

# 2 Cor 3:17a Unlocks Paul's Dyadic Doxologies

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**RESUMEN** Extrañamente, a pesar de emplear con frecuencia la característica doxología bíblica, San Pablo sistemáticamente omite en ellas la tercera persona divina, el Espíritu Santo. El lector moderno cabría esperar formulaciones trinitarias a la luz de las definiciones de fe de los siglos pasados. ¿Podría encontrarse una explicación a esta aparente omisión en 2 Co 3,17?

**PALABRAS CLAVE** Doxologías paulinas, el Espíritu de Cristo.

**SUMMARY** *Strikingly, while frequently employing the biblical feature of doxologies, Saint Paul consistently omits in them the third divine person of the Holy Spirit. The modern reader would expect trinitarian formulas in light of the faith definitions of past centuries. Could an explanation for this apparent omission be found in 2 Corinthians 3:17a?*

**KEY WORDS** *Pauline Doxologies, The Spirit of Christ.*

## 1. THE FORMAT OF BIBLICAL DOXOLOGY

Doxologies, as a literary form, are used in many religious practices, non-Christian as well as Christian, employed widely in Old Testament times as well as through the Apostolic era. A doxology, stemming from the Greek *δοξολογία* (“giving praise”, literally a “word of glory”), is a succinct prayer of praise and gratitude, an elemental part of biblical prayer language. Fundamental aspects of God’s being and acting are highlighted often in the form of participial phrases. The ordinary format most often appearing in the Old Testament is that of an expression of blessing, introduced by the Hebrew word *barûk* (blessed): Gen 14:20; 24:27; 1 Sam 25:39; 2 Sam 18:28; 1 Kgs 1:48; 8:56; 1 Chron 29:11; 2 Chron 9:8; Psa 17:47; 22: 29; 27:6; 28:11; 40:14; 67:20.36; 71:19; 123:6; Dan 2:20. These hymns of praise are suffused with the spirit of jubilant gratitude that marked the prayer life of the Israelites.

With such expressions of praise well-known to Jewish converts, cognate ones were introduced into the primitive worship of the Christian community (e.g., Rom 15:6; 1 Cor 14:16), calling on the boundless generosity of God (cf. Eph 4:20f) and praising the divinity of Christ (e.g., Rom 9:5; 16:26; 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 4:18; Eph 5:14). In the New Testament, the traditional Old Testament model appears, but the subject now is no longer only God as such, but as Father and as Christ, the Lord. Yet no doxology to God as Holy Spirit occurs. Moreover, the order of persons in the Trinity is often altered, and the words “forever”, a common Hebraism, and “amen” are added. They frequently form the beginning or end of prayers.

Two distinct basic forms appear: First, the *eulogy*, containing, like in the Old Testament, four elements: (i) opens with εὐλογητός (“praised”; at times leading into longer prayers of praise, cf. 2 Cor 1:3f; Eph 1:3f), (ii) reference to the name of God, (iii) formula of eternity, (iv) Amen (cf. Rom 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor 11:31). Second, the *doxology* proper, involving four elements as well: (i) mention of God/Christ’s name in Dative or Genitive case, (ii) the doxological predicate (δόξα, “praise”), (iii) formula of eternity, (iv) response with “Amen” (e.g., Rom 11:36; 16:27; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18; see also Luk 2:14). The latter format can be found recurrently as the ending of a letter (cf. Rom 16:27; Phil 4:20; 2 Tim 4:18), of an epistolary segment (Gal 1:5), or of a prayer of praise (e.g., Rom 11:36; Eph 3:21). Others individuate but three parts: (i) the specifying of the One to whom glory is given, (ii) the ascription of “glory”, and, in Paul’s doxologies, (iii) the expression “forever and ever”.

Short hymns are usually directed to God the Father (cf. Gal 1:3; Phil 4:20); but when the thought is fixed on Christ, the praise is referred to Him (e.g., Rom 9:5). Again, in other passages it is Christ as Head of the Church and the mediator through whom honor, glory and thanksgiving are given to the Father (cf. Eph 3:21). Saint Paul seems to provide a context for such hymns: Col 3:17 καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ. Perhaps the most studied is that of Rom 16:25-27, where the entire portion of the letter is gathered into one denouement of exultant ovation.

