the mystery par excellence is that of the unity of the Church.

5. De Unitate, 13.
6. "Cyprian, that man of holy memory, has freed us from the necessity of commenting upon the sacred mystery (sacramento) of the prayer." Hilary, Exposition on Matthew, 6:9-13.
7. Augustine, Epist. 215 ad Valerian. See T.H. Bindley, op-cit, Introduction, p.6.
8. Jerome, De viribus illustis, 53, quoted in Quasten, op-cit, vol. II, p.340.
Tixeront comments:

"... he is chiefly a man of government and action, a bishop... going into doctrinal difficulties only in as much as the instruction of the people demands it... Although an admirer and disciple of Tertullian, he is as calm and well-balanced as his master is excessive and violent. His eloquence is clothed as with the toga and always preserves something solemn and stately." J. Tixeront, History of Dogmas, (translated by H.L.B.) Vol. I, p.355
9. Tertullian, De Oratione, 1 and Cyprian, De Dominica Oratione, 9. E.W. Benson provides a table showing the verbal debts to Tertullian in Cyprian's De Dominica Oratione. See op-cit, pp. 276-279. He lists twenty-two instances in Cyprian where verbal indebtedness to Tertullian's treatise is indicated. In addition to these verbal similarities, there are numerous other similarities of thought, such as the phrase cited above.
10. De Dominica Oratione, 1.
11. Ibid, 2.
12. Ibid., 28
13. Tertullian, De Oratione, 2. See above p. 20.
14. De Dominica Oratione, 2. cf. Tertullian, De Oratione, 28.
15. Cf. Tert., Ibid., 2, where he mentions both these purposes of prayer: worship and the fulfilling of a commandment.

16. See Tertullian, Ibid., 9. See above p. 35.
17. De Dominica Oratione, 2.
18. The term παρρησία, in classical Greek, denoted the political freedom, especially the outspokenness or freedom of speech, claimed as their special privilege by the citizens of Athens. (See Liddell and Scott, A Greek Dictionary, p. 1344) In the New Testament it is the quality of Apostles, preaching the Kingdom with παρρησία (Acts 28:31) and of Christians in general, whose faith in Christ gives them confidence (Hebrews 3:6, 10:35), especially at the Second Coming (1 John 2:28) and in their prayer (1 John 5:14 - καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ παρρησία ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐάν τι κἴτῳμεθα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ἀκούει ἡμῶν.) "In Patristic teaching παρρησία before God is closely related to freedom from sin and to sanctity in general; it was the characteristic of Adam and Eve before the Fall... of Moses... it is the quality of the martyrs... Every Christian needs it in order to approach God in prayer, especially to say the Our Father." Hilda Graef, in Ancient Christian Writers, vol. XVIII, St. Gregory of Nyssa, The Lord's Prayer, p.183, where she is commenting on Nyssa's Sermon 2. See also A Patristic Greek Lexicon, ed. G.W.H.Lampe (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961), which provides a very full account of the use and meaning of the word.
- In the De Dominica Oratione, Cyprian describes the filial relation which enables the Christian to speak freely and confidently as a son with his Father. He reminds us that, when we pray, "we stand in the sight of God." (De Dominica Oratione, 4)
19. De Dominica Oratione, 3.
20. See Tertullian, De Oratione 9. See p. 35, above.
21. It is to be noted in passing that Cyprian (and Tertullian) surely give the lie to the following assertion made by H. Trevor Hughes: "There is hardly any reference throughout the authorities cited, (i.e., in the sub-apostolic age), to the work of the Holy Spirit in prayers... On the whole it must be assumed that the conception of prayer as being inspired by God is lacking in the period following the Apostolic age. Even when we would expect to find it expressed in the treatises on prayer of the dynamic North Africans, Tertullian and Cyprian, we are rewarded with only one reference from Tertullian's Apology which does not in itself state the doctrine very definitely." Prophetic Prayer - A History of the Christian Doctrine of Prayer to the Reformation. (London, 1947), p.71. Perhaps this and many of Hughes' conclusions are the result of a formal investigation into prayer, and a self-confessed disjunction in his thought between two notions of God, the one to be found in mystic piety, and the other, to be preferred, in what Hughes calls "prophetic religion". See op-cit, p.2.
22. De Dominica Oratione, 4. Cf. Tertullian, De Oratione 17 and 14 for similar sentiments.

23. De Dominica Oratione, 4. Cf. Tertullian, De Oratione, 17.
24. De Dominica Oratione, 4.
25. De Dom Or. 6.
26. Ibid. 8.
27. Loc.cit
28. Cyprian had already encouraged prayer of this kind, when in Epistle 11:7 he had urged: "Let each one of us pray to God not for Himself alone, but for all the brethren even as the Lord has taught us to pray, when he gave not a private prayer for individuals but an order to pray for all with a common prayer and a harmonious entreaty."
29. De Dominica Oratione, 8.
30. St. Cyril of Jerusalem gives his commentary on the Lord's Prayer in his Mystagogic Catecheses, (5: 11-14), his sermons on the ceremonies of initiation. So also St. Ambrose, who gives his explanation of the "Our Father" in his account of the baptismal mysteries, in De Sacramentis, (5: 18 ff., and 6:24)
31. De Dom. Or., 9.
32. Loc.cit.
33. De Dom. Or., 11
34. Loc. cit.
35. See De Dom. Or. 36: "Let us, spiritually recreated and born again by the tender mercy of God imitate that which we are destined to be." Cf., Tertullian, De Oratione, 3, where he speaks of Christians as "angels-designate".
36. See note 18, above.
37. De Dom. Or., 11.
38. De Dom. Or., 12 See Tertullian, De Oratione, 3.
39. On the efficacy of the Lord's Prayer as a daily absolution see Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 21:27 : "The daily prayer which the Lord himself taught obliterates the sins of the day, when day by day we say, 'Forgive us our debts'." And again Sermo ad Catech. 15. "Semel abluimus baptismate, Cottidie abluimus oratione."
40. Cf. Tertullian, De Oratione, 5.
41. De Dominica Oratione, 13.
42. Loc. cit.
43. See above, note 4.
44. Ibid., 14. Cyprian treats of the will of God in other works.

For example, see Ad Quirinum III, 9, where he includes a reference to this petition of the Lord's Prayer.

