FROM JERUSALEM TO ROME

The Jewish origins
and Catholic tradition
of liturgy

Michael Moreton

2018
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I continue unto this day, 
writing both to small and great, 
saying none other things 
than those which the prophets and Moses 
did say should come: 
That Christ should suffer, 
and that he should be the first that should rise 
from the dead, 
and that he should show light unto the people, 
and to the Gentiles.

Acts 26:22,23

And the night following, 
the Lord stood by him, and said, 
Be of good cheer, Paul: 
for as thou hast testified concerning me 
in Jerusalem, 
so must thou bear witness also 
at Rome.

Acts 23:11
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Preface

This study is devoted to the transmission of the kerygma of the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ from Jerusalem to Rome, from the Apostolic Age to the time of the hegemony of Byzantium in the East and Rome in the West. It draws upon two theological disciplines that are usually pursued in separation from one another, namely the critical study of Scriptures both of the Old Testament and of the New, and the critical study of Liturgy both in the East and the West.

The reason for thus seeking to integrate these distinct disciplines is that the tradition of Christ cannot be received in its wholeness without both. In short, the key to the understanding of Christology is prayer. The understanding of Christ, that is to say, is not a purely intellectual exercise, in which the arbiter is the latest stage of the critical study of the Old and New Testaments. Such a study is at once unavoidable in modern scholarship and indispensable to sound faith. But the intellect needs to acknowledge its limitations, and this it does in prayer. Most of the epistles of the New Testament begin with the mention of prayer, and the synagogue and Temple form the liturgical background of the whole of the Gospel tradition. The mystery of Christ - that which is disclosed in history and that which remains hidden in God - requires to be approached by both exegesis and prayer.

The contemporary new quest of the historical Jesus brings its own enrichment to our knowledge of the first Christian century. But it represents an interest which is different from the interest which the first Christians had in their own times. Their overwhelming interest was in the death and resurrection of Christ. We ourselves may ask what happened; but they asked what was going on. St Paul distinguished between a knowledge of Christ in the flesh and a new mode of knowledge of him in consequence of his resurrection from the dead. ¹ To be in Christ is to be incorporated into his humanity in his death and resurrection. And this incorporation is effected both in faith and also by means of baptism and participation in Christ's bread and cup. In the Gospels historical reminiscence, for all its precious testimony, is again and again overshadowed by the kerygma. Indeed so closely interwoven are kerygma and event, that it is virtually impossible to distinguish between them in such a way as to leave event standing in credible isolation, just as it happened. When it comes to the death of Christ, it can be viewed in this light or that, from the standpoint of the Jerusalem Council or of the Roman Procurator. But neither view exhausts its meaning. As for the resurrection, it is disclosed neither to Caiaphas nor to Pilate, but only to disciples. It can be understood only by the acceptance of the judgment of the cross upon ourselves. It belongs, in a word, not to the chronology of the world, but to the life of the Church.

The study of Scripture requires the habit of prayer. Their separation, still more their divorce, is full of danger. But by prayer is meant not an individual piety, but fundamentally the prayer of the Church. The knowledge of Christ is accessible only in a community of prayer, and that a community in which Christ himself had taken part. We need therefore to form some appreciation of the prayer of the synagogue, and to recognize that the community of the Greek-speaking church was preceded by

¹ 2 Cor. 5:16
the community of the Greek-speaking synagogue. But we must expect that the prayer forms of the synagogue will have responded to the impact of the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ, just as event was transformed by kerygma. But if consideration of the synagogue must precede consideration of the Church, in the history of liturgy consideration of Greek forms must precede consideration of Latin. This principle, of the East first, and then of the West, is followed throughout in the present study. Both scripture and tradition spread from Jerusalem to Rome.

The first two chapters lay the foundations. Christology is not just a plundering of the Old Testament for titles suitable for Jesus of Nazareth, but rather, Christ belongs to the continuum of Israel. The genealogy in Matthew, so little regarded by the modern compilers of lectionaries, is the key to the gospel. Israel's history, from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonian captivity, and from the Babylonian captivity to Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is called Christ, is the true præparatio evangelica. Without it, what happens next is unintelligible. But if Israel's history bears Christ, Israel's worship infused with the kerygma reveals Christ. The tragic breach between Church and Synagogue in the Apostolic Age did not mean that Christians kicked away the ladder. The past was present in the present and in the future. The issue was between the old covenant and the new, between the legal and the kerygmatic, not either/or, but the one further to the other.

On these foundations the building programme is based for the sequence of conversion to Christ. A Jew was already on the inside, and what was necessary in his case was a fresh orientation in the light of the kerygma. But a Gentile needed to be brought in from the outside, and had to learn everything from alpha to omega. The programme is already clear in Justin. The Gentile convert had to be taught what to believe and how to pray. Prayer and belief went together. But since belief in the resurrection of Christ is inaccessible without prayer, prayer may be said to have a certain priority. Accordingly the prayer of the Canon is dealt with first. I make no apology for emphasizing here the importance of the Lord's prayer and of the psalms, so central to the spirituality of the New Testament, and to the development of 'hours' of prayer. I leave the reader to form his own critique of what goes on in Church life today.

Justin's converts from the pagan world were also taught what to believe. They were introduced to the 'name' of God the Father, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, in which they were to be baptized. Such a syllabus of instruction was not merely a formality of learning. It was an introduction to the sources of salvation. 'I have no faith.' Dr. T.G. Jalland once declared to the surprise of an ecumenical study group, 'but the faith of the Church.' It is no wonder that the Church is weak in the face of secular society since it indulges in Jesus-talk without reference to his hard-won titles in Israel and the mystery of God made man.

Baptism is conferred on the confession of the Church's creed. It is an 'institution' of the risen Lord in the Church on the foundations of Jewish proselyte baptism. Like proselyte baptism - and like the eucharist - it emerges as an already complex rite. The community of rites in East and West points to a community of origin which is already discernible in the Apostolic Age. Perhaps I should notice here in passing that I follow J.M. Hanssens S.J. in treating the Apostolic Tradition ascribed to Hippolytus as Eastern in origin, rather that Western, as Alexandrian rather than Roman. I must leave it to the reader to judge whether this thesis is well founded.
The baptismal mystery admits to the eucharist, which is studied next. Here again we
encounter a complex rite from the outset with its roots in the prayer of Judaism. A
distinction is drawn in the usual way between the synaxis and the eucharistic mystery
itself. They rest on different prayer habits in Judaism, but it is their Christological
content which eventually secures their union. Their content is essentially the content
of the Triduum Paschale; but the form is not that of an annual feast, but of a weekly
observance. We have to think therefore of the Sabbath, so frequently mentioned in the
Gospels and Acts. Indeed so deeply ingrained was 'the Sabbath' in the Christian mind
that the term passed into the Greek and Latin calendars of the Church. It should not
come to us as a surprise that the prayer of the Sabbath should be extended in the life
of the Church, albeit transformed Christologically. The Sabbath liturgy and the
Sabbath meal generated the Church's synaxis and the Church's eucharist, while they
were transferred from the Sabbath day at its 'separation' to the Lord's day. Ignatius of
Antioch contrasted the old customs with the new hope, keeping the Sabbath,
sabbatizontes, with living in accordance with the Lord's day, that is, the day of the
resurrection.¹ Moreover, as it seems to me, long brooding over this question, week by
week for many years, in prayer and study, at the altar and at the desk, the complex and
characteristic prayer of Judaism, the Shema’, goes a long way towards explaining the
complex and characteristic prayer of Christianity, the anaphoral prayer. Needless to
say, while the Sabbath commemorated both God's rest from the work of creation
(Exod.20:11) and also the deliverance from Egypt (Deut.5:15), the Lord's Day
commemorated the renewal of creation (Jn.5:17) and the deliverance from death
(Mk.16:2, and par.) by the resurrection of Christ on the first day of the week.