B.F. Westcott catalogued sixteen doxologies in the New Testament: Rom 11:36; 16:27; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18; Heb 13:21; 1 Pt 4:11; 5:11; 2 Pt 3:18; Jude 25; Rev 1:6; 5:13; 7:12. Most of these conclude with “Amen,” an expression that elicits assent from others (cf. 1 Cor

14:16). He divides these doxologies into three major groups. Those addressed exclusively to God, those directed to God through Christ, and those addressed to Christ alone.<sup>1</sup> But let us now turn to the specifics of Paul's doxologies.

## 2. TRIADIC, DYADIC, AND MONADIC PHRASEOLOGY

As a methodical precision we will limit our research in this essay to doxologies that carry the noun δόξα, excluding those that mention only εὐλογητός as their chief term of praise (e.g., Rom 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor 1:3; 11:31; Eph 1:3).

Now, the Apostle<sup>2</sup> utilizes doxologies constantly; the earliest examples seem to be addressed to God the Father alone, or to Him through (δία) the Son (cf. Rom 16:27) and in (έν) or with (σύν, μετά) the Holy Spirit. Within the pool of occurrences we find just one that names all three divine persons: God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For the sake of explicitness we designate it as *triadic*, meaning 'triple', dodging the dogmatic coloring of the adjective 'trinitarian' for a moment. Likewise, we choose to call *dyadic*, that is 'twofold', those doxologies that identify both God the Father and the Son, avoiding the doctrinal implication of 'binitarianism'. Lastly, let us designate those praises that indicate but one divine person as *monadic*, i.e. 'single'. Yet, at this time let us explore each individual group of praises.

### 2. A. 2 COR 13:13 AS THE SOLE TRIADIC BENEDICTION

At the very end of his second letter to the Corinthians the author adds: Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν (13:13). This turns out to be the only benediction with a triadic phraseology, that is, identifying God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, although there are, of course, additional phrases that

1 Cf. B. F. WESTCOTT, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids 1970) 464-465.

2 This essay does not propose to decide about the authorship of any given epistle pertaining to the canonical *Corpus Paulinum*.

bring up the Trinity, including Rom 1:4; 5:5f; 8:14-17; 15:30; 1 Cor 6:11; 12:3.4-6; 2 Cor 1:20-22; 3:3; Gal 4:6; Eph 1:17; 4:3-6.

This verse represents the most illuminating of the benedictions found in Paul's writings. It is extended as a blessing to all Christians at Corinth and contains all things necessary for them, namely, the grace of Christ, by which we are saved, the charity of God the Father by which we are united to him, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, distributing to us his divine gifts. The only blessing which can compete with this one is that found at the close of Ephesians (6:23f). Perhaps the Apostle felt that the Corinthian Church, by reason of its strifes was in particular need of a more comprehensive benediction.<sup>3</sup>

The *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* circumscribes 2 Cor 13:13 as a "triadic benediction", not a trinitarian formula in the dogmatic sense.<sup>4</sup> J. Lambrecht observes that 1 Cor 16:23f closes similarly with "the grace of the Lord Jesus (be) with you; my love be with you all in Christ Jesus".<sup>5</sup> If the disputed genitive τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος were a subjective genitive – which is preferable here due to the analogous τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and τοῦ θεοῦ –, then we would have here a primordial and admirably even "trinitarian" formula. However, "Spirit" may be an objective genitive: communion with the Spirit (cf. 8:4; 1 Cor 10:16; Phil 3:10). Some commentators maintain that the genitive is both subjective and objective. At any rate, certainly of note is the so-called economic sequence: Christ - God - Spirit. Christ features first because solely by his redemptive work we recognize the love of God and gain access to fellowship with the Holy Spirit. Although Paul's focal point appears to be the three nouns, yet grace, love, and communion really relate to divine persons called by different names. Moreover, these words may have originated at this point and were expressed in light of what was happening in Corinth and what has been said in this letter, especially so, since nothing like this appears anywhere else in his letters.<sup>6</sup>

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3 Cf. C. J. CALLAN, *The Epistles of St. Paul* (New York 1951) 564.