45. See Tertullian, De Oratione, 4. and p. 25, above.
46. De Dominica Oratione, 14.
47. Ibid., 15.
48. Ibid., 16.
49. Loc. cit.
50. See e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, 4, 26, 168. Also, and in the Latin tradition, Lactantius, who, in his Divine Institutes (Bk. 2, ch.1.), analyses the etymology of the word 'ἄνωπλιος', to discover that man is the being with his "face turned upwards", for the contemplation of God.
51. De Dominica Oratione, 18.
52. Ibid. 20.
53. Loc. cit.
54. Ibid. 23.
55. Gregory of Nyssa lays especial stress on this interrelation between divine and human forgiveness, ("De Oratione Dominica", sermo 5.), almost alleging that our forgiveness is actually an example which God is bound to imitate. Moreover, Gregory sees implied in this petition the deification of man: since God alone has the right to forgive sins, by imitating Him in this, man in some way becomes like unto God, and his nature is divinized.
56. See De Dominica Oratione, 24.
57. Ibid., 25.
58. Ibid., 26. No doubt this is one of the anti-Pelagian passages Augustine had in mind - see above, at note 7.
59. Ibid., 27
60. Ibid., 28
61. Ibid., 29
62. Ibid., 31
63. Ibid., 32
64. Ibid., 33
65. Ibid., 34
66. Ibid., 35
67. Ibid., 36

68. Ibid., 36.

A similarity exists between the sentiments expressed by Cyprian in these closing chapters and those expressed by Origen in his treatise on Prayer:

"The man who links together his prayer with deeds of duty and fits seemly actions with his prayer is the man who prays without ceasing, for his virtuous deeds or the commandments he has fulfilled are taken up as a part of his prayer."

(Peri Euches, 12: 2)

Notes

1. Tertullian, De Praescriptione 7; See also Apol. 46.
2. It is impossible here to give full treatment to the whole question of the cultural background of Clement's thought, and to the subsequent problem of determining the relationship between Clement's cultural background and his Christianity. Many scholars are of the opinion that in Clement there is a meeting of three distinct streams: the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy, the Platonic tradition, and Gnosticism.
See Salvatore Lilla, Clement of Alexandria - a study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism, especially his concluding chapter, pp. 227-234. So also, E.F.Osborn, The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria, who says, "In him (Clement) the heritages of Israel, Greece and Alexandria meet and do service to the Christian gospel." p. 9. In similar vein, Quasten comments that Clement "did not remain merely negative in his attitude, but over against the false gnosis set up a true and Christian gnosis, which placed in the service of the faith the treasure of truth to be found in the various systems of philosophy. Whereas the gnostic heretics taught that faith and knowledge cannot be reconciled because they are contradictions, Clement endeavours to prove that they are akin to each other and that a harmony of faith ($\pi\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$) and knowledge ($\gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$) produces the perfect Christian and the true Gnostic." (Patrology, II, p.20) Bishop Kaye's treatment of Clement's attitude to, and use of, Greek philosophy is given on pp. 116-121 of his Account of the Writings of Clement of Alexandria. See also chapter 2 of Henry Chadwick's Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition, pp. 31-65, and his essay on Clement in The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy, ed. A.H. Armstrong, pp. 168-181.
3. Cf. Strom. I, 1, 11.
The edition used for Clement's works is that of Otto Stählin in the series Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (GCS) (Leipzig & Berlin, 1906-1960) The relevant volumes are 12, 17, 39 and 52(15) References to Clement's writings will include three figures, as here, Strom. I, 1,11: the first, in Roman numerals, refers to the book, and the second to the chapter. These first two figures will refer the reader to Stahlin and also to either of the two translations of Clement in the Ante-Nicene Fathers (ANF) (eds: Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson) vol. II (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1887) and in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (ANCL) (eds.: Roberts and Donaldson) vols. IV and XII (Edinburgh - T. and T.Clark, 1867 and 1869).
The final figure will give a more precise location, and relates to the denotation adopted by Stahlin, and also by the Library of Christian Classics (LCC), vol II, Alexandrian Christianity, Selected Translations of Clement and Origen with Introductions and Notes by J.E.L. Oulton and H. Chadwick (London SCM Press, Ltd., 1954). This latter volume gives a translation of book

seven of the Stromateis, and all the English quotations from book VII are taken from this translation.

4. J. Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, p.5.
5. Strom. VII, 1, 1.
6. Strom. II, 2, 4-9 and 4, 12-19.
7. Strom. II, 9, 41-45.
8. Strom. II, 19, 97 - 22, 136.
9. See Strom. I, 19, 94 : "They may say that it is mere chance that the Greeks have expressed something of the true philosophy. But that chance is subject to divine providence." See also Strom. VII, 2, 6,
10. See Strom. I, 16, 80. Also Strom. I, 2, 20, and I, 5, 28-32. As to what precisely Clement intended to mean by the term philosophy, perhaps the clearest answer is given in Strom. I, 7,36.
11. Strom. I, 5, 28.
12. Strom. II, 4, 15 : "Faith is something superior to knowledge, and is its criterion."
Also Strom. VII, 10, 55 : "... by starting from this faith, and being developed by it, through the grace of God, the knowledge respecting him is to be acquired as far as possible."
13. See the article by T.F.Torrance, "The implications of Oikonomia for Knowledge and Speech of God in early Christian Theology," in Oikonomia - Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie. Torrance treats of Clement's epistemology, summarising it in the following words : "We do not need to be learned in order to become believers, he (Clement) held, but the rational element in faith requires to be cultivated and trained if we are to attain clarity in apprehension or accuracy in believing." p. 223. The article is to be found on pages 223 - 238.
14. See Strom. VI, 10, 83 : "He (the true gnostic) will, therefore, neglect nothing of what belongs to the encyclopaedic studies and to Greek philosophy, but he will not study them as essential; he will regard them, although necessary, as secondary and accessory. What the fomoters of heresy use to deceive, the gnostic will use for good."
15. Strom. II, 10, 46 (The Greek terms are θεωρία, τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐπιτέλεισις, and ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν κατασκευῆ.
See also Strom. VII, 1, 4
16. See L. Bouyer, The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers, where he says of Clement, "His intellectualism has been greatly exaggerated... the moral concern remains dominant throughout..." p. 265. See also chapter 2, in the Introduction of Hort and Mayor's text and translation of the Seventh Book of the Stromateis, entitled "The Influence of Greek Philosophy on the Theology and Ethics of Clement",

(pp. xxii - xlix). See especially the extensive notes on pages xxii and xxxiii, which constitute criticisms of Harnack's estimation of Clement as a 'depotentialization' and 'secularization' of the Christian religion.