If we were to follow a convert through the paschal mysteries of baptism and the
eucharist, we should find him encountering a life in Christ which was utterly different
from anything else in his experience. It was unlike the life into which he had been
born, where rulers lorded it over their subjects and the great made their authority felt -
unlike too the institutions of twentieth century democracy and the ambitions of late
twentieth century feminism. He encountered order in the Church, where the
baptismal and eucharistic mysteries shaped authority, and where authority was attuned
to actual pastoral needs. Complexity of origins again, with the presbyterate on the
one hand, and the bishop and the deacon on the other, issued in that order that
stabilized the Church in terms of the mysteries of Christ - the rites that transmitted his
death and resurrection to those who not having seen yet believed.

The last influence in our convert's conversion, which in modern centuries, since the
invention of printing, we should probably put first in our estimation, was the
Scriptures. This meant the Old Testament. But it was the Old Testament understood
Christologically. 'Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other
man?' The shrewd question of the Ethiopian eunuch arose, not through reading
through a scroll, unrolling it on the one hand and rolling it up on the other - inhibited
by the conditions of travel by chariot, even if a scroll could be afforded - but by
reflection on a passage of scripture on a libellus. The place of the Scripture he was
reading - the perioche or section - was what we should call Isaiah 53. The Scriptures
belonged to the institutional life of the Synagogue and the Church. They were chiefly
known and interpreted atomically, by the isolation of texts - the method that was
characteristic of the Mishnah and of the New Testament. The comparing of Israel

¹ Ign. Mag. IX. 1
situations with Christ situations - the Old Testament kerygma of deliverance from Egypt with the Christ kerygma of death and resurrection - was a bigger exegetical undertaking. It has already begun with the Passover of our redemption in the Gospels, and with the exploring of the festal calendar in John and Hebrews. But in any case the convert had to come to the Church for the Scriptures. It was there that the history of salvation was gradually unfolded for him in the lectionary systems of the liturgy. All this was enriched for him by the collection and canonisation of 'New Testament' writings in the second century.

In seeking however, to trace the derivation of Christian liturgy from the Jewish under the impact of the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ, a secondary theme is developed, namely of the dis-integration of liturgy. By inserting a hyphen into this word, I wish to indicate the primary meaning of the word, that is to say, breaking up, the loss of cohesion or integrity, of wholeness and unity. This is not quite the same thing as degeneration. Thus the dis-integration of the baptismal liturgy has been generally recognized in modern scholarship, and has been admirably demonstrated, for example, by J.D.C. Fisher.¹ What was in origin a complex but unified rite became separated into its parts: baptism, chrismation or confirmation, and the eucharist. But it is not only the baptismal liturgy which has suffered dis-integration. Every part of liturgy, to a greater or lesser extent, has suffered the same process. Prayer in the form of the liturgy of the hours has become the domain of professionals, and the prayer of the laity has become poorly related to it. The credal tradition, far from throbbing with the kergyma, has suffered neglect as a collection of dry propositions. The eucharist has been marked by dis-integration in both its parts. The sermon is frequently divorced from the lections, and communion and community from the oblation, not to speak of the swamping of ancient texts by modern hymns. With holy order, the presbyteral order has become the norm, while episcopacy has been turned into management. Scripture has been wrested from its place in tradition as a whole, treated in isolation, and used as a source for the setting up of new churches, new rites and new systems of belief. Different parts of tradition, therefore, have been emphasized and exaggerated, or weakened and lost sight of, at the expense of the complex whole. This is what is meant in this study by dis-integration.

The life of the Church in truth, life in Christ who is the resurrection and the life, is constituted by a complex, rich and stable tradition. This tradition has to be delivered and received. It is composed of prayer and creed, of the mysteries of Christ's death and resurrection in baptism and the eucharist, by the order of the Church, and by those Scriptures in accordance with which Christ died and was raised from the dead. It is a tradition which has to be taught and learnt. At the same time it is a tradition, 'a type of teaching', to which we ourselves are delivered.² It is not a corpus which we can get hold of and dominate, but one which we must enter into and find therein newness of life.

¹ Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West.
² Rom.6:17
I wish to thank the Trustees of the Saint Luke's College Foundation, Exeter, for their generous financial help in the preparation of my manuscript for publication; the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Saint Peter in Exeter, who administer the Bishop Henry Philpotts bequest, for conference expenses; and the Bishop of Exeter, who administers the Grigg-Smith bequest, for some expensive books. I am grateful to the members of the Department of Theology in the University of Exeter for help in various ways, and to the Assistant Librarian in the Cathedral Library in Exeter, Mr Peter Thomas, for much help over many years. I also wish to thank Mrs Mary Lewis for word-processing a complicated manuscript, and for grappling with my handwriting and a terminology that was at first unfamiliar.

Both the British Museum in London and the John Rylands Library in Manchester have supplied me with photocopies of texts. And although I am but an occasional user of the Bodleian in Oxford, I should nevertheless like to boast of an unusual association with it, in that as a boy I often served at the altar at the shrine of St Alban, which is bounded on the south side by the tomb of the first founder of the Library, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; and now I pass almost daily the site of the house in Exeter in which its second founder was born, Sir Thomas Bodley.

Writing in Exeter one may take a little local pride in the fact that Edmund Bishop, that 'prince of liturgists', was born and died in Devon – born in Totnes, and died in Barnstaple. Among other past masters of the discipline of Liturgy it is impossible not to feel a debt of gratitude to Dom Gregory Dix. It is difficult for those coming to this discipline today to appreciate the impact which Dix made on the liturgical scene after World War II. He enabled Anglicans in particular to understand Liturgy, not just within the perspectives of the Book of Common Prayer, but in terms of its history from the earliest times in East and West. Although the idea of the ‘four-action shape’ of the eucharist from its institution was not originated by him, he used it with characteristic brilliance to make people think about the structure of the eucharist and its meaning. And if subsequently people have become too pre-occupied with shape and insufficiently occupied with meaning, that is scarcely his fault.

I have a more deeply personal indebtedness to three scholars of blessed memory, T.G.Jalland, E.C.Ratcliff, and G.G.Willis. They were to me guides and allies in the earlier stages of Prayer Book revision, when one groaned at the compromises, fabrications, and frustrations occasioned by the Liturgical commission and its revision committee the General Synod of the Church of England. One of the Commission's more distinguished members once said to me, 'Our work would have been a great deal better had it not been for the interference of the General Synod.' It does not take much liturgical expertise to advocate comprehension and relevance. Contrariwise it cannot be too strongly emphasized how important it is to keep returning to sources. In the catholic religion the past is indispensible to the present. These three scholars instilled this truth in me.

The lot has fallen unto me in a fair ground. I have combined the grove of academe with the cure of souls in a small city parish. The one has benefitted the other. I am indebted to both academic and clerical colleagues, to students and parishioners. All have helped me, by the responsibilities I have had towards them, by criticism and
encouragement, to probe for the reason for things, never to be satisfied and to appreciate that the best way to learn is to teach. If I mention the Society of St Boniface in particular, in which prayer and study are combined with good company, it is because they have heard most of this study, chapter by chapter, and shown me where to amend, to explain, and to re-write.

