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A Footnote To Pliny's Account of Christian Worship

Ralph P. Martin

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The purpose of this *opusculum* is a modest one. It is simply to add an extended footnote to Pliny's text, alluded to in the final paragraph of the article 'Aspects of Worship in the New Testament Church' in *Vox Evangelica* II (1963)*. This subsequent issue of the Journal gives opportunity to pursue an enquiry about early Christian hymns into the second century AD.

I. PLINY'S ACCOUNT

The Roman official Pliny held office as governor of the province of Pontus and Bithynia in Asia Minor for a period of fifteen months or so in AD 111-112. During that time he corresponded with the emperor Trajan. One piece of extant correspondence is of great interest to the student of Christian history.¹

Pliny had sought to enforce an edict which proscribed the profession of Christianity. But he was uncertain as to the correctness of the procedure he had adopted. He wrote, therefore, to Trajan seeking guidance. He explained the method of procedure he had hitherto followed; and in the course of his letter he related some information about Christian practices which he had received from certain Christian apostates.

'They asserted that this was the sum and substance of their fault or their error; namely that they were in the habit of meeting before dawn on a stated day and singing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a god, and that they bound themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wicked deed, but that they would abstain from theft and robbery and adultery, that they would not break their word, and that they would not withhold a deposit when reclaimed. This done, it was their practice, so they said, to separate, and then to meet together again for a meal, which however was of the ordinary kind and quite harmless'. (Epp. x. 96/97: Lightfoot's translation).

Our special attention is directed to the words rendered by Lightfoot 'before dawn on a stated day and singing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a god' (*stato die ante lucem carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum inuicem*).

These words give an insight into the practice of Christian worship in the second century, which is known otherwise only from occasional references. The earliest documents apart from the canonical literature are 1 Clement (c. AD 96); Ignatius' epistles, written en route to his martyrdom (c. AD 108); and the enigmatic Church Order known as the *Didache* which possibly belongs to the decades AD 80-100. In chronological sequence the next liturgical text is that contained in Justin's *Apology* (c. AD 150-153).² If this attempt at dating the second

* http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol02/worship_martin.pdf

¹ The historical background is given in E. C. Kennedy, *Martial and Pliny*, 1952, ad x. 96; B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to AD 461*, I, 1922, 234 ff.

² 1 Clem. lix-lxi; Ignatius, *Eph.* iv; vii. 2; xix; *Trallians* ix; *Smyr.* i. The belief that Ignatius introduced antiphonal singing to the Church at Antioch is mentioned by Socrates, *HE.* vi. 8. But this claim was evidently not

century literature is anywhere near correct, what is virtually the sole extant witness to Christian worship in the half century or so which separates

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Ignatius and Justin is contained in Pliny's letter. A special significance, therefore, attaches to this text.

The record which has been cited above presents certain problems of identification. The 'fixed day' may be taken as referring to the Christian 'Sunday', the Lord's day. For the observance of this day there is attestation in the canonical Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the *Didache*, Ignatius and Barnabas;³ but the data are capable of various interpretations.⁴ The oath which is mentioned has been understood to refer to the reciting of the Decalogue. It is suggested⁵ that, as the reciting of the Law takes place in the Sabbath worship of the Jewish synagogue, the allusion to a similar form of oath-taking confirms that the Christian service in Bithynia still retained its Jewish-Christian character. An alternative suggestion is made by J. H. Srawley⁶ that the oath relates to the baptismal vow when the neophytes renounced those practices which were out of character with their Christian profession. *Ante lucem* seems clearly to point to an early morning gathering, held before the day's work began. Tertullian uses a similar term for Christian assemblies held before dawn. 'We take also, in meetings before daybreak (*antelucanis coetibus*), the sacrament of the Eucharist' (*de Coron.* iii); and in *Apol.* ii. 6 there is a phrase which Tertullian uses in reference to the allusion in the Pliny text: *coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo*. This latter description is of importance when we come to ascertain the meaning of the *carmen* which the Bithynian Christians offered to Christ.