17. Hort and Mayor, op.cit., "Introduction," p. xlvi - xlvii.
18. Strom. VII, 1, 2.
19. See Strom. VII, 1, 1.
20. Clement, referring to the Son, says: "He, the husbandman of God, having bestowed on us the truly great, divine and inalienable inheritance of the Father, deifying man by heavenly teaching, putting his laws into our minds and writing them on our hearts." Protr. 11, 114.
21. Strom. VII, 1, 2.
22. Strom. VII, 1, 3.
23. Loc. cit.
24. See also Strom. VII, 3, 13 and II, 2, 6. See "The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria", Journal of Theological Studies, 17, (1916), pp. 157-169. See also "The Mystery of Theosis or Divinization", by Petro B.T. Bilaniuk, in The Heritage of the Early Church - Essays in Honour of the Very Rev. G.V. Florovsky, (Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, Rome, 1973), pp. 337-359. Bilaniuk states that the article is intended to supply a status quaestionis and a basic bibliography on theosis.
25. Strom. VII, 1, 4.
26. Loc. cit. See also Strom. II, 10, 46 (cf. note 15 above), and VII, 3, 17-19 where a full expansion of these three achievements is given in detail.
27. Strom. VII, 2, 5.
28. Ibid., VII, 3, 13.
29. Ibid., VII, 3, 20 and VII, 14, 88.
30. Ibid., VII, 4, 22 - 5, 29.
31. Ibid., VII, 5, 29; also VII, 13, 82.
32. Ibid., VII, 6, 30-34; also II, 2, 6.
33. Ibid., VII, 6, 31.
34. Ibid., VII, 6, 32.
35. See Strom. IV, 2, 4 for Clement's own comments on the unsystematic nature of the Stromateis.
36. Respectively : Strom. VII, 7, 39: ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἢ εὐχὴ. VII, 7, 42: ἀφορμὴ τις ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν.

36. Strom. VII, 12, 73: εὐχὴ γὰρ (τῷ γνωστικῷ) ὁ βίος
(cont.) ἄσπας καὶ ὁμιλία πρὸς θεῶν.
For references to Clement's use of εὐχὴ acknowledgement is due to Stählin's Word Index of Clement in the Register contained in volume 39 of the GCS series.
37. Strom. VII, 7, 40: δι' εὐχῆς συνέιναι θεῷ.
38. Protr. 10, 100.
39. Strom. VII, 7, 38.
40. Ibid., VII, 7, 39.
41. Ibid., VII, 10, 57. See also ibid., VII, 7, 46.
42. Ibid., VII, 7, 47.
43. Ibid., VII, 7, 35.
44. See also the following two sections, Strom. VII, 7, 36-37.
45. Ibid., VII, 7, 39.
46. Ibid., VII, 7, 49.
47. See ibid., VII, 7, 42.
48. See ibid., VII, 13, 83: "Wherefore also in his use of the things of the world he is not only full of thankfulness and of admiration for the creation, but he also receives praise himself for using it as he ought, since it is through intelligent action, in obedience to the commands, that the gnostic arrives at the goal of contemplation."
49. See H. Chadwick, Early Christian Thought...; pp. 44-49, and also: "So the basic principle to which Clement repeatedly appeals is God's Creation. Because the Creator is the transcendent God, not to be identified with the world, Christians must reject all pagan worship of the creature, all philosophical pantheism, and any doctrine that material principles are ultimate... Because the material world is the Creator's good gift to be received with thanksgiving, there can be no compromise with the gnostic dualism which makes matter wholly alien and hostile to the supreme God. Because the Creator's nature is goodness and love, his Creation is an experiment in freedom in which he allows that which derives its being from his will to be other than himself and to turn away from him.... Because the Creator has implanted his image in every man, though it has become obscured, yet the intuitions of God in all men and the reasonings of philosophy are God-given and must be given a positive value by Christians. Just as human freedom and divine grace co-operate, so also reason and revelation are complementary." Ibid., pp. 57-58.
50. The doctrine of Providence (πρόνοια) also furnishes Clement with the means of clearly distinguishing between true Christian gnosticism and the false gnosis of the heretics. The heretical gnostics had no doctrine of Divine Providence. This led them into an exclusivist doctrine of salvation. With this is contrasted Clement's catholicity. For him,

50. Christ is the Saviour of all men, revealing to them the
(cont.) goodness of the divine *πρόνοια*, first of all in creation,
and now in the economy of salvation. It is true that
Clement does seem at times to speak of those who respond to
the call of the gospel and those who do not, thereby
apparently implying some kind of exclusivity. But for
Clement, this is a judgement of experience and not a judge-
ment of principle. For Clement's catholicity, see Strom.
VII, 2, 5-12. See also IV, 23, 149 and VI, 17, 159, where
he speaks of *ἡ κλήσις ἡ καθολικὴ*.
- For a clear and concise comment on the centrality and importance
of the concept of *πρόνοια* for Clement's theology, see
T.F. Torrance, op. cit., esp. pp. 226-228.
51. Paed. I, 8, 73; Strom. IV, 8, 66; Adumbratio in 1 Peter
3:15. See F.E. Vokes, "The Lord's Prayer in the First Three
Centuries", in Texte und Untersuchungen, 107, (1970), pp. 253-
260.
52. Strom. VII, 13, 81 quoting Mt. 6:12; Strom. VII, 7, 39.
53. "Clement of Alexandria and the Esoteric Tradition", in
Studia Patristica IX, Part III, (Texte und Untersuchungen,
94), 1966, pp. 41-56, by E.L. Fortin. For Clement's
discussion of his own method, see Strom. I, 1, 11; I, 2, 20-21;
I, 12, 56; IV, 2, 4; VI, 1, 2; and VII, 18, 110-111.
54. E.L. Fortin, op. cit., p. 44, quoting from Strom. I, 1, 11
and I, 12, 55.
55. Strom. VII, 3, 16.
56. Ibid., VII, 7, 39.
57. Loc. cit. See note (52) above.
58. Ibid., VII, 7, 38.
59. Origen, Peri Euches, II, 2. The first half of this extra-
canonical saying is also to be found in Clement: see Strom.
I, 24, 158. See ibid., IV, 6, 34, for a similar thought.
60. Ibid., VII, 7, 41; see also ibid., VII, 12, 73 which adds
the condition that "if he is free from sins, he will assuredly
receive what he desires".
61. Ibid., VII, 7, 43; see also VII, 7, 46.
62. Ibid., VII, 13, 81.
63. Ibid., VII, 12, 73.
64. Ibid., VII, 7, 44.
65. Ibid., VII, 7, 46.
66. See Strom. VII, 7, 35.
67. Ibid., VII, 7, 45.
68. Ibid., VII, 12, 79.

69. Strom. VI, 9, 77.
70. Ibid., VII, 12, 79; see also VII, 7, 41, where the gnostic is instructed to pray for the conversion of his neighbour.
71. Ibid., VII, 12, 80.
72. Ibid., VII, 12, 74.
73. Ibid., VII, 12, 77-78.
74. Ibid., VII, 13, 81.
75. Loc. cit., - see above, note (52).
76. Origen, Peri Euches, XIV, 5.
77. Strom. VII, 7, 44.
78. Ibid., VI, 14, 112.
79. Ibid., VII, 7, 44.
80. For the argument, see ibid., VII, 12, 73.
81. Ibid., VII, 7, 35.
82. Ibid., VII, 7, 43; cf., Origen, Peri Euches, XXXI, 4.
83. Strom. VII, 12, 73. See above, note (36).
84. Ibid., VII, 7, 35 and 40 and 43 and 49.
85. Ibid., VII, 7, 40. See E.G. Jay, Origen's Treatise on Prayer, Appendix A on "The Hours of Prayer", pp. 36-41.
86. Strom. VII, 7, 43.
87. Strom. IV, 22, 141-142.
88. Ibid., VII, 12, 78.
89. Ibid., VII, 6, 34.
90. See ibid., VII, 6, 31. See above at note (33).
91. Ibid., VII, 7, 44-45.
92. Ibid., VI, 3, 29.
93. Ibid., VII, 12, 79: "...in order that one may hear from the Lord the words, 'No longer do I call you servants, but friends,' and may thence forward join with confidence (πεποιθώς) in the prayers."