I am forbidden to say anything about the domestic front.
Editorial note

My father, peace be on him, died in 2014, with this work, last touched some twenty years before, left unpublished. I inherited the typescript and a slightly older electronic source, in antiquated but fortunately recoverable software and hardware formats. In the course of re-formatting I have done some further proof-reading; but I have not made any substantial changes, nor tried to bring the story ‘up to date’ with subsequent liturgical change.

Some partial exception to that comes in the Synopses. My father quoted then-recent translations, but to avoid problems with copyright (having little time to devote to such negotiation, and having to assume that he had not done so) I have substituted older texts wherever possible, noting any significant variations in the later versions, and retaining the original references. Since these older texts are mostly from on-line sources, I have added notes of web URLs; but have not added these to the Bibliographies. I hope that the quotations will lead readers to refer back to their sources, and be seen as fair use of copyright material.

This work is an informative and challenging review of the story of christian liturgy from its sources in judaism to the establishment of its classical forms, and beyond. It should encourage students of liturgy to look again at its origins and development.

Bernard Moreton
West Pennard, Glastonbury
January 2018

For those viewing this document in a PDF Reader:

Many of the Synopses are laid out across facing pages, and will be best viewed ‘Two-Up Continuous’, if necessary also selecting ‘Show Cover Page During Two-Up’, so that odd-numbered pages are correctly on the right of the viewer pane.

The Bookmarks will be more useful than the Table of Contents; if they are not visible, try ‘View / Navigation Panels / Bookmarks’. Some PDF readers other than Adobe describe the bookmarks as ‘Index’.

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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apoc.</td>
<td>Apocrypha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App.crit.</td>
<td>apparatus criticus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ap.Trad.</td>
<td>The Apostolic Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCP</td>
<td>The Book of Common Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambrai 164</td>
<td>(formerly 159) The Hadrianum, the earliest extant copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1866 seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DACL</td>
<td>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 15 vols., Paris, 1907-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Sacr.</td>
<td>Ambrose of Milan, <em>De Sacramentis</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did.</td>
<td><em>The Didache</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSS</td>
<td>The Dead Sea Scrolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBS</td>
<td>Henry Bradshaw Society, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>JTS</td>
<td>Journal of Theological Studies. Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LF</td>
<td>Library of the Fathers, Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLE</td>
<td>Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, ed. Vernon Ley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LQF</td>
<td>Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, Münster in Westfalen</td>
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<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>Septuagint</td>
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M Mishnah (followed by title of tractate)
Metzger Bruce M Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*
Migne PG " " Series Graeco-Latina
Migne PL J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Series Latina*
Myst.Cat. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catecheses*
NEB New English Bible
NRSV New Revised Standard Version
NT New Testament
OR *Les Ordines Romani*, ed. M. Andrieu (5 vols.)
OT Old Testament
Pseud. Pseudepigrapha
RB *Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous
REB Revised English Bible
RED *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, Roma
RSV Revised Standard Version
RV Revised Version
SC *Sources Chrétienes*, Paris
SF *Spicilegium Frigurgense*
SSL *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, (Études et Documents), Louvain
TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, (10 vols.)
Test. Dom. *Testamentum Domini*
UBS United Bible Societies, London/New York
Israel and the Church

Christianity is the fulfilment of Israel's past. This was the understanding of the Hellenistic Jewish Church. For Mark the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ [the Son of God] was founded upon prophecy:

\[
\text{As it is written in Isaiah the prophet.}
\]

"Behold, I send my messenger before thy face,
who shall prepare thy way;
the voice of one crying in the wilderness:
Prepare the way of the Lord,
make his paths straight -"
John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness,
pREACHING A BAPTISM OF REPENTANCE
for the forgiveness of sins.\footnote{Mk 1:2-4 RSV, cit.Mal.3:1, Isa.40:3}

In spite of the syntactical difficulties of this passage, it is clear that the appearance of John the Baptist, the forerunner of 'Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee', fulfills the hidden meaning of Scripture. The first words of the proclamation of Jesus fall into the same perspective: 'The time is fulfilled'\footnote{Mk 1:15} - time (kairos) here meaning not a point of time but a period of time.

What this Marcan formula of 'the time' means is elucidated by Matthew in the genealogy of Jesus with which his Gospel begins.\footnote{Mt 1:1-17} This is organised in three divisions: Abraham to David, David to the time of the deportation to Babylon, and from the time of the deportation to Babylon to Jesus 'who is called Christ'. The significance of these divisions is underlined by the summary which Matthew attaches to them:

\[
\text{So all the generations from Abraham to David were fourteen generations,}
\text{and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and}
\text{from the deportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen generations.} \footnote{Mk 1: 17 RSV}
\]
In the coded language of apocalyptic this is an allusion to the 'time, times [dual], and half a time,'¹ that is, the three and a half years or forty two months, or with the intercalated month the thousand two hundred and ninety days,² during which sacrifice ceased in the temple. With apocalyptic, of course, the code is the message; and so Matthew leaves the reader to muse upon the significance of the three times fourteen generations for himself. It is also left to him to relate 'the present of the present' with 'present of the future'³ in 'the consummation of the age' at the end of the Gospel.⁴ But what is certain is that the generations of Israel are fulfilled in Christ. The Church does not diverge from Israel, but brings Israel to its fullness.

The continuity of the Church with Israel, no less than its orientation towards the Gentile world, is a central theme in the apologetic of Luke - Acts. Thus Luke traces the beginning of the Gospel to Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, 'executing the priest's office before God in the order of his course' and entering the temple of Jerusalem to burn incense at the golden altar before the veil of the temple.⁵ And similarly the Gospel concludes with the risen Lord interpreting the things concerning himself in Moses, the prophets and the psalms.⁶ The early chapters of Acts show the apostles preaching in the Temple, and similarly the preaching of St Paul regularly begins in the synagogues of the Diaspora and is addressed to men of Israel and God-fearers.⁷

Luke's orientation towards the Gentile world in no way lessens his understanding of the continuity of the Church with Israel. He was not the first to recognise this double emphasis. It had already emerged in Matthew. Viewing the Matthaean Gospel as a whole, it lies within the boundaries of Judaism. But just as Judaism reached out to the Gentile world, so did the Matthaean Church. There were already in the Gospel tradition established precedents for the reception of Gentiles - the Marcan precedent of the Syro-Phoenician woman who came to Jesus to seek the deliverance of her daughter from an unclean spirit,⁸ and the Q precedent of the Roman centurion who came to Jesus to seek the deliverance of his servant from the point of death.⁹ But a definite change of attitude towards the Gentile world occurs in the final resurrection scene in Matthew, where the mission to make disciples in all the nations is enjoined upon the disciples by the risen Lord.¹⁰ In Luke, however, openness towards the Gentile world is fully accepted from the outset. The impact of this is very apparent if we may regard Luke 3:1 as forming the beginning of the Gospel at an early stage. The Gospel is given a world-wide setting, with the naming first of the Roman emperor and the Roman procurator, then of the Roman puppet rulers the tetrarchs, and then the high priests. Next, the quotation from Isaiah, 'A voice crying in the wilderness', which is fulfilled in John the Baptist, is carried further than it is in Mark and Matthew in order to include the verse, 'And all flesh shall see the salvation of