4 Cf. R. E. BROWN – J. A. FITZMYER – R. E. MURPHY (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* [=NJBC] (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1990) 829.

5 Cf. J. LAMBRECHT, *Second Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series; Collegeville 1999) 228.

6 Cf. G. FEE, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA 1994) 362-365.

Is it not remarkable that Paul can refer with frankness and familiarity to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity? It demonstrates that even at so early a stage the community, far removed from the older centers of Christian thought and teaching like Jerusalem and Antioch, were well accustomed to the doctrine of three persons in one divine nature. “*Ambrosiaster*: Here is the intertwining of the Trinity and the unity of power which brings all salvation to fulfillment, [...] so that the completeness of the Three may be the saving fulfillment of mankind.”<sup>7</sup> Of course, it would have been expressed in their baptismal formula – based on Matt 28:19 – and was therefore one of the first things to be taught.

Let it also be noted that the Greek Fathers recurrently resorted to this verse against the diverse anti-Trinitarian heretics. “*Pelagius*: This is written against the Arians, who maintain that the Father is greater than the Son on the ground that he is usually mentioned first. [...] *Chrysostom*: Paul closes his letter with prayer, taking great care to unite them all with God. Those who claim that the Holy Spirit is not God because he is not inserted with the Father and the Son at the beginning of Paul's letters are sufficiently refuted by this verse. All that belongs to the Trinity is undivided. Where the fellowship is of the Spirit, it is also of the Son, and where the grace is of the Son, it is also of the Father and of the Spirit. I say these things without confusing the distinctiveness of the Persons but recognizing both their individuality and the unity of their common substance.”<sup>8</sup>

## 2. B. FOUR DYADIC DOXOLOGIES GLORIFY THE FATHER THROUGH THE SON

Broaching a second class of praises, let us reflect on those which comprise but two divine persons, namely God the Father and Jesus Christ his Son. As noted above, we term them dyadic doxologies. Four of them exist in the *Corpus Paulinum*:

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7 G. BRAY (ed.), *1-2 Corinthians. Ancient Christian Commentary of Scripture, NT VII* (Downer's Grove, IL 1999) 331.

8 BRAY, *Corinthians*, 331.

a. Rom 16:25a.27: Τῷ δὲ [...] μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.] In these very last verses of the epistle the wise God (the Father) is being glorified “through” (δια,) Jesus Christ in the unsubtle absence of the Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup>

b. Gal 1:3-5: χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ποιηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Paul greets the Christians in Galatia by indicating that God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ are the fountain of grace and peace. V. 5 reiterates that God is Father and that to him glory is due for all ages. Once again, the person of the Holy Spirit is conspicuously omitted.

c. Eph 3:20a.21: Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ [...] αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. This dyadic doxology marks the end of a section in the letter to the Ephesians (3:1-21), and also here the Holy Spirit is left out, and God the Father finds glory “in” (ἐν) Jesus Christ.

d. Phil 1:11 πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης τὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ. This last dyadic praise one more time counts out the person of the Spirit of God.

Obviously, there is a number of phrases/greetings that present the dyadic pattern of God the Father together with Christ the Lord, albeit without explicitly indicating God’s δόξα, and they include Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:1; 8:6; 2 Cor 1:2-3.20; 11:31; Eph 1:2-3; 5:20; 6:23; Phil 1:2; Col 1:2-3; 3:17; 1 Thess 1:1-3; 3:11; 2 Thess 1:1-2; 2:16; Phlm 3; 1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; Ti 1:4. Noticeable is the favorite combination of “*Lord* Jesus Christ and God the *Father*” in five of them. Furthermore, the letters carry no dyadic doxology that would glorify God the Father with/in/through the Holy Spirit! The closest reference to these two persons are contained in 1 Cor 2:10-12; 2 Cor 5:5; Eph 2:18; 1 Thess 4:8. Neither is there any praise directed toward Christ and the Spirit, although

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9 An elaborate discussion of this controversial doxology can be found in J. K. ELLIOTT, “Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans”: *Zeitschrift Für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72 (1981) 124-130, as well as in L. W. HURTADO, “The Doxology at the End of Romans”, in: E. J. EPP – G. D. FEE (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (Oxford 1981) 185-199.

phrases like Rom 8:1-2; 2 Cor 3:18; Phil 1:19; 1 Tim 3:16 juxtapose these two divine persons.