The notion of παρηγορία (confidence of approach) given now to the Christian by Christ, and in fact a completely new characteristic of Christian prayer, is spoken of by many of the Fathers. Clement does not explicitly develop this notion, but that it is implied in his teaching on the prayer of the perfect Christian cannot be denied. See chapter three, note (18).

94. See Strom. VI, 9, 78; also Strom. VI, 12, 101 and VII, 12, 73 for the same quotation. See also the end of VII, 7, 49 for a similar thought.
95. Ibid., VII, 14, 84: "And further, of our gnostic's apathy (ἑπάθεια), if I may use the term, according to which the perfecting of the believer advances through love, till it arrives at the perfect man, at the measure of the stature (Eph. 4:13), being made like to God and having become truly like to the angels (ἑξομολογμένη θεῶ, ἰσαγγελος ἄληθῶς γενομένη)...."
- For a very clear exposition of the originality and import of Clement's teaching on ἑπάθεια , see L. Bouyer, The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers, pp. 273-5. Bouyer firsts points out that Clement was the first theologian to introduce into Christian language the term κπάθεια . To his mind, Clement's meaning for the term is a "domination acquired, by the grace to which our liberty yields itself, over everything in us which is opposed to the radiance of charity." "Far from the 'apatheia' of the Christian rendering him insensible to Christian agape, therefore, it is actually only its triumphant radiation." (p. 273) This term is eventually taken up by the Cappadocians and Evagrius Ponticus, and plays a central role in the future of monasticism. Other references in Clement where he treats of this term are: Strom. VI, 9, 71-74; 13, 105; 14, 111-112; VII, 3, 13 and 20; 14, 84-88.
96. See ibid., IV, 23, 152: "...and man, when deified purely into a passionless state becomes a unit..." (εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑπάθειαν θεούμενος ἀνθρώπος ἀχράντως μοναδικὸς γίνεται). See also ibid., II, 20, 125.
97. Ibid., VII, 11, 65.
98. Ibid., VII, 7, 44-45.
99. Ibid., VII, 7, 46: "In him who has rendered his virtue indefectible by discipline based upon knowledge, habit is changed into nature."
100. Ibid., VII, 7, 44. The following passage would seem to preclude any judgement of mystical intellectualism in Clement: "...for the souls which have made their choice of virtue, progress is always in the direction of what is better, until they arrive at the Absolute Goodness (so far, the influence of Plato is only too evident - but Clement goes beyond Plato) being brought close to the Great High Priest, in the vestibule, so to speak, of the Father." Ibid., VII, 7, 45. The Summum Bonum is no longer barren and intellectual, but warm and personal.
101. Ibid., VII, 7, 48.
102. Loc. cit.
103. Ibid., VII, 10, 56-57.
104. These words herald the thought of Athanasius, at the end of his treatise De Incarnatione, 57.

105. Strom. VII, 7, 49.
106. For example, see ibid., VII, 9, 53: "...both his word and his life are in harmony with his thought."
107. Ibid., VII, 10, 59: « ἀγάπην... τὴν διὰ τῆς γνῶσεως γεννωμένην. »
108. Ibid., V, 1, 13: « ἀγάπην δὲ ὁ θεὸς, ὁ τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι γνωστός... καὶ χρεὶ ἐξοικειοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ δι' ἀγάπης τῆς θείας, ἵνα δὴ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ θεωρῶμεν. »
109. L. Bouyer, The Spirituality etc., p. 272-3.
110. G.W. Butterworth, "The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria", in Journal of Theological Studies, XVII, 1916, p. 157. For another study of this doctrine in Clement, see J. Gross, La Divinisation du chrétien d'après les pères grecs, (Paris, 1938), pp. 159-174.
111. Strom. VI, 15, 125. Stählin's "Register" gives this and the following quotation as the only two occasions where Clement uses θεοποιέω with reference to man. However, he uses similar language to teach the same thing.
112. Protr. 11, 114: « οὐρανίῳ διδασκαλίᾳ θεοποιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. »
113. Ibid., 1, 9: « ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γινόμενος, ἵνα δὴ, καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθῃς, πῆ ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται θεός. »
 We note here the occurrence of these or similar words in other Fathers: Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. V, Preface; Athanasius, De Incarnatione Verbi, 54; Gregory of Nazianzus, Poema Dogmatica, 10, 5-9; Gregory of Nyssa, Oratio catechetica magna, 25; and also Maximus the Confessor: "Let us then give ourselves entirely to the Lord that we may receive him entire to ourselves. Let us become gods by his grace, for it was for this reason that he, who is by nature God and Lord, became man." Liber asceticus, paragraph 43. (P.G. 90, col. 953)
114. Strom. VII, 12, 78: « ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν δι' αὐτῆς τῆς γνῶσεως μέτοκος ὢν τῆς θείας βουλήσεως οἰκείος ὄντως τοῦ κυρίου... »
115. See notes (87) and (88), above.
116. Strom. VI, 14, 113; see also VII, 12, 79.
117. Ibid., VII, 13, 82.
118. A.L. Lilley, Prayer in Christian Theology, (London, SCM, 1924), p. 13.
119. See, for example, the use Lossky makes of Clement's teaching in his essays "Apophysis and Trinitarian Theology", and "Darkness and Light in the Knowledge of God", in In the Image and Likeness of God, (London and Oxford, 1974).

Notes

1. Peri Euches, II, I, and XXXIV.
The text used is that of Paul Koetschau in Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. It is to be found in volume two of Origen's works. (Leipzig, 1899). The main translation used is that of Eric George Jay in Origen's Treatise on Prayer, (Translation and Notes with an account of the practice and doctrine of prayer from New Testament times to Origen), (London, SPCK, 1954). Use is also sometimes made of the recent translation by Rowan A. Greer in Origen, in the series The Classics of Western Spirituality - a Library of the Great Spiritual Masters. (London, SPCK, and Paulist Press, New York, 1979). Two other translations are by Professor J.E.L. Oulton in The Library of Christian Classics (LCC), volume II, Alexandrian Christianity, which contains a substantial introduction to the treatise (SCM Press Ltd., London and Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1954), and by J.J. O'Meara in Ancient Christian Writers (ACW), volume 19, (editors, J. Quasten and J.C. Plumpe), (Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland, 1953).
2. Peri Euches, I, 1. As with the other three authors, space does not allow a comprehensive examination of the whole of Origen's thought. Attempts will be made, in the notes, to supply the essentials. Much reliance will be placed on the conclusions of Jean Daniélou in his work, Origène, (La Table Ronde, Paris, 1948).