¹ Dan.7:25, 12:7. Also Revn 12:14.  
² Dan.12:11  
³ Augustine, Confessions 11:20  
⁴ Mt 28:20  
⁵ Lk 1:8-10  
⁶ Lk 24:27, 44-47  
⁷ Ac.13:5, 15ff.; 14:1; 17:1ff.; 28:23ff  
⁸ Mk 7:24-30  
⁹ Mt 8:5-13. (pais, child); Lk 7:1-10 (both doulos, servant, and pais).  
¹⁰ Mt 28:19
Israel and the Church

God\(^1\) The genealogy of Jesus is carried backwards in an unbroken succession beyond Abraham to Adam 'the son of God', the father of mankind.\(^2\) Then, in the first synagogue episode, in which the teaching of Jesus is unfolded, the sermon embodies two examples from Scripture in which salvation is extended outside Israel, to the widow of Zarephath by Elijah, and to Naaman the Syrian by Elisha. The import of all this is not lost on the synagogue congregation that heard Jesus since they make an attempt to kill him.\(^3\)

Such then was the conviction of the continuity of the Church with Israel, and of the fulfilment of Israel's past in the Church, in the synoptic tradition in the predominantly Hellenistic Jewish congregations of the Apostolic Church. In the Diaspora by contrast the Gentile question was more urgent at an earlier date. In this question Paul's position was more radical than that of Jewish teachers in the Greek world. They contemplated the reception of Gentiles on grounds other than the covenant with Abraham, namely of the so-called Noahic covenant - prohibition of the worship of other gods, of blaspheming the name of God, of cursing judges, of murder, of incest and adultery, and of robbery.\(^4\) Paul's solution to the problem was at first sight simpler - acceptance on the basis of faith. But 'faith', \textit{pistis}, had, and has, a wide range of meaning; and it certainly was not limited to the subjective disposition of the soul, but had also an objective dogmatic content. The \textit{euangelion} which he delivered to the mixed Jewish and Gentile converts at Corinth, and which they received, was that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures, and that he was raised the third day in accordance with the Scriptures.\(^5\) The death and resurrection of Christ were no more marginal to the Scriptures than to the \textit{euangelion}. Similarly, the \textit{euangelion} of God, which was promised beforehand through the prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerned his Son who 'according to the flesh' was born of the seed of David, and who 'according to the spirit of holiness' was declared to be the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead.\(^6\) Thus both the history of Israel and the Scriptures of Israel are incorporated in the life of the Church through Christ.

Judaism embodied a wide range of belief and practice until the time of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. Christianity took root and began to flourish within its boundaries. In the judgment of G.F. Moore, 'Hitherto these "disciples of Jesus the Nazarene" had been a conventicle within the synagogue, rather than a sect.'\(^7\) With the cessation of the Temple liturgy, and the extinction of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, the reorganisation of Judaism was begun by Johanan ben Zakkai, who established a school at Jamnia. Judaism became more and more identified with Pharisaism. In consequence the conflict between Pharisaism and Christianity became more and more pronounced. The scene of this conflict was not Jerusalem but Galilee; and Matthew in comparison with Mark exhibits the intensification of the struggle.

\(^{1}\) Lk 3:4-6  
\(^{2}\) Lk 3:23-37  
\(^{3}\) Lk 4:16-30  
\(^{4}\) G.F. Moore, \textit{Judaism} 3 vols, Harvard 1927, I.274f  
\(^{5}\) 1 Cor.15:3-4  
\(^{6}\) Rom.1:1-4  
\(^{7}\) op. cit. I. 90
Superficially the synoptic tradition falls into two parts, the Galilee section and the Jerusalem section. Beneath this geographical distinction, however, deeper currents are flowing. There is the theological transition from the proclamation of the Kingdom of God by word and deed in Galilee, to the coming of God's reign through the death and resurrection of Christ. There is also a liturgical sub-plot. Although the teaching of Jesus is set in the house or along the road or on the lakeside or on the mountains, it begins\(^1\) and ends\(^2\) in the synagogue in the Mark-Matthew tradition. In Luke by contrast the first appearance and rejection of Jesus in the synagogue are condensed into a single scene, foreshadowing his final rejection in Jerusalem.\(^3\) This is not however the last of his appearances, for Luke notes soon after that he taught in the synagogues of Judaea.\(^4\) These reports of the breach with the synagogue in the Synoptic Gospels probably reflect the experience of Christians in the period after the fall of Jerusalem.

In the second part of the Gospel, with the final events in Jerusalem, the Temple is more continuously its background than is the case with the synagogue in the first part. First, on arrival in Jerusalem, there is the judgment on the Temple;\(^5\) then the dispute with the chief priests, scribes and elders in the Temple over the question of authority,\(^6\) the question about David's son as he taught in the Temple,\(^7\) and the episode of the widow's offering at the Temple treasury.\(^8\) The prophecy of the destruction of the Temple is pronounced by Jesus as he leaves the Temple with his disciples.\(^9\) The prediction of the profanation of the Temple prefaces the apocalyptic chapter.\(^10\) Needless to say, the Passover forms the background to the last supper.\(^11\) After his arrest Jesus is brought before the Council of the high priest, chief priests, elders and scribes,\(^12\) and the accusation is made against him of intending to destroy the Temple and rebuild it in three days.\(^13\) This accusation is repeated at the crucifixion.\(^14\) Above all, at the death of Jesus on the cross the Temple veil is rent in two from top to bottom, and is followed by the centurion's confession. Mark simply juxtaposes these events, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions.\(^15\) Matthew interpolates the true sequel to the death of Jesus, namely the resurrection of the saints.\(^16\) Perhaps for Mark, certainly for the other evangelists, the Temple had already been destroyed when these accounts were finally formulated.

The implication of the synagogue background to the Galilee part of the synoptic tradition, and of the Temple background to the Jerusalem part, is clear. The Apostolic

\(^1\) Mk 1:21-28, Mt 4:23  
\(^2\) Mk 6:1-6, Mt 13:53-58  
\(^3\) Lk 4:16-20  
\(^4\) Lk 4:44, where Judaea perhaps means Palestine.  
\(^5\) Mk 11:15-19 par  
\(^6\) Mk 11:27-33 par  
\(^7\) Mk 11:35-37  
\(^8\) Mk 12:41-44  
\(^9\) Mk 13:1-2  
\(^10\) Mk 13:14 par  
\(^11\) Mk 14:12-16 par  
\(^12\) Mk 14:53 par  
\(^13\) Mk 14:57f, Mt 26:61  
\(^14\) Mk 15:29f., Mt 27:39f  
\(^15\) Mk 15:37-39 (Lk differently)  
\(^16\) Mt 27:51b-53
Church, while continuing to regard Christ as the fulfillment of Israel's past and of scripture, was developing its own liturgical life in separation from the synagogue, now increasingly dominated by the Pharisees, and in fulfilling the void left by the cessation of the sacrificial liturgy of the Temple.

Christians and Pharisees were divided from one another in regard to the interpretation of Scripture. They were divided too in regard to the language of Scripture. In the synagogues of Palestine the liturgy was conducted in Hebrew. The Hebrew text of Scripture was the authoritative text; nevertheless, since Hebrew had ceased to be the spoken language of Palestine, being replaced by Aramaic, an Aramaic paraphrase might accompany the lessons read in Hebrew. Similarly, the daily prayers of the synagogue, the Shema' and the Tefillah, though they might be recited in private in the vernacular, were read in public in Hebrew.