## 2. C. FIVE MONADIC DOXOLOGIES ADDRESSED TO EITHER THE FATHER OR THE SON

A third group of praises are those that glorify one divine person individually. Those addressed to *God the Father* are three: (i) Rom 11:36 (ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν), (ii) Phil 4:20 (τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν), and (iii) 1 Tim 1:17 (τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ, τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν). In addition to these we find other phrases/greetings that emphasize the divine Father: Rom 1:25; 11:36; 2 Cor 4:15; 1 Tim 6:16.

Remaining are those monadic doxologies that identify *Jesus Christ* as the object of glory and praise. There is first 2 Tim 4:18 (ῥύσεται με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν). One of the most poignant portions of New Testament scripture is Paul's confident comment to Timothy at the conclusion of the second letter to his young friend. Numerous adversaries throughout his ministry had besieged the Apostle, but his faith in the Savior never waned. And so, with a pen of passion he wrote. "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom (be/is) the glory for ever and ever. Amen". D. Hiebert writes: "The doxology is here unmistakably addressed to Christ and is another proof of Paul's conviction concerning the deity of Christ. The solemn 'Amen' seals his personal ratification of this glorious hope".<sup>10</sup> And another commentator observes: "This doxology, addressed to the Lord Jesus, is in other passages addressed to God the Father (Rom 16:27; 1 Tim 1:17). By introducing it here, the apostle declared the greatness of his trust in the goodness and power of the Lord Jesus, and his sincere gratitude to him for having honored him to be his Apostle, and for promising him a place in his heavenly kingdom".<sup>11</sup>

10 D. E. HIEBERT, *Second Timothy* (Chicago 1958) 123.

11 J. MACKNIGHT, *Apostolical Epistles* (Nashville 1954) 483.

A second and last monadic doxology honoring the Son can be found in Heb 13:21 (καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [τῶν αἰώνων], ἀμήν), part of the conclusion of that letter. Even though the author starts out with the “God of peace”, v.20a, the eventual glorification is given to his Son Jesus Christ.

Moreover, besides the full-fledged doxologies several other instances of praise in tribute to the Son are adduced, including Rom 9:5, Gal 6:18, and Phlm 25. Does it come as a surprise, however, that no monadic doxology to the Holy Spirit can be detected in all of the Apostle’s letters? With that question let us at last formulate the *status quaestionis* of this study.

### 3. THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST

We recognized above that the Pauline Corpus contains one single triadic doxology, the one in 2 Cor 13:13. Subsequently, we have collected various dyadic and monadic praises all of whom are addressed to God the Father and/or Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Whence, the basic question of the present essay arises: why did Paul exclude the person of the Holy Spirit from the overwhelming majority of his doxologies? How can we elucidate the circumstance of his absence especially in dyadic praises that seem all but a truncated presentation of *the* Trinity as the fundamental Christian tenet of faith?

On our way to suggesting an answer to this we could simply argue that those dyadic doxologies are illuminated by several trinitarian passages that occur throughout the epistles (e.g. 1 Cor 12:4-6). Also, of course, the Corinthians would have heard of the great commission to evangelize and baptize all nations in the name of the Trinity (Matt 28:19). Yet a more thorough response to the above inquiry may be found in another key, namely 2 Cor 3:17a: ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν.<sup>12</sup> Let us scrutinize this more extensively.