In the present instance, the context of these opening words of the Peri Euches is perhaps the central problem for Origen, and for Christianity, that of the relationship between God and man. Origen, in his work Contra Celsum, treated precisely this question. Daniélou comments:

"... la pensée d'Origène s'oppose diamétralement à celle des philosophes païens. Ils ont ceci de commun qu'ils posent les mêmes problèmes, mais les réponses qu'ils y apportent sont opposées." Op. cit., p. 109.

"C'est la question de la connaissance de Dieu qui est ici engagée, ou plutôt, dans ce contexte mystique qui est celui du III^e siècle, celle de la vision de Dieu... Pour Celse la vision de Dieu est accessible, mais difficile, pour Origène elle est inaccessible et facile." Ibid., p. 114

"Celse disait, avec Platon: la vision de Dieu est possible à l'homme par un grand effort, mais elle est le privilège de quelques-uns. Origène rejette ces deux thèses: pour lui la vision de Dieu est impossible à tout homme sans exception, qui est laissé à ses forces naturelles - et, par ailleurs, elle est donnée comme une grâce de Dieu à tout homme également qui se tourne vers elle, sans qu'il soit besoin qu'il soit philosophe... ce qui, pour Celse, rest le privilège d'une élite devient dans le Christ, pour Origène, accessible à l'humanité tout entière... Tout l'essentiel du christianisme: gratuité du don de Dieu,

universalité de ce don, est conservé..." Ibid., pp. 117-118.

The significance of these opening words of Origen in this present treatise may now be more fully grasped.

3. Tertullian, De Oratione, 1.
4. Peri Euches, II, 1.
5. Ibid., II, 2.
6. The following quotations are of importance in this regard:

"Those who believe and are persuaded that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, and that Christ is the truth, as He said Himself,... do not take their knowledge of how to live a good and blessed life from any other source than the very words and teaching of Christ."

"We maintain that that only is to be believed as the truth which in no way conflicts with the tradition of the Church and the apostles."
(DePrincipiis, I, preface.)

Daniélou makes the following judgement of Origen:

"Il a été toujours et il a été exclusivement l'homme de l'Écriture... L'Écriture est le centre de sa vie. S'il a fait de la philosophie, c'est pour mieux comprendre la parole de Dieu et pour l'expliquer aux hommes de son temps. Mais il n'a jamais reconnu d'autres maîtres que le Logos parlant par l'Écriture." Origène, (Paris, 1948) p.137

7. Mt. 5:44, 9:38; Lk. 22:40; Mt. 24:20 and 6:7.
8. Peri Euches, II, 2. The first of these extra-canonical sayings of Jesus is also to be found in Clement of Alexandria, (Strom. I, 24, 158, and IV, 6, 34) and in Eusebius of Caesarea, (In Psalmos 16:2). Origen quotes it again in Contra Celsum, VII, 726, and Delarue suggests there that it is either from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or an interpolation into the text of Mt. 6:33 in a codex to which Origen had access.
9. See Peri Euches, VIII, 1; XIII, 4; XIV, 1; XVI, 2; XVII, 1-2 and XXI, 1-2
10. See Jay, op.cit., p.131, note 3.
11. Peri Euches, XIII, 4. « ἡ περὶ τῶν προσημασθέντων ἡμῶν πνευματικῶν καὶ μυστικῶν εὐχῶν. »
12. Peri Euches, II, 3, quoting Rom. 8:26, with the addition of the phrase τῷ θεῷ.
13. See Peri Euches IX and X.
14. Peri Euches X,2. This phrase "a sharer in the prayer of

the Word of God", is rendered thus by Jay and Oulton. Greer however translates as follows: "... through the purification that has been mentioned, and through prayer, he will partake of the Word of God..." Greer, *op.cit.*, p.100. The original is: « ἔτι δὲ διὰ τε τῆς προειρημένης καθαρῆς καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ μέσον καὶ τῶν μὴ γινώσκόντων αὐτὸν ἐστήκοτος λόγου Θεοῦ, ..., μεθέξει. »

The influence of Clement is very clearly evident here, in Origen's insistence on purity of heart before prayer.

15. Peri Euches, X, 2. Dupuis speaks of our becoming spiritual, precisely because of this mixture (melange) or κρᾶσις. See J. Dupuis, L'Esprit de l'Homme, Etude sur l'anthropologie religieuse d'Origène, (Desclée de Brouwer, 1967) p.94.
16. Peri Euches, XXVII, 13. The word is Θεοποιῶμεν.
17. Peri Euches, XI, 1-5. See also XXXI, 5. cf., Strom. VII, 12, 78. See note (114) in chapter four.
18. See Peri Euches, III, and IV.
19. See the full note of Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 2. Perhaps Gregory of Nyssa makes a clearer distinction: "Now what is the difference in meaning between these two words? It is this: a vow (εὐχή) is the promise of something consecrated to the service of God; whereas prayer (προσευχή) is the offering to God of a supplication for good things. Since, therefore, we need confidence (παρηγορία) to approach God with the request for the things that are profitable for us, the performance of a vow must necessarily come first. Thus, when we have accomplished our part, we are confident of being made worthy to receive in return the things that are God's to give." De Dominica Oratione, Sermo 2, from ACW XVIII, translated by Hilda Graef, p.36. This same distinction is later made by Maximus the Confessor, Quaest. ad Thalass. 51. It seems that Origen's definition of prayer then comprises two elements: it is first of all an offering to God, and secondly, a request of God. These two elements, a thanksgiving offering to God, and the receiving from Him of what is His to give, are the two constituents of the Sacrament, the Eucharist.
20. See Peri Euches, V and VI
21. It is to be noted, with Jay, that "Origen is the first writer (at least of those whose works have come down to us) to deal with these objections to the practice of prayer. It is a mark of his intellectual honesty that he so readily takes up the challenge." *Op. cit.*, p. 93, note 2.
22. Pope, H., "Origen's Treatise on Prayer", American Ecclesiastical Review, (Washington, 1919), 60. p. 638.
23. Greer, *op. cit.*, "Introduction", pp. 12-14.
24. Peri Euches, VIII, 1.
25. Peri Euches, VIII, 2. Oulton's translation.