In the Diaspora many Jews spoke Greek as their first language, and it was for Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt who did not understand Hebrew that the Scriptures were translated into Greek in the third century BC and subsequently in the Septuagint version. The need for such a translation for the benefit of Greek-speaking Jews everywhere was further demonstrated in the second century AD by the appearance of other versions, those of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus.

Judaism had been extensively influenced by Hellenism ever since the conquests in the East of Alexander the Great. Jerusalem itself like other cities of Palestine and Syria was bilingual, including both Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking communities. By contrast Galilee was 'a region of "backwoodsmen"', 'predominantly nationalistic' and 'faithful to the law'.¹ Paul was an early convert to Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity; and his letters, in which there is a consistent Christology, betray no quarrel with the Christology of those from whom he received the gospel. From the earliest years Greek-speaking and Greek-writing Christians founded the kerygma upon the Greek text of Scripture. It was this early adoption of Greek and the Greek Scriptures which resulted in Christianity leaving the Hebrew-Aramaic synagogues in the possession of the Pharisees, and seeking and gaining an ever widening audience in the Greek world.

The question of conversion began to arise with increasing urgency. It was a question that had been familiar to Israel and Judaism for many centuries. The conditions for the reception of the stranger within the gates had been laid down in Deuteronomy.² In the theocratic state established in the time of Ezra foreign wives had to be put away.³ Shammai and Hillel, divided over so many points of the law, were not divided over the necessity for baptism in the case of proselytes.⁴ Before baptism the convert was instructed in the lighter and weightier matters of the law.⁵ After baptism he was 'a son of the covenant' just as much as the born Jew.

² Deut.5:14 etc.
³ Ezra.9:10
⁴ M. Pes.8:8 = Eduy.5:2
⁵ Bab. Yebamot 47 a-b
The problem that confronted Judaism, namely the reception of converts from pagan society and cults, also confronted Christianity. The solution to the problem in Judaism, namely proselyte baptism, also provided the solution to the problem in Christianity. These converts were attracted to Christianity from very varied backgrounds in which there were 'gods many and lords many'. They needed to acquire the knowledge of God. In Christianity this meant the knowledge of God the Father and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. This revelation is the starting point of most of the epistles of St Paul. Further, with the knowledge of God the Father and of Jesus Christ it was also necessary for the convert to acquire the morality that is determined by that knowledge. Again, the Christological section in the epistles is often followed by a section on virtues and vices and on the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves. The epistles thus reflect a growing catechetical discipline in the Church consisting of doctrine and ethics. A period of stabilisation was necessary before the convert was received into the Church and admitted to the Church's liturgy.

Now the necessary accompaniment to instruction in the knowledge of God and of Christ was the inculcation of the habit of prayer. It was by prayer that the convert made the knowledge of God his own. It was and is the basis of all liturgy.

1 Essay II in E.G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St Peter*, London 1947, 363-466
Synagogue and Church

The synagogue forms the background of the earlier part of the Gospel tradition. The work of Jesus in Galilee began there, and there it ended with his rejection.

Mark begins with the *personae dramatis*: the proclamation of John the Baptist,\(^1\) the manifestation of Jesus at his baptism,\(^2\) the temptation of Jesus by Satan,\(^3\) the proclamation of the kingdom of God in Galilee by Jesus,\(^4\) and the call of the first disciples.\(^5\) With this introduction Mark proceeds to illustrate the work of Jesus in Galilee in a series of typical scenes: in the synagogue, in the house, in desolate areas, at the sea, in the fields, in towns. But the underlying theme here is the synagogue.

There is at once an archetypal scene in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the two sides of the work of Jesus, teaching and healing or exorcism, are exhibited.\(^6\) It is a new teaching with authority,\(^7\) different from that of the scribes;\(^8\) and it is accompanied by a direct assault on the dominion of Satan.\(^9\) A generalised statement on these lines follows: 'And he went throughout all Galilee, proclaiming in their synagogues, and casting out demons'.\(^10\) Jesus entered the synagogue 'again' on the Sabbath, and healed the man with the withered hand.\(^11\) The outcome was the first plot to kill him. It involved the improbable alliance of Pharisees and Herodians - improbable because they stood for utterly different interests. The Pharisees stood for the redemption of Israel by the devout observance of the Torah, and for them the synagogue was their chief sphere of influence. The Herodians were 'partisans of Herod the Great and his family',\(^12\) who stood only for their own interests. This section of Mark is brought to a conclusion with the return of Jesus 'to his own country', where on the Sabbath he taught in the synagogue.\(^13\) It is a paradoxical scene, for initial astonishment on the part of the hearers turns into 'unbelief'. Jesus leaves the synagogue, never to return.

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1 Mk 1:1-8
2 Mk 1:9-11
3 Mk 1:12-13
4 Mk 1:14-15
5 Mk 1:16-20
6 Mk 1:21-29
7 Mk 1:22,27 (GNT’text; app.crit.)
8 Mk 1:22
9 Mk 1:28
10 Mk 1:39
11 Mk 3:1-6
12 Bauer\(^4\)/Arndt and Gingrich\(^1\), sv.
13 Mk 6:1-6a
This synagogue section in Mark is followed by the archetypal episode of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, bracketed by the mission of the twelve, leading to the double cycle of wilderness meals, and culminating in the confession at Caesarea Philippi, the transfiguration, and the saying about the coming of Elijah.

This opening synagogue section in Mark has been completely re-organised in Matthew. Mark's archetypal scene of teaching and exorcism in the synagogue at Capernaum has been abandoned as such by Matthew. But he has taken the two sides of the work of Jesus here, his teaching and his miracles, and worked these up into two large treatises. The teaching is arranged at length in the carefully structured form of the Sermon on the Mount. The exorcism of the man with the unclean spirit is subsumed into the series of ten miracles. This whole massive assembly of teaching and miracle is then enclosed by Matthew in a common introductory and concluding formula:

And he went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the Kingdom and healing every disease and every infirmity among the people.

And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity.

The synagogue setting is the background to the whole. It reappears in Matthew's use of the Marcan section of the 'unbelief' of the people in Jesus' own country, after the collection of parables. Mark's wording 'teaching in the synagogue' is changed in Matthew to 'teaching in their synagogue'. This change from the definite article to the personal pronoun suggests that by Matthew's time, at any rate in Matthew's locality, the breach between Jews and Christians had occurred, and that now Christians met in autonomous assemblies or ecclesiae of their own.

Matthew, then, completely re-organises the first third of Mark. The first third of Mark is the synagogue section, and this is made the basis of the first half of Matthew. There is, however, a perceptible difference in point of view, in that Matthew writing of 'their synagogue' implies that Christians are now separated from the synagogue that is increasingly dominated by the Pharisees.