From the foregoing data it seems that what was intended in the description which was supplied to the Roman governor was an eye-witness account of the Sunday morning worship of the Church in Asia Minor in the early part of the second century. And the picture the data give is tolerably clear.^{6a}

undisputed in view of Paul of Samosata's criticism, in Eusebius, *HE.* VII. xxx. 10. *Didache* ix-x, xiv; and Justin, *Apol.* i, lxvii. 3; lxv; lxvi. These are the chief texts which contain *liturgica*.

³ Acts xx. 7; Apoc. i. 10; Ignatius, *Magn.* ix. 1; *Did.* xiv. 1; *Barn.* xv. 9; and later in the second century Justin, *Apol.* i, lxvii: *Dial.* xxiii. 3, xli.

⁴ Cf. A. A. McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year*, 1953, 13-29; H. B. Porter, *The Day of Light*, 1960; and the older contribution of H. Dumaine, art. 'Dimanche', *Dict. D'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, IV, 1, 1920, 858 ff.

More recent discussions are to be found in the following: H. Riesenfeld, art. 'Sabbat et Jour du Seigneur', *New Testament Essays in memory of T. W. Manson*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, 1959, 210-217; C. W. Dugmore, art. 'Lord's Day and Easter', *Neotestamentica et Patristica in honorem Oscar Cullmann*, ed. W. C. van Unnik, 1962, 272-281; and especially W. Rordorf's extensive monograph, *Der Sonntag: Geschichte des Ruhe- und Gottesdiensttages im ältesten Christentum* (AbThANT 43), 1962. The latter treatise was received too late for reference to it to be incorporated in the text above, but attention is called to its important discussions in the following notes.

⁵ So C. J. Kraemer, art. 'Pliny and the Early Church Service', *The Journal of Classical Philology*, xxix, 1934, 293-300; and E. C. Ratcliff, art. 'Christian Worship and Liturgy', *The Study of Theology*, ed. K. E. Kirk, 1939, 419.

⁶ J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*,² 1947, 30. H. Lietzmann (see note 17) also took *sacramentum* to refer to the convert's *Taufgelöbniß*.

^{6a} For the most obstinate problem raised by Pliny's account (i.e. that it has to do with a Sunday morning festival, which is without other attestation), see Rordorf, *op. cit.* 250.

More controversial, however, are the terms which Pliny employs to describe the precise actions of the Christians at their Sunday *synaxis*. At least four different meanings have been assigned to the key-term *carmen* in the phrase *carmen... dicere*.

II. CARMEN CHRISTO: A MEDLEY OF MEANINGS

(i) Some writers hold that *carmen* means an Old Testament psalm. This view is taken mainly on the ground that the Bithynian Christians had apparently incorporated into their worship the chief elements of the Jewish Sabbath service. C. J. Kraemer notices that *sacramentum* ('they bound themselves by an oath') is parallel with the Decalogue confession; and he wishes to refer the *carmen* to a psalm borrowed from the Jewish psalter.⁷ The phrase *secum inuicem* is apparently in keeping with this idea, for it is claimed that the antiphonal singing of psalms—assuming that the phrase does mean 'antiphonally'—is part of the *pietas Judaica* of the synagogue worship.⁸ But this suggestion, although offered by W. O. E. Oesterley as a feature of the *Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*,⁹ is debatable. Although antiphonal responses were used by the congregation in the Hebrew synagogues of the first century, congregational psalm-singing is unattested.¹⁰

But the possibility that a Jewish psalm, interpreted Messianically, may have been sung to Christ cannot be ruled out. Justin witnesses to the adaptation of

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Psalms xlv and cx to Christian purposes, and declares that the former psalm is an evidence that Jesus is to be worshipped as 'God and Christ'.¹¹ But *secum inuicem* is left unexplained on this supposition.

S. L. Mohler has proposed that *carmen* refers to a Christianized version of the Jewish confession of faith, the *Shema*.¹² The evidence that the *Shema* was recited antiphonally in the synagogue is better attested than the practice of psalm-singing.¹³ Both liturgical prayer and the confession of faith were led by the representative of the synagogue assembly, the

⁷ For the part played by the Decalogue in the structure of early Christian worship, see Rordorf, *op. cit.* 104 ff., 254.