26. Peri Euches, VIII, 2: Greer's translation. Clement's thought is echoed here.
27. Peri Euches, IX, 1. Oulton makes a valid contribution here. In Origen's insistence upon the right disposition of him who engages in prayer, without distraction, anger or malice - a common theme in this treatise - he sees an autobiographical reference to the difficulties Origen had experienced in his relationship with Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria. Op. cit., pp. 176-7.
For Clement of Rome, see above, chapter 1, p. 6f.
28. Peri Euches, VIII, 1, and IX, 3. The first of these reads: "... nor can he who prays obtain remission of his sins, unless he from his heart has forgiven his brother who has trespassed, and who asks to receive pardon."
29. Peri Euches, X, 1.
30. Peri Euches, IX, 2. Greer's translation, op. cit., p.99. Origen's word for "conversing" is ὁμιλεῖν - precisely the word Clement chose to use when giving his definition of the essence of the Christian's prayer.
31. Origen develops his teaching on the spiritual life in his Commentary on the Song of Songs, and he describes the stages of the soul's mystical journey to God in his homilies on Exodus and Numbers, especially the twenty-seventh homily on Numbers. In his theology of the spiritual life, Origen takes up the biblical concept of man having been created "in the image of God". A deeper investigation into this subject would aid the present study, but space prevents this.
- The main study of Origen's theology of the spiritual life remains that of Walter Völker, Das Volkommenheitsideal des Origenes, (Tubingen, 1931) Daniélou, op.cit., also treats of it in his final chapter, "La Mystique d'Origène", pp.287-301. See also J. Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, pp. 94-101, entitled "The Mysticism of Origen". He provides a comprehensive bibliography.
32. Isaiah 58:9. Peri Euches, X,1.
33. Origen - Peri Euches, XII, 2; Tertullian: De Oratione, 24-25; Cyprian: De Dominica Oratione, 34-36; Clement of Alexandria: Strom.VII, 7,35-49 and 12, 73.
Origen returns to this thought of life as continuous prayer in In Matt. 16, 22.
34. Peri Euches, XII, 1.
35. Peri Euches, XII, 2. Origen is here very close to Clement's "perfect prayer".
36. Jay, op. cit., devotes "Appendix A", pp. 36-41, to a consideration of the Christian hours of prayer. See also his note 3 on p. 115.
37. Peri Euches, XIII, 1.

37. Peri Euches, XIII, 1.
38. Peri Euches, XIII, 2.
39. Peri Euches, XIII, 2 and 4. See Clement, Strom.VII, 7, 35 for his references to thanksgiving in prayer.
40. Peri Euches, XIII, 4. See note 11 above, p. 149, for the original Greek text.
41. Some commentators have found that Origen distinguishes three senses of Scripture, literal, moral and mystical or spiritual, corresponding to Philo's three-fold division of man into body, soul and spirit. See e.g., Jay, op.cit., p. 85, note 1. Such a trichotomy is based on Origen's own words in De Principiis, Book 4,2,4. Daniélou, however, finds only two senses of Scripture in Origen:

"We are therefore led to reject the division of meanings into three as an artificial proceeding, a piece of mere theory... We are justified in confining ourselves to the two contrasting meanings known to Tradition - the literal and the typological, the second having as many subdivisions as there are facets in the Christus totus." Origen, p.191. Taken from the English translation of Daniélou's work, by Walter Mitchell, (Sheed and Ward, London and New York, 1955)

One thing is certain: that Origen saw his main task as an exegete to be the exposition of the inner spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. See De Prin. 4, 3, 15. Pope also subscribes to this latter view, op.cit., p. 642.

42. Peri Euches, XIII, 5. I Sam. 12: 16-18; I Kings 17:18.
43. Peri Euches, XIV,1.
44. Peri Euches, XVI, 2 and XVII, 1 and 2.
45. Peri Euches, XVII, 1 and 2.
46. See, e.g. Clement, Strom. VII, 7, 46.
47. Peri Euches, XIV, 2.
48. Jay's translation is different here. He takes $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ to mean "on behalf of", and so translates: "'intercession' is a request to God on behalf of certain persons made by one who has a greater boldness."
49. Jay, op.cit., p. 125, note 1. Oulton reaches the same conclusion, op.cit., p. 188.
50. Peri Euches, XIV, 6 - XVI, 1. See also Contra Celsum, V, 4; VIII, 13 and V, 11. A translation of these last three texts is given by Oulton in his notes pp.346-7 Daniélou, op.cit., discusses the question of subordinationism, pp. 249-258.

51. Peri Euches, XIV, 6.
52. Peri Euches, XV, 1.
53. Origen uses Mk. 10:18; Lk. 18:19; Mt. 19:17; Heb. 8:3 and I John 2:1.
54. Peri Euches, XIV, 6. - XVI, 1.
55. Peri Euches, XXXIII, 1-6. The word used here is τόποι, variously translated as "sections" by Jay, "subjects" by Oulton and "topics" by Greer. The phrase at XIV, 2 is «τέσσαρα ὀνόματα κατὰ τεσσάρων πραγμάτων.»
56. Peri Euches, XXXIII, 2.
57. Peri Euches, XXXIII, 1 and 6. For parallels, see Rom. 16:27; Heb. 13:21; Gal 1:5, and 2 Tim.4:18. Dupuis quotes these three doxologies of Origen and comments:

"Sans doute, la pratique des doxologies trinitaires ne rejoint-elle pas en tous les cas cette règle théologique qu'établit "le Traité sur la prière." C'est cependant dans ce traité qu'il faut s'attendre à trouver la forme doxologique qui paraît à Origène la plus authentique." Dupuis, op.cit., p. 124.

58. Peri Euches, XVI, 1. O'Meara (ACW vol.XIX) notes that this is "apparently an indication of the anxiety of Origen to keep in line with the main body of Christians". p. 211. Unity is also a common theme in Cyprian, indeed to a much greater extent than it figures in Origen.
59. Peri Euches, XVII,2. See note 9, above.
60. Peri Euches, XVIII, 1. Jay points out that the use here of the verb σπογγάζω suggests that Origen regards the Lord's Prayer as an outlined scheme of prayer. Op.cit., p.136, note 3. Greer translates here: "... the prayer written by the Lord as a model ... " op.cit., p.118.
61. Peri Euches, XVIII, 2.
62. Peri Euches, XIX, 1 and 2.
63. Peri Euches, XIX, 3.
64. Peri Euches, XX, 1. Origen takes up this theme of the superceding of worship in the synagogue by true Christian worship, elsewhere. See Contra Celsum, VIII, 17-18; III, 34; VI,14 and VII, 65, the first of which is quoted by Daniélou, op.cit., p.48. Daniélou comments:

"Nous y rencontrons l'opposition du culte extérieur et du culte en esprit et en vérité... Le Christ avait aboli le cult juif figuratif, en apportant la réalité qu'il figurait. Dès lors que le Temple véritable, qui est le Christ total, est là, le Temple de pierre n'a plus de raison d'être... la

présence qui était attachée dans l'Ancien Testament au temple matériel de Jerusalem demeure à partir de l'Incarnation dans l'humanité de Jésus et des membres de Jésus. La présence de Dieu est attachée à la communauté chrétienne, non à l'Eglise de pierre." (pp. 48-49)

It has already been noted how Origen emphasises the presence of Christ, and his angels and saints, both living and dead, with the one who pays. See above at note 17, and XXXI, 5.