First of all, one has to realize that the Apostle does not always plainly differentiate between the Spirit and Christ. In Rom 8:9-11, for instance, the

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<sup>12</sup> See the *Neovulgate* rendition “Dominus autem Spiritus est”; and the *New Revised Standard Version* 1989 reads “now the Lord is the Spirit”.

expressions “Spirit of God”, “the Spirit of Christ”, “Christ”, and “the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead” are used with interchangeability in Paul’s portrayal of God dwelling in the baptized person. Tied into this equivocation is the appellation of Christ as the “last Adam” since the resurrection, when he became a “live-giving Spirit” (1 Cor 15:45; cf. Rom 1:4). Yes, the author mentions the sending of the “Spirit of the Son” (Gal 4:6), of “the Spirit of Jesus Christ” (Phil 1:19), and of Jesus as “the Lord, the Spirit” (2 Cor 3:18). Eventually, he goes so far as to say, “The Lord is the Spirit” (2 Cor 3:17).

Nevertheless, we do find triadic passages in the epistles of the *Doctor Gentium* that arrange God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit in an equivalence that becomes the foundation for the later dogma of the three discrete persons in the Trinity (cf. 2 Cor 1:21-22; 13:13; 1 Cor 2:7-16; 6:11; 12:4-6; Rom 5:1-5; 8:14-17; 15:30). Moreover, in Gal 4:4-6 we are faced with a twofold mission of the “Son” and the “Spirit of the Son”, and although one may at first vacillate about the difference between the Spirit and the Son here, the phrase probably mirrors the distinct sending of the Messiah and of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament (e.g., Dan 9:25; Eze 36:26). Besides, 1 Cor 2:10-11 ascribes to the Spirit a sweeping apprehension of God’s fathomless thoughts hinting at his divine identity.

One could contend that this double line-up of texts evinces the writer’s vagueness of notion of the relationship between the Spirit and the Son. Customarily, he uses “Spirit” in the Old Testament connotation, without the posterior theological distinction between *natura*, *substantia*, and *persona*. Still, one has to keep in mind that he marks merely the debut of later doctrinal evolution.<sup>13</sup> Just as in his teaching on Christ, so too in his allusions to the divine Spirit, the Apostle is primarily concerned with the role played by the latter in our redemption. If Christ inaugurated the possibility of a new existence, to be lived in him and for God, it is more precisely “the Spirit of Christ” that is the manner of sharing this vitality to us.

2 Cor 3:17 has received innumerable interpretations. Opinions are divided, with thinking that it is probable that Paul has God directly in view. God is identified with the Spirit to deny that he still operates through the letter of the law.<sup>14</sup> But regarding the Lord’s identification with the Spirit in 2 Cor

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13 Cf. NJBC, 1396.

14 Cf. NJBC, 820.

3:17, we prefer the christological interpretation as indicated by J. Lambrecht.<sup>15</sup> Exo 34:34 forms the scriptural context of the sacred writer's thought. Since he mentioned Christ in 3:14, and since *Ku,rioj* normally stands for Christ as the divine Lord, we can safely say that Christ and the Holy Spirit are identified here. He is the Holy Spirit (*τὸ πνεῦμα*), of whom Paul has been speaking in 3:3, 6:8. And he is the Spirit of Christ our Redeemer, he is the Spirit of Revelation.

It will not be superfluous to adduce some of the comments of the patristic age regarding 2 Cor 3:17: "The Spirit of the Lord: We did not say 'The Lord is spirit' but 'The Spirit is the Lord', *Chrysostom*, *Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians* 7.5.

The Spirit: *Theodore of Mopsuestia*: "If Paul had wanted to say that the Lord is a spirit, he would have left the article the out. Compare John [4:24], where in speaking to the Samaritan woman, Jesus says that God is a spirit, meaning that he does not have a body. But in this case Paul puts the article in, which proves that he is not saying that the Lord is a spirit but rather that the Spirit is Lord." *Pauline Commentary From the Greek Church*.