⁸ The practice of the Therapeutae is of interest. Philo, *Vit. Cont.* 80, describes their use of the Psalter which was sung antiphonally and also of songs and hymns which they created; and Eusebius, *HE.* II. xvii. 22 draws attention to this feature of their worship, with special reference to their antiphonal singing.

⁹ W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, 1925, 75; cf. O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, E.T. 1953, 21 f.

¹⁰ Cf. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*⁴, 1962 reprint, 249, 494 ff.; W. Bauer, *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen*, 1930, 21; H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, E.T. 1949, 148.

¹¹ Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, lxiii (PG vi, 1857, 621 f.). Cf. A. L. Williams, *Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho*, 1930, 132.

Further allusions are made by Tertullian who mentions that Ps. exxxiii was sung at the Agape meal (*De ieiunio* xiii, PL ii, 1024).

'It is possible that the reference to the singing of Ps. 34 (in the liturgy of St. James) at the Eucharist service is also a witness to the singing of the Old Testament Psalms in the second century', comments W. S. Smith, *Musical Aspects of the New Testament*, 1962, 66.

¹² S. L. Mohler, art. 'The Bithynian Christians Again', *The Journal of Classical Philology*, xxx, 1935, 167-169.

¹³ See P. P. Levertoff's remark: 'The *Shema* proper would be said antiphonally' in his article in *Liturgy and Worship*, ed. W. K. L. Clarke. 1932, 76.

šēliah sabbūr as part of his liturgical function.¹⁴ The congregation responded with Amen and certain short *bērākot*, in an antiphonal manner. But there seems little support for this suggested meaning of *carmen* in the context of Christian worship apart from the evidence of a series of antiphons in the synagogue liturgy.

(ii) J. B. Lightfoot accepts that the sense of *secum inuicem* implies antiphonal responses, and calls in witness many pagan and Jewish literary parallels. But he remarks that *carmen* can be used of 'any set form of words', and does not necessarily presuppose a metrical composition.¹⁵ J. Stevenson takes over this alternative in his adaptation of H. M. Gwatkin's translation of Pliny's words. He renders them, 'recite by turns a form of words'.¹⁶ H. Lietzmann endeavoured to place this text in a baptismal setting by submitting that the phrase *carmen... dicere* signifies the 'question and answer of a formulated baptismal confession'.¹⁷ The grounds for this novel interpretation which has been accepted by some recent Continental scholars (notably W. Nauck)¹⁸ are three. First, Lietzmann quotes two pieces of evidence in which *carmen* is used to signify a baptismal symbol.¹⁹ Then, the phrase *secum inuicem* may be understood as the *interrogatio de fide* and the baptizand's *responsum*, as in the early baptismal formularies.²⁰ Thirdly, Lietzmann is able to account for the ambiguity of *carmen* by observing that it also carries the sense of a magical incantation or invocation. What to the Bithynian Christians was a cherished symbol and badge of their faith seemed to the pagan official a mere charm or incantation.

(iii) This view of Lietzmann's is opposed by F. J. Dölger in his full study of the term.²¹ The merit of Dölger's conclusion is that it explains both the implicit interrogation of Pliny and the Christians' response thereto. Pliny asks if the Christians worship idolatrously and offer *preces infelices* which are subversive of the state in their tendency. The Christians strenuously rebut these implied charges. 'Our *carmen* is directed to no unlawful gods, or magical spirits, or dead deities: we call upon the living Christ'. The true meaning of *carmen*, Dölger avers, is therefore *supplicatio*. He concludes: 'What Pliny ascertained from the cross-examination was an invocation of Jesus. (*eine Anrufung Jesu*). This 'invocation' may have been either a hymn or a solemn prose-formula—Dölger leaves it an open issue, yet inclines to the former alternative—but it must have been accompanied by a response because *secum inuicem*, which he translates as 'reciprocally' (*wechselseits*), implies a response to the ejaculation. Other

¹⁴ For the office of *šēliah sabbūr*, see Strack-Billerbeck *Kommentar z. NT.*, IV, 149-152; and Elbogen, *op. cit.*, 487 ff.