In passing from Mark and Matthew to Luke we encounter a very different outlook. From the outset Luke has the Gentile world in view. It is not that he turns his back on Judaism, but that he sees the Gentile Church, spreading throughout the Empire, as the

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1 Mk 6:7-30
2 Mk 6:31-9:13
3 Mk 1:21-29
4 Mt 5:1-7:29
5 Mt 8:1-9:34
6 Mt 4:23
7 Mt 9:35
8 Mt 13:53-58
9 Mt 13:1-52
10 Mt 4:25, (=Mk 1:39), 9:35, 10:17, 12:9, 13:54
11 Mt 16:18, 18:17
12 There are 12 references to Pharisees in Mk, 30 in Mt (Mt is half as long again as Mk: 80 pages for Mk in GNT, 117 pages for Mt.)
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legitimate development from Judaism. It is probable that the first draft of his Gospel began at chapter three, with its world view:

*In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberias Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came to John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.¹*

This is the political and chronological frame in which the Gospel was to be unfolded. If chapter two was then added to fill out the history of Jesus from his birth in Bethlehem, again the narrative was given a political frame:

*In those days a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria.²*

It followed that the birth of Jesus took place in Bethlehem in consequence of an imperial decree - and not, as in Matthew, in fulfillment of Scripture.³ The difference here epitomises the different standpoint of the two evangelists. After the angelophany, disclosing to Mary and Joseph through the shepherds the nature of the child, Luke then sets out the Temple scene of the purification of Mary and Joseph. While it expresses the *pietas* of Mary and Joseph in complying with the law, it also heralds the translation of the gospel of salvation from Israel to all peoples, and for the revelation of the Gentiles.⁴

Since the Gentiles are thus in view from the outset, Luke has not the same interest as Matthew in retaining the synagogue background of the Galilean section of the Gospel which he found in his source Mark. He did not however totally eliminate it. Thus he retained the story of the healing of the man with the withered hand with its synagogue setting on the Sabbath day;⁵ and he introduced a parallel story of the bowed woman, also set in the synagogue on the Sabbath.⁶ The first story illustrates one of Luke's themes, namely the hostility of the scribes and Pharisees whom he regards as the leaders of the synagogue; and the second story, while it convicts the opponents of Jesus, illustrates the high regard in which Jesus was held by the people.

Now Luke, like Mark, also has his archetypal synagogue scene. But in this respect Luke, like Matthew, has re-organised Mark. Mark's archetypal synagogue scene, embracing both teaching and miracle, in Mark 1:21-28, together with the rest of the typical first day in Mark, Mk 1:29-38, is retained by Luke. But Luke prefaces it with an archetypal scene, based on Mark's rejection scene in Mk 6:1-6a, of Jesus' appearance in the synagogue at Nazareth on the Sabbath day, Lk 4:16-30. But Mark's scene has been transformed by Luke. Jesus's 'teaching in the synagogue' in Mk 6:2 is given specific illustration by Luke. First Jesus stood to read the prophetic lesson, including the verses from Isaiah 61 (Lk 4:17-19, Isa.61:1-2), and then sat to expound what had been read. Two examples to bear out the Isaiah prophecy are adduced: first, Lk 3:1-2

2 Lk 2:1-2
3 Mt 2:1-6
4 Lk 2:22-32
5 Lk 6:6-11. The story ends of course with a veiled threat to Jesus which fits in well with Luke's *Leitmotif* of the passion overshadowing the whole of the gospel.
6 Lk 13:1-17. The rejoicing of the people is also typically Lucan.
Elijah's visit to the widow of Zarephath, a foreigner, in a time of famine; and secondly, Elisha's healing of Naaman the Syrian, suffering from leprosy, not only a foreigner but an enemy. The implications of these examples is brought home to the reader by the reactions of the synagogue congregation. These scriptures are fulfilled by Jesus, and the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles is foreshadowed. The attempt on the life of Jesus that follows foreshadows the cross. Thus Mark's rejection scene in the synagogue at the end of his synagogue section is transformed by Luke into a primary scene that encapsulates the whole extent of Luke-Acts.

The scene marks the beginning of the journey of Jesus from Nazareth to Jerusalem and his ascension into heaven, and of the journey of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. It does not however mark the separation of Jesus from the synagogue, for immediately afterwards he went down to Capernaum, where he taught (was teaching, the iterative pleonastic imperfect) in the synagogue on the Sabbath. This teaching of Jesus was indeed extended to the synagogues of Judaea.

For Luke then, unlike Matthew, the breach with the synagogue was not yet in prospect in the Gospel; and the presence of Christians in the synagogue falls within the perspectives of Acts. Thus Saul, armed with authorization from the high priest, went to Damascus clearly expecting to find Christians in the synagogue there. Moreover, following upon his conversion, the synagogue was the place where he proclaimed Jesus, saying 'He is the Son of God'. The synagogue was the starting point for the first mission of Barnabas and Saul, at Salamis in Cyprus, at Antioch of Pisidia, and at Iconium, although it aroused persecution at Antioch, Iconium and Lystra. At the Council of Jerusalem, where the question at issue was the terms on which Gentile converts were to be received, the summing up by James is rested on the quotation from the Septuagintal text of Amos 9:11-12. The conclusion that Gentiles should be received is irresistible since it stands in the logic of 'Moses' who has long been read in the synagogues every Sabbath. It was of course in the synagogues that Jewish and Gentile Christians heard 'Moses'.

The synagogue was again the scene of Paul's teaching in his further missionary journeys, in Thessalonica, where it occasioned persecution, and at Beroea. At Corinth Paul 'argued in the synagogue every Sabbath and persuaded Jews and Greeks', but it was at Corinth that Paul first left the synagogue to meet in a neighbouring house. The synagogue was again the scene of Paul's teaching in Ephesus for a period of three months, but thereafter Paul left the synagogue for the schola of Tyranus. These developments foreshadow the future of the church in separation from the synagogue.

1 Lk 4:25-26, 1 Kgs 17:9
2 Lk 4:27, 2 Kgs 5:1-14
3 Lk 4:31ff
4 Lk 4:44. On the reading Judaea, see GNT\(^3\), app.crit., and Bauer\(^4\)/AG\(^1\), s.v.2, 'the region occupied by the Jewish nation.'
5 Ac.9:1-2
6 Ac.9:20
7 Ac.13:5,14; 14:1
8 Ac.13: 44-51; 14:4-6; 14:19
9 Ac.17:1-9; 10-13
10 Ac.18:4
11 Ac.18:6-7
12 Ac.19:8-10

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This separation forms the conclusion of Acts, where Paul is under house arrest in Rome.

Luke thus traces the separation of Christians from the synagogue to the later stages in the missionary work of Paul. This understanding of the matter needs to be kept in mind in assessing the evidence of Mark/Matthew. Matthew in comparison with Mark, as we have already seen, appears to regard the frequenting of the synagogue by Jesus as a practice that the Evangelist's contemporaries have abandoned. He entered their synagogues, the synagogues that were now dominated by the Pharisees at least in the time of Matthew, and which had now been surrendered to them.

In the Fourth Gospel only the vestiges of the synagogue tradition survives. There is an unheralded reference to the synagogue at the conclusion of the discourse on the bread from heaven in chapter six: 'This he said in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum'. There is no previous mention of the synagogue; and indeed the setting for this discourse appears to be 'on the other side of the sea,' in or near Capernaum. If, as is not infrequently advocated, chapters five and six were to be reversed in order, then chapters four and six, beginning with the journey to Galilee, and the passing through Samaria, and the arrival in Galilee in chapter four, followed by the provision for the five thousand and the bread from heaven discourse in chapter six, would form a coherent Galilee section, reminiscent of Mark's synagogue section in Galilee. The whole of the rest of the Gospel would then be located in Jerusalem or its environs, except for the opening paragraph in chapter seven. It is clear that teaching in the synagogue was known in the Johannine tradition of the Gospel, for when Jesus was questioned by the high priest about his disciples and his teaching, he replied: 'I have spoken openly to the world; I have always taught in synagogues and in the Temple, where all Jews come together; I have said nothing secretly.'