The Spirit not a Creature. *Theodoret of Cyr*: "Paul shows here that the Spirit and God are equal. Moses turned his eyes toward God; we turn ours toward the Holy Spirit. Paul would hardly have said that what the Spirit reveals is greater than what Moses saw if the Spirit were merely a creature and not God himself." *Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* 305-6.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, 2 Cor 3:17a helps the reader understand that Christ (or God) and the Spirit are one. Therefore, the biblico-theological conclusion can be drawn that whenever St. Paul composes a dyadic doxology he implies that the Spirit is coming to us through Christ. The divine Spirit is not omitted or excluded but he is implied in the other two divine persons. As secondary keys, buttressing this corollary, one might subjoin Rom 8:9 (*ὁμοίως δὲ οὐκ ἔστε ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ*) as well as 1 Cor 6:11b (*ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*). The Spirit of God is here the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit that proceeds on even terms from the Father and from the

15 Cf. LAMBRECHT, *Corinthians*, 54.

16 BRAY, *Corinthians*, 222.

Son. This verse proves nothing against the distinction of the Third Divine Person; neither does it demonstrate that the Holy Spirit comes forth from the Son. The Spirit is here termed the Spirit of Christ because He dwells in the soul through union with Christ.<sup>17</sup> This verse, therefore, shows the perfect equality between the Son and the Holy Spirit.

To further establish the argument that the Spirit is both the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ one should also remember that Pauline ethics is interior, founded on the relations of the Christian with the divine persons. It all crystallizes in living as a child of God the Father, as a brother of Christ, and in the temple of the Spirit. The many Trinitarian phrases in the letters disclose the divine nature of the three persons, equal in dignity, and coequally active in securing the redemption of the faithful. The Spirit and the Son are so intimately coupled in the gift of grace that the author appears to credit it interchangeably to one and the other. The formulas "in Christ" and "in the Spirit" look as though they were perfectly equivalent and in joint operation. In ultimate analysis, the risen Christ is Spirit (2 Cor 3:17f).<sup>18</sup>

And so, where Christ is, there is the concomitance of the Spirit, as can be deduced from the presence of Spirit at events like Christ's Annunciation (Luk 1:35), his baptism (Mat 3:16), his Transfiguration (Luk 9:34f), his death on Calvary (John 19:30), and his post-resurrectional presence in the upper room (John 20:22). Indeed, the Spirit's plenitude dwells in Jesus, he comes to us through Christ. Whenever Paul praises God the Father together with Jesus Christ his Son, he implies the Holy Spirit.

#### 4. LATER IMPACT OF DYADIC DOXOLOGIES

One conceivable conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing research is that the basic form of doxology was the praising of God through Christ. It would be up to scholars of early Church history to confirm how only in early patristic times the Holy Spirit was more widely included in doxological praise, and thus became more prevalent in theological thought.

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17 Cf. C. J. CALLAN, *The Epistles of St. Paul* (New York 1951) 125.

18 Cf. F. AMIOT, *The Key Concepts of St. Paul* (New York 1962) 158-164.

Passing then from a scriptural to a strictly theologico-speculative plane, one might wonder how deeply the dyadic pattern of divine praise affected the evolution of the central Christian dogma on the Blessed Trinity. G. Wainwright writes the following: “The development towards full trinitarianism was slower in the case of the third person than in the case of the second.”<sup>19</sup> Would it be legitimate to argue that this be a consequence of the prevalence of monadic and dyadic doxologies in the *Corpus Paulinum*? It is no secret that the branch of theology that deals with the Holy Spirit, called pneumatology, experienced a much slower historical development. Moreover, the early Church doxologies are an excellent testimony for the development of the doctrine on the Trinity, underlining the close contact between liturgy and dogma.

As a final thought one might add that the form of baptism (Matt 28:19) had set an example of naming the three Persons in parallel order. Especially in the fourth century, as a protest against Arian subordination, the custom of using the form: “Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit”, became universal among Catholics. From this time one must distinguish two doxologies, a greater (doxologia maior) and a shorter (minor). The greater doxology is the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* in the Mass. The shorter form, which is the one generally referred to under the name “doxology”, is the *Gloria Patri*. An answer, very common in the first centuries, is added to the effect that this glory shall last for ever (cf. Rom 11:36; 16:27; Gal 1:5; 1 Tim 1:17; Heb 13:21; 1 Pet 4:11; *Doctr. XII Apost.*, 9:10). It is a common Hebraism (cf. Tob 13:23; Psa 83:5; Rev 1:6, 18; 14:11; 19:3).

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19 G. WAINWRIGHT, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine and Life* (New York – Oxford 1980) 87.