65. Jn. 14:23; Peri Euches XX, 2. Cf. note (32) above.
66. Peri Euches, XXI, 2. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Strom, VI, 14, 113 and VII, 7, 38-39.
67. Peri Euches, XXII, 1. See also Commentary on John, XIX, 1, where Origen asserts the same. (See The Commentary of Origen on St. John's Gospel, A.E. Brooke, vol. 2, (Cambridge, 1896) p.7.)
68. Peri Euches, XXII, 1. The key word here is παρηγορία. See note (18), chapter three on this word and its implication.
69. Peri Euches, XXII, 3. Greer's translation op.cit., p.124. Gregory of Nyssa develops this theme in his Five Sermons on the Lord's Prayer.
70. Peri Euches, XXII, 4.
71. Peri Euches, XXII, 5.
72. Jay, op.cit., p. 148, note 3.
73. See chapter on Clement. Origen has previously used this word at Peri Euches, IX, 2 - see note (30) above.
74. Peri Euches, XXIII, 1-5.
75. Peri Euches, XXIII, 2. See also De Principiis, 4,3,1ff.
76. Peri Euches, XXIV, 1.
77. Peri Euches, XXIV, 4 : <<γυνώσκει τῆς ἰσότητος τοῦ θεοῦ.>>
78. Peri Euches, XXIV, 4.
79. Peri Euches, XXV, 1. Greer's translation, op.cit., p.132.
80. See Peri Euches, XXV, 3: "If, then, we wish God to reign in us, let not sin in any way reign in our mortal body." Jay notes that "good works have a prominent place in Origen's conception of the perfection of the soul. A purely intellectual or purely emotional mysticism does not satisfy him." op.cit., p.158, note 2. The same was also found to be true of Clement.
81. Peri Euches, XXV, 2. Dupuis, in his study of Origen's religious anthropology, makes the following comment:

"Le progrès spirituel, dans sa phase terrestre,

restait partiel et inachevé... État de sainteté (*ἀγιότης*) et connaissance (*γνώσις*) sont, en cette vie, partiels (*ἐκ μέρους*); la plénitude (*τὸ πλήρωμα*) en est pour l'au-delà."

(Fragm. in Joan. X) Dupuis, *op.cit.*, p. 193.
Cf. Clement, *Strom.* IV, 26, 172; VII, 10, 57 and VII, 7, 46, for a similar thought. Origen is here speaking of the notion of "epektasis", which will be developed by later Fathers.

82. See *Peri Euches*, XXVI, 5.
Jay, *op.cit.*, p. 165, note 1. Origen's word is *προαίρεσις*.
83. *Peri Euches*, XXVII, 2.
84. *Peri Euches*, XXVII, 12
85. *Peri Euches*, XXVII, 13. This theme of "being made God" is recurrent in many of the Fathers. See above, the chapter on Clement, note 113. See also J. Gross, *La Divinisation du chrétien d'après les pères grecs*, pp. 174-185, for his study of this doctrine in Origen.
86. Romans 13: 7-8; *Peri Euches*, XXVIII, 1.
87. *Peri Euches*, XXVIII, 2.
88. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 3.
89. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 7.
90. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 1-3 and 5-8
91. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 4.
92. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 9 and 11.
93. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 11.
94. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 11 ff.
95. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 13.
96. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 19.
97. 2 Cor. 4: 8; *Peri Euches*, XXX, 1-2
98. *Ibid.*, XXX, 3.
99. *Ibid.*, XXXI, 2.
100. *Loc. cit.*
101. *Ibid.*, XXXI, 3.
102. *Ibid.*, XXXI, 4. See Clement. *Strom* VII, 7, 35, 40, 43 and 49 and VII, 12, 73, for the same teaching.

103. Peri Euches, XXXI, 5.
104. Peri Euches, XXXII. See also Hom. Lev. IX, 10.
Cf., Tertullian: Adv. Val. 3; Clement of Alexandria:
Strom. VII, 7, 43; Justin Martyr: Dial. CXXI, 2.
105. Peri Euches, XXXIV.

Notes

1. Mention should be made of two recent comparisons between Tertullian's De Oratione and Origen's Peri Euches: "Les deux commentaires les plus anciens du Notre Père", in Studia Missionalia (Rome) 1975, vol. 24, pp. 293-309, by H. Crouzel, and another by J.E.L. Oulton in The Library of Christian Classics, vol. II, Alexandrian Christianity. (London, 1954), pp. 224-230.
2. Origen, Peri Euches, 1.
3. Clement, Stromateis, VII, 1, 1-2
4. Clement, Stromateis, VII, 1,3.
5. Tertullian, De Oratione, 1.
6. Cyprian, De Dominica Oratione, 1.
7. Origen, De Principiis, 1. Preface. See note 6 of chapter five.
8. See Stromateis, I, 1. especially section 11.
See note (53) chapter four.
9. On the use of the Lord's Prayer in the Primitive Church, see the article by this title in Journal of Biblical Literature, (84), 1965 (Pennsylvania) pp. 153-159 by Gordon J. Bahr.
10. De Oratione, 1.
11. Ibid., 29.
12. Ibid., 2.
13. Ibid., 29.
14. Ibid., 28. See note (103) to chapter two.
15. Ibid., 10, and 1.
16. See J. Daniélou, A History of Early Christian Doctrine, Vol. III, chapter 17, entitled "Cyprian's Ecclesiology".
17. De Dominica Oratione, 2.
18. Ibid., 2 and 3.
19. Ibid., 2 and 3. Tertullian, De Oratione, 1, 9 and 28-29.
20. De Dominica Oratione, 3.
21. De Oratione, 9.

22. See note 20 in chapter four.
Eugène de Faye, Clément d'Alexandrie, (Paris, 1898), believed that the third book of Clement's trilogy was never completed, and that in the Stromateis there are the outlines of this book, which would have been called "the Master", ὁ Διδάσκαλος.
See op.cit., pp. 78-86.
E.F. Osborn argues similarly in "Teaching and Writing in the First Chapter of the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria", J.T.S., New series 10, 1959, pp. 335-343.
23. Stromateis, VII, 7, 35.
24. See above p. 68f.
25. Strom., VII, 1, 4.
26. Ibid., VII, 2, 5.
27. Origen, Peri Euches, II, 3-5.
28. J.E.L. Oulton, op.cit., p.226.
29. De Oratione, 2.
30. See Ibid., 6, 18-19, 23, 27-28.
31. Ibid., 24.
32. Eg., Peri Euches, V, 1. where he speaks disparagingly of those who reject Baptism and the Eucharist; XXVIII, 4, where he refers to the duties of the deacon, the priest and the bishop, and XXVIII, 9-10, which contains a reference to priestly absolution.
33. Ibid., XXXI, 5.
34. Ibid., VI, 4; XI, 1; XXXI, 5, and in other works. See above p. 88f.
35. Ibid., XXXI, 5.
36. "Ce sens de l'Eglise et de son unité, qui rappelle l'enseignement de son grand contemporain Cyprien, remonte chez Origène à son enfance, et restera un trait de toute sa vie." J. Daniélou, Origène, p.24. Also, "... ceci est souvent oublié, qu' Origène est avant tout un homme d'Eglise, vir ecclesiasticus, comme il se désigne lui même dans Hom. in Luc., XVI." Ibid., p.20.
Daniélou discusses Origen's ecclesiology on pages 52-63, and concludes: "Mais Origène ne s'y arrête pas (i.e., with the visible) parce que pour lui ce qui importe, ce ne sont pas les institutions, mais c'est la sainteté, la réalité spirituelle." Ibid., p. 63.
37. Daniélou, again: "Sa tendance spiritualisante le porterait à déprécier l'importance de l'aspect visible." Ibid., p.52.
Gustave Bardy in La théologie de l'Eglise de saint Irénée au Concile de Nicée, (pp.128-165) insists that, for Origen, the essential mystery of the Church is that it is the Body