For the Fourth Evangelist's readers, however, excommunication from the synagogue seems to be a present experience: 'They will put you out of the synagogues; indeed, the hour is coming when whoever kills you will think he is offering service to God'. The word used by the Evangelist, *aposynagogos*, is 'unknown to secular writers and to LXX'. It means expulsion from the synagogue. It was the experience of the generation that had not seen Jesus, and yet believed.

The dating and placing of the Gospels, as of all the other books of the New Testament, is notoriously difficult. On the whole we have to make do with relative statements. The priority of Mark still stands, although judgment is divided over its place of origin - whether it was the area where its narratives are located, or Rome. The determination of the date of Mark turns on the interpretation of the references to the destruction of the Temple: AD 70 give or take a few years or months. Matthew is a second edition of Mark, and belongs to a time when the struggle between Christians and Pharisees

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1 Jn 6:59
2 Jn 6:24f
3 Jn 4:1-6:71
4 Jn 5:1f, a feast of the Jews in Jerusalem; 7:10-9:41, the feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem; 10:1-42, the feast of Dedication in Jerusalem; 11:1-12:11, in Bethany before the Passover; 12:12ff., the entry into Jerusalem.
5 Jn 18:19-20 RSV
6 Jn 16:2
7 Bauer1/AG's.v. See also Jn 9:22; 12:42
has intensified. As for place, the reference to Syria in Matthew 4:24 may be a hint. Luke, with the dedication of Luke-Acts to 'the most excellent Theophilus' in view, seems to presuppose a Gentile readership, perhaps at a time when the difference between Christians and Jews was beginning to be apparent even to outsiders, and the Roman magistracy was beginning to single out Christians in order to find out what was going on. This might have happened in different places at different times, perhaps intermittently. As for place, either Antioch or Maritime Caesarea is conceivable. John at least is furnished with a terminus ante quem by a papyrus fragment of John 18:31-33, 37-38, 1 which on paleographical grounds is dated c.AD 125. Since this was found in Egypt, time has to be allowed for copying the text and conveying it from its place of origin to the place where it was found. Moreover, the Egerton Papyrus 2, 2 embodying a catena of passages from the four Gospels, is assigned on paleographical grounds to the period AD 140-160. Its relationship to the literary text of John is uncertain. The place of origin of John, whether near Jerusalem or distant from it, is also uncertain, although indebtedness to the Marcan tradition and access to some specific Lucan pericopae, suggests proximity to the place of origin of Mark and Luke. Thus it seems that we have to think of the separation of church and synagogue taking place during the forty years from AD 70 to AD 110, and throughout Syria and Palestine.

In the Greek-speaking cities of the Diaspora the synagogue was the focal point of the Jewish populations. It enabled them to maintain their own identity in the religion of their fathers, in the face of 'gods many and lords many', 3 in spite of the compromises in religious, moral and social matters which were difficult to avoid. 4

Paul's radical abandonment, however, of the law and circumcision 5 went beyond what the adherents of the synagogue were prepared to accept. This was the question at issue in the Epistle to the Galatians. In the acceptance of converts from paganism, Judaizers wished to retain circumcision, with some degree of obligation in regard to the law. 6 For Paul, by contrast, the only necessary response to the kerygma was faith. For him proselyte baptism as a whole was unnecessary, 7 for no distinction was to be drawn between Gentile and Jew. 8 Paul's radicalism, nevertheless, could not be sustained. Converts from paganism needed to acquire a doctrinal and moral framework for faith. The meaning of the form of greeting in his letters 'from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' 9 was not self-evident; and a moral code was furnished by instruction in 'the commandments'. 10 Some form was necessary to mark the transition from the world into Christ. And although he was successful in withstanding the demand for circumcision, he came to accept the other features of proselyte baptism, namely the immersion bath itself, and the surrogate for sacrifice in the Temple in a life of sanctity, couched in Romans 12:1 in sacrificial terminology:

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1 Manchester, John Ryland's Library, Gk Pap. 457
2 The New Gospel Fragments, Trustees of the British Museum, 1955
3 1 Cor 8:5
4 M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, 2 vols ET. London 1974
5 Gal 5:3
6 Gal 6:13
7 This will be argued in ch.5
8 Rom 3:9,22f
9 Rom 1:7
10 Rom 13:8-10
I appeal to you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.

Incorporation into Christ by baptism entailed participation (koinonia) in his sacrifice.

There are further indications of the influence of the synagogue upon Paul. Since the synagogue was the focal point of the life of the local Jewish population, it was not only the place of instruction and prayer, but of administration and jurisdiction. The case of porneia in Corinth illustrates the jurisdictional aspect of synagogue life. It appears that the Church in Corinth is to be assembled as though in the presence of Paul himself, the case heard, and judgment to be pronounced. Questions of detail, however, cannot be resolved: did Paul envisage a meeting of the whole congregation of Christians? How many people would that involve? - ten or twenty or thirty? Or was a representative body involved? Were there rules of procedure? Did the verdict preempt the trial? However much is left here unsaid, Paul says enough to indicate that the course of action is not novel, and in need of justification, but relies for its effectiveness on what is customary and familiar. The life of the ecclesia is not far removed from the life of the synagogue.

This principle is further illustrated by the place of women in the ecclesia. It is partly a question of dress, partly of liturgy. It is notoriously difficult to determine what Paul means on the question of dress. He gives the appearance of not being able to produce a sufficiently strong argument to get the better of his opponents; and after repeated attempts to do so, his conclusion may seem weak - an appeal to custom:

If any one is disposed to be contentious, we recognise no other practice, nor do the churches of God.

Ecclesia is above all a term of Diaspora Christianity. It was a convenient term to apply to assemblies of Christians, in various stages of separation from the synagogue. A convert to the euanggelion did not necessarily at once remove himself from the synagogue, from its liturgy and social milieu. He did not at once have to separate himself and pray and believe in a way that was totally different from the past. With Christ presented as the fulfillment of Israel's history and of the Scriptures, the deeply laid habits of prayer both public and private did not require to be abandoned. Indeed, as we shall see, their transformation was gradual. When Paul then speaks of 'the churches of God', he is presumably thinking of assemblies of Christians, even though synagogues cannot altogether be ruled out; and he is thinking of assemblies that still retain many of the characteristics of the synagogue.

Another instance in which the practice of the ecclesia has been influenced by that of the synagogue is in the regulation of speaking with tongues. Paul distinguishes speaking with tongues from prophecy and instruction. Although he speaks with
tongues himself, he esteems prophecy more highly, on the grounds that while tongues are addressed to God, prophecy edifies the ecclesia. To avoid confusion, speaking with tongues needs to be regulated. It must be undertaken in turn, with only two or at the most three speaking, to be accompanied by interpretation. Without interpretation, silence is to be kept. This regulation appears to be modelled on the reading of the law.

'On a Monday and a Thursday and on the afternoon of the Sabbath the law is read by three... And in the beginnings of the months and during mid-festival the law is read by four... On a Festive-day it is read by five, on the day of Atonement by six, and on the Sabbath by seven...'