¹⁵ J. B. Lightfoot, *Ignatius, The Apostolic Fathers* II, i, 1889, 51.

¹⁶ J. Stevenson, *The New Eusebius*, 1957, 14 f adapting H. M. Gwatkin, *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, 1902, 29.

¹⁷ H. Lietzmann, art. 'Die liturgischen Angaben des Plinius', *Geschichtliche Studien für Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1916, 34-38 (37). Cf. F. Kattenbusch, *ThLZ*, xlv, 1920, 224.

¹⁸ W. Nauck, *Die Tradition and der Charakter des ersten Johannesbriefes*, 1957, 161 ff.

¹⁹ Lietzmann, *loc. cit.*, citing Rhein. Museum 71, 1916, 281 f. and Faustus v. Reji I 1 and Acta S. Arcelli Papae § 4.

²⁰ For specimens of this 'question and answer' formulation, see Hahn's reference book, A. and G. L. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole and Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*³, 1962 reprint, § 31a.

²¹ F. J. Dölger, section 6, 'Das an Christus gerichtete Carmen der Christen Bithyniens' in his *Sol Salutis: Gebet and Gesang im christlichen Altertum*,² 1925, 103-136.

Features in Pliny's report of an early Christian Sunday morning service which are left unexplained on Lietzmann's theory (e.g. Does he envisage a baptism every Sunday, as often as Christians gathered? Is it not contrary to later custom for the baptism to be held while all the assembled believers are present? If *carmen* is part of a baptismal dialogue between the baptizer and the *baptizand*, why does Pliny report that all the Christians say or sing it antiphonally?) are noted by W. Rordorf, *op. cit.*, 252-256.

commentators on the Pliny letter have sought to suggest what this response may have been. Some think that the Christians repeated the invocation as they were being instructed by their Christian teacher. Newman and Dom Connolly take this view. The latter renders:²² they repeated 'among themselves an invocation of Christ'. W. Lockton²³ thought more of a liturgical

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response, and submitted that, in answer to the *carmen* offered by the leader, the assembled company replied: 'Lord, have mercy' (*Kyrie eleison*). Dölger²⁴ took the same line of interpretation, and imagined that the *carmen* was 'a hymn to Christ as God' (*ein Gesang an Christus als Gott*), recited by bishop, priest or deacon, and evoking some such catena of response as:

Come, Lord Jesus!
Mārānā thā (i.e. our Lord, come!)
σῶσον ἡμᾶς
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς
Κύριε ἑλέησον

with additional forms like Amen, Hallelujah. These suggestions can only be considered as very tentative. here is no way of testing their accuracy: and it seems better to admit that we do not know the nature of the *carmen* and the response which it called forth. Attempts have been made to find some antecedents for antiphonal responses in the New Testament (in 1 Corinthians xvi. 2-24 and Apocalypse xxii. 17-21) and in *Didache* x. 6.²⁵ These texts have been regarded as arranged in the liturgical shape of a dialogue between the presiding minister (or celebrant at the Eucharist) and the congregation. But there is no certainty that this arrangement of the verses is correct.²⁶

(iv) If *carmen* carries the sense of a composition, whether as a metrical hymn to be sung or as a form of words in prose, can we be sure that it was only a single invocatory sentence or baptismal question? O. Casel refuses so to regard it,²⁷ and wishes to understand the word not

²² Cited, without reference, by Srawley, *op. cit.*, 30.

²³ W. Lockton, *JTS* xvi, o.s. 1915, 550.

²⁴ Dölger, *loc. cit.*, 135-136. In an earlier chapter of his book (60 ff.) Dölger sought to relate the *Kyrie eleison* formula to the ancient cult of the sun. Rordorf, *op. cit.*, 256 draws attention to Jewish morning prayers (cited in Dölger, 121) which hailed the rising of the sun and the daily renewal of Yahweh's creation (cf. Wisdom xvi. 28 and Mishnah, *Ber.* i. 2). For the Christian this orientation towards the east came to have a special meaning, connected with Christ as *Sol invictus* and the hope of His *Parousia*. There is, as Rordorf observes, a possible Paschal-baptismal motif, associated with the exodus of the people of God from Egypt (in the west) with their faces set eastwards to the promised land (*op. cit.*, 257 n. 36). The appropriateness of the sun-motif with the risen Christ on 'the Lord's day' as the festival of Resurrection is clear.