- of Christ. See also The Whole Christ, E. Mersch, (translated by John R. Kelly, London, Dennis Robson, Ltd., 1938) pp. 258-261, for an exposition of a passage from the Homilies on Leviticus, 7, which is an important text for Origen's ecclesiology.
38. J. Daniélou, A History of Early Christian Doctrine, Vol. III, p.429.
 39. De Dominica Oratione, 8.
 40. Loc. cit. See above, p. 51f.
 41. Stromateis, VII, 6, 31 and 7, 35.
 42. Ibid., VII, 6, 31. and VII, 12, 78. See note (114), chapter four.
 43. Ibid., VII, 6, 31.
 44. Mt. 6: 5-6; see Tertullian, De Oratione, 1 and 17; Cyprian, De Dominica Oratione, 4-5; Clement, Stromateis, VII, 7, 35 and 49; Origen, Peri Euches, XIX, 1-3 and XX, 2.
 45. Mt. 6: 7; see De Oratione, 1; De Dominica Oratione, 4, where the context suggests it; Stromateis, VII, 7, 49; Peri Euches, XXI, 1-2.
 46. 1 Thess. 5: 18; Eph. 5: 20; 6: 20; 1 Tim. 2: 8; See De Oratione, 24; De Dominica Oratione, 35-36; Stromateis, VII, 7, 35 and 40, 42 and 49; Peri Euches, XII, 2, and XXXI, 1.
 47. Tertullian mentions the third, sixth and ninth hours, and, in addition, morning and evening prayers. He also encourages prayer before a meal and before a bath, and also with a visitor (De Oratione, 25-26). Cyprian echoes the same instructions with regard to the three hours, together with morning and evening prayer, but he adds prayer at night (De Dominica Oratione, 34-36). Clement and Origen also refer to the three hours of prayer, (Stromateis, VII, 7, 40, and Peri Euches, XII, 2).
 48. On recollection, see De Oratione, 1 and 12; De Dominica Oratione, 4; Stromateis, VII, 7, 35ff; Peri Euches, VIII, 2; IX, 2; XXXI, 2.
On humility, see Cyprian, who expands the passing reference made by Tertullian to the parable of the publican and the tax-gatherer: De Oratione, 17; cf., De Dominica Oratione, 4 and 6. Also Peri Euches, X, 1, which speaks of "putting aside all (one's) displeasure against Providence". Clement's main theme of the gnostic who alone is truly devout implies an attitude of humility in one who knows the true relationship between God and man.
 49. Mt. 5: 23-24; Tertullian refers to this peace and unanimity as the "chief precept" of prayer, and warns that no approach must be made to the altar of God "before we cancel whatever of discord or offence we have contracted with the brethren". De Oratione, 11. See De Oratione Dominica, 8, 23-24, and 30. Clement actually quotes the verse from the Lord's Prayer

which refers to the need for forgiveness, Stromateis, VII, 13,81. See Peri Euches, II 2; VIII, 1; IX, 1 and 3; and XXVIII.

50. De Oratione, 17.
51. De Dominica Oratione, 4. Jer. 23: 23f.
52. Peri Euches, X,2.
53. Stromateis, VII, 7, 49 and 39.
54. De Oratione, 24.
55. De Dominica Oratione, 36.
56. Ibid., 20.
57. See esp. Strom., VII, 7, 35, 40, 42, and 49.
See above, note (38) chapter four.
58. Peri Euches, XII, 2.
59. E.G. Jay, op.cit., p. 34.
60. Peri Euches, VIII, 2.
61. Strom., VII, 7,43. See note (61), chapter four.
Simpson, op.cit., p. 135.
63. Philaret's Catechism defines a sacrament as "A mystery or sacrament is a holy act through which grace, or, in other words, the saving power of God, works mysteriously upon man."
Quoted from W. Niesel, Reformed Symbolics, p.144.
64. Evagrius, De Oratione, 60.
65. G. Florovsky, in the "Introduction" to The Festal Menaion, (translated by Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware) (Faber and Faber, London, 1969) p. 21.
66. Paul Evdokimov, quoted by Kallistos Ware in "Theology of Worship", Sobornost, Series 5: No.10, Winter-Spring, 1970, p. 737.

APPENDIX A.

Tertullian's use of Sermo and Ratio, (see chapter two, note 12).

In his commentary on this text, (De Oratione, 1), Evans says that "Tertullian elsewhere observes (Adv. Prax. 5) that speech and reason are not so much alternative as complementary renderings, in that reason is prior to speech." (Evans, op. cit., p. 42).

In his book, Deus Christianorum: Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien, Rene Braun observes that Tertullian has employed the hendiadys sermo et ratio in order to express the full force of the Greek term λόγος, which combines in one word the two aspects of λόγος ἐνδιὰθετος and λόγος προφορικός, the internal, unexpressed word, and the external, spoken word. (See Braun, pp. 259-264).

"However, Tertullian was more sensitive to the intimate unity rather than to the distinction of the Logos into its two elements, intellectual and verbal, which the Latin isolates in two distinct terms." (Braun, p. 260 - translated by the present author). The opening of De Oratione is Tertullian's attempt to say something about the person of Christ. "Dei spiritus et dei sermo et dei ratio, sermo rationis et ratio sermonis, et spiritus utriusque." (De Oratione, 1). "This interweaving of nominatives and genitives is necessary, in a bold attempt to translate into Latin all that the Greeks mean by the word λόγος, an intimate union, an interpenetration of thought and word." (Braun, p. 260). Braun also refers to Adversus Praxean, in which Tertullian gives a detailed analysis of the notion of λόγος, the two elements of which, (ratio and sermo), are in relation to each other as substantial element to formal element. "In the light which the λόγος of the Greeks throws on them, ratio and sermo become two aspects of one and the same reality." (Braun, p. 264). "There are not two distinct realities, but only one, which, considered as ratio in its substantial being, manifests itself in its operation as sermo." (Braun, p. 262).

On the basis of Braun's study, it seems right to conclude, with Simpson, (op. cit., p. 44), that sermo and ratio are both necessary to convey the full sense of the Greek term λόγος.

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