The reading of Scripture was in Hebrew, at least in Palestine, and it was accompanied by translation into Aramaic, a verse at a time. It thus appears that Paul's regulation of speaking with tongues, together with interpretation, is not devised purely by himself, but rests on precedent in the synagogue liturgy.

The content of speaking with tongues, in Paul's understanding of the matter, is 'mysteries in the Spirit'. For 'no one can say, "Jesus is Lord", except in holy Spirit. It appears to differ from prophecy, not in matter, but in form. Prophets are reckoned by Paul alongside apostles and teachers, so that what apostles and teachers do, prophets also do. And if Paul is an apostle, it is because he has 'seen Jesus our Lord'. Thus an ecstatic or mystical knowledge, mediated in 'visions and revelations', went along with the knowledge of God in Scripture, and of its deeper meaning in Christology, with study, teaching and 'wisdom'. If Christ was preached on the basis of the past, Israel's past, there was no less a legitimate interest in the future. This interest Paul displays in a 'Jewish' form in I Thessalonians 4:13-17, and in a 'Hellenistic' form in 1 Corinthians 15:20-28. Speaking with tongues was closely related to apocalyptic, and apocalyptic was closely related to Pharisaism from an early date. Speaking with tongues, then, is not so much an intrusion into the Church from a pagan 'Hellenism', but rather a derivative from the synagogue.

1 1 Cor 14:18
2 1 Cor 14:2,4,12
3 1 Cor 14:33,40
4 1 Cor 14:27-28
5 i.e. at Passover and Tabernacles: Mishnah, ed. Danby, 206.n.3
6 M Meg. 4:1-2
7 M Meg. 4:4
8 1 Cor 14:2
9 1 Cor 12:3
10 1 Cor 12:28
11 1 Cor 9:1
12 2 Cor 12:1
13 1 Cor 2:6
14 On this whole subject, see M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, I 247-254.
The Daily Prayer of Israel and the Church

(i) The Tefillah: the sanctification of time

It is often suggested that the origins of the synagogue may be traced to the Babylonian exile. Separated from the cultic life of the Temple in Jerusalem, with little or no prospect of return, the exiles organized themselves into 'schools', where religious traditions from the past could be maintained. But religious institutions like the synagogue rarely if ever have identifiable origins. The setting of the visions of Ezekiel when he was among the exiles by the river Chebar\(^1\) has many examplars among the pre-Deuteronomic books of the Old Testament. The oracles of the prophets presuppose both an audience and also sons of the prophets who would commit to memory and collect what was prophesied. Nor should such prophecy be radically dissociated from the offering of sacrifice. The centralization of sacrifice in 'the place which the Lord thy God shall choose'\(^2\) and the 'finding' of the book of the law in the house of the Lord\(^3\) represent an idealized stage of reform that can scarcely have resulted in the extinction of local holy places.\(^4\)

The restoration of the theocratic state in Judaea 'after' the exile remains very obscure. But it can scarcely be doubted that both learning and piety, both instruction and prayer, were fostered in places other than the Temple. The learning of Jesus the son of Sirach, which his grandson translated from Hebrew into Greek, is not likely to have been without parallel.\(^5\) And the story of the piety of Daniel, who prayed three times a day, facing Jerusalem, depended for its force upon the customary character of such prayer at the time that it was written, i.e. in the second century BC.\(^6\) The Judaism of the Hellenistic period was broadly based, and was not characterized solely by Jerusalem and the Temple.

1 Ezek 1:1f., 8:1
2 Deut 12:5, & passim
3 2 Kin 22:4
4 M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* I 78: 'From pre-exilic times, there were certainly scribal schools in the temple and probably elsewhere in the country which served primarily to instruct suitable priests and Levites, who would in turn instruct the people in the law on the great feast days and who had to make legal judgments also on the basis of the law and the legal traditions'.
5 Ecclus, The Prologue
6 Dan 6:10
Although instruction, i.e. in the law, is closely associated with the synagogue, it is surely not to be imagined that prayer was not equally the business of the synagogue. Prayer and learning are constantly mentioned together in the Psalms, and their mutual dependence in the life of the synagogue may safely be taken for granted.\(^1\) Indeed the Mishnah, which means 'teaching' or 'repetition', attributed to R. Judah at the end of the second century AD, begins with the tractate on prayer, viz. Berakoth ('Benedictions').

Moreover, not only does the Mishnah begin with the tractate Berakoth, but the tractate Berakoth itself begins with the discussion of the Shema`\(^2\) and the Tefillah, the basic prayer formulae of the synagogue.\(^3\) We shall reserve our discussion of the Shema` until a later chapter.\(^4\) As for the Tefillah, which means 'Prayer', it is as Danby\(^5\) says: 'the "prayer" par excellence'. The Mishnah does not give the text, but in Berakoth 4:1-5:1 seeks to regulate its use. Indeed no one text survives from this period, although its order and content go back to the time of Gamaliel II.\(^6\) For the sake of discussion we give two forms of the text, the first from The Authorized Daily Prayer Book, edited and translated by. S. Singer\(^7\), and the second the version representative of antiquity reconstructed by G. Dalman.\(^8\)

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1. The divorce of sacred learning and prayer is characteristic only of secularised religious studies in modern universities and colleges of education, where the study of the Bible and the Church is treated as but an aspect of archaeology and history, or sociology, with liturgy not integral to its pursuit.
2. See ch.9 infra
3. It deserves notice in passing that the Shema` and the prayer are brought together in Lk.10:25-11:13
4. Ch.9 infra
5. H. Danby (tr.), *The Mishnah* 796f
6. fl.AD c.80-120
Authorised Daily Prayer Book

I  [The God of the Fathers]
  [The Fathers]\(^1\)
Blessed art thou, O Lord
our God and God of our fathers,
God of Abraham,
God of Isaac, and God of Jacob,
the great, mighty and revered God,
the most high God,
who bestowest loving-kindnesses,
and possesest all things;
who rememberest the pious deeds
of the patriarchs,
and in love will bring a redeemer
to their children's children
for thy name's sake.
O King, Helper, Saviour and
Shield.

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
the Shield of Abraham.

II  [The God of the living and the dead]
  [Power]\(^2\)
Thou, O Lord, art mighty
for ever,
thou quickenest the dead,
thou art mighty to save.
Thou sustainest the living
with loving kindness,
quickenest the dead
with great mercy,
supportest the falling,
healest the sick, loosest the bound,
and keepest thy faith
to them that sleep in the dust.

Who is like unto thee, Lord of mighty acts,
and who resembleth thee, O King,
who killest and quickenest
and causest salvation to spring forth?
Yea, faithful art thou
to quicken the dead.

1  M.R.Sh., 4:5
2  ib.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickenest the dead.

III  [Sanctification of the name]  
    [Hallowing of the name]¹
Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and holy beings praise thee daily.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God.

Reader: We will sanctify thy name in the world even as they sanctify it in the highest heavens, as it is written by the hand of thy prophet:
And they called one unto the other, and said,

Congregation: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.²

Reader: Those over against them say, Blessed-

Congregation: Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place.³

Reader: And in thy Holy Words it is written, saying,

Congregation: The Lord shall reign for ever, thy God, O Zion, unto all generations.
Praise ye the Lord.⁴

Reader: Unto all generations we will declare thy greatness, and to all eternity we will proclaim thy holiness, and thy praise, O our God, shall not depart from our mouth for ever, for thou art a great and holy God and King.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God.

¹ ib.
² Isa 6:3
³ Ezek 3:12
⁴