²⁵ Both G. Bornkamm, art. 'Das Anathema in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie', reprinted in *Das Ende des Gesetzes: Paulusstudien*, 1961, 123-132 and J. A. T. Robinson, art. 'The Earliest Christian Liturgical Sequence?', reprinted in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, 1962, 154-157 have noted the similarity between 1 Cor. xvi. 22 and *Didache* x. 6. 'Beide Texte sind hinsichtlich ihrer sakral-rechtlichen Stilisierung und ihrem Inhalt nach eng verwandt', comments Bornkamm (123). Both scholars accept the conclusions of H. Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, E.T. Fasc. iv., 1953, 192 f. that *Didache* x. 6 is set in the shape of a dialogue between the Celebrant and the Congregation at the Eucharist.

A dialogue pattern in Apoc. xxii. 1.7-21 is detected by J. A. T. Robinson, *loc. cit.*, 156 f. Cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HzNT) 1953, 182 f.

²⁶ It is criticized by C. F. D. Moule, art. 'A Reconsideration of the context of Maranatha', *NTS*, vi, 1960, 307 ff.

²⁷ O. Casel, review of Dölger's *Sol Salutis*¹ in *Theol. Revue*, xx, 1921, 183.

according to its Latin usage but as a transcription of the Greek ὕμνος. In support of this we may observe that Eusebius uses the cognate verb ὑμνεῖν in the account he gives of the Pliny letter.²⁸ Dölger has objected to this equivalence, however, on the double ground that 'the cultural and historical background ... makes our criterion (for deciding the meaning of *carmen*) Roman legal speech. and 'Even if Pliny had wanted to render the Greek ὕμνος faithfully, why then did he not use the word *hymnus* which in the Latin of his time had already become common?'²⁹ But Dölger gives only one footnote reference to the use of *hymnus*; and the attestation of this word in the lexica is exiguous. It may well be that Pliny chose to use the word which was most familiar to him; and it may be submitted that the Greek ὕμνος underlies the Latin of Pliny's report.

III. CARMEN CHRISTO: SAID OR SUNG?

The conclusion³⁰ that *carmen* means a hymn addressed to Christ and intended to be sung has been challenged by those who prefer to translate *carmen* as 'a form of words', and to regard the corresponding verb as meaning that this form of words was recited, not sung. This translation is based on the plain meaning of *dicere* (= 'to say', 'to declare'); and accepts the alternative sense of *carmen* as 'formula', 'declaration'. But there are two points which tell against this interpretation.

First, whatever the phrase *carmen... dicere* may have meant to Pliny (and we have no private access to his mind), it is indisputable that the earliest 'commentator' on this text, Tertullian, in his reference to it in *Apol.* ii. 6, believed

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that a hymnic composition was intended, as his use of the verb *canere* shows in his re-casting of the sentence as *ad canendum Christo ut deo*.³¹ And the meaning of *canere* is shown in other references Tertullian makes.³² The force of this piece of evidence is recognized by Nauck when he writes:³³ 'Even though Lietzmann has two references to show that the Christian regarded his baptismal profession as his *carmen*... yet the possibility of the true meaning of *carmen* as a song or hymn must at least remain open, since it was certainly so understood by Tertullian'.

²⁸ Eusebius, *HE*. III. xxxiii. 1-3.

²⁹ Dölger, *loc. cit.*, 116 f. 'Der von uns aufgezeigte kulturgeschichtliche Hintergrund hat gerade die römische Gerichtssprache als massgebend erkannt und *carmen* als Antwort auf die Frage nach den *preces infelices* erklärt. Wenn Plinius jedoch das griechische ὕμνος getreu wiedergeben wollte, warum hat er dann nicht das im Latein seiner Zeit gebräuchlich gewordene *hymnus* gewählt?'

³⁰ This conclusion is accepted by most translators and by J. Quasten, art. 'Carmen' in *RAC* 11, 907: *carmen* is no magical formula, but a composition directed to Christ as God; and D. M. Stanley, art. 'Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere', *CBQ*, xx, 1958, 173-191 writes, 'The.... phrase *carmen* etc. which might seem to suggest choral recitation of the psalter, undoubtedly is an attempt to express the liturgical practice.... of community hymn-singing' (176). W. Rordorf, *op. cit.*, 255 f., however, prefers to regard *carmen* as an invocatory symbol (*Kyrie eleison*), 'etwa ein Bekenntnis zu Christus'.

³¹ See the commentary by T. H. Bindley in his edition of the *Apologeticus*, 1889, 9. The reading *Christo et deo* is to be rejected.

³² Tertullian, *Apol.* xxxix. He uses *carmen* of a hymn in *de Orat.* xxvii, and gives further references to Christian psalmody in *ad Uxor.* ii. 8 and *Exhort. ad Cast.* x.

³³ W. Nauck, *op. cit.*, 161 note 5: 'Wenn Lietzmann auch auf zwei Stellen hingewiesen hat, in denen der Christ das Taufbekenntnis als sein *carmen* versteht... so muss doch die Möglichkeit der Deutung von *carmen* als "Gesang", "Hymnus" wenigstens offen bleiben, weil sie von Tertullian offenbar so verstanden wurde'.

The second method of finding out the precise connotation of *carmen... dicere* is one which has been strangely overlooked. This is the enquiry into the usage in Latin authors. The chief authority is Horace who uses the noun and verb on two occasions. In *Carmen seculare*

When the words of the Sybil have commanded
A choir of chosen virgins and chaste young boys
To chant a hymn (*dicere carmen*) to the gods
who are gladdened by our seven hills (lines 5-8)³⁴

and in *Odes* iv, 12: *ad Virgilium*:

They are singing as they lie on the yielding grass
Keeping their fattening sheep and playing their pipes
(*Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium*
Custodes ovium carmina fistula) (lines 9, 10)³⁵

the phrase is employed; and in both instances the meaning is 'to sing a song'.

IV. CONCLUSION

Both the Latin usage and later Christian comment endorse the conviction that *carmen Christo... dicere* is an allusion to the practice of the hymnic adoration of Christ as cultic God.³⁶ The Bithynian Christians, we learn, had it as their custom to hail Him as their cult divinity; to set Him at the centre of their worship as they brought their homage to Him; and to do so in a way which became a regular feature of later Christian worship, as Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius confirm.³⁷ In spite of many ingenious attempts to discover cryptic meanings in the text, the simplest translation seems the best. The Christians met 'to chant verses alternately amongst themselves in honour of Christ as if to a god'.³⁸

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Prepared for the Web in January 2007 by Robert I. Bradshaw.

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³⁴ The translations of Horace are those of J. P. Clancy, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, 1960, 188, 180.

³⁵ The translations of Horace are those of J. P. Clancy, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, 1960, 188, 180.

³⁶ On the subject of worship offered to Jesus, cf. J. Nielen, *Gebet and Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament*, 1937, 163 ff., and the present writer's forthcoming books, *Worship in the Early Church*, 1964; *The Person of Christ in the New Testament*.

³⁷ *Tertullian, ad Uxor.* ii. 8; *Clem. Strom.* vii. 7. 49.

Eusebius, *HE.* V. x.,viii. 5: 'all the psalms or songs written from the beginning by faithful brethren, which celebrate the Logos of God, even Christ, and speak of Him as God'.

Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vii. 6.7 and Socrates, *HE.* vi. 8.

³⁸ This is the translation of B. Radice, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Penguin ed.), 1963, 294.

For a suggested specimen of a hymn, arranged in antiphons, in the New Testament, see R. P. Martin, art. 'The Form-analysis of Philippians 2, 5-11', *Studia Evangelica* II (ed. F. L. Cross: *TU* 87, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin), 1964, 608-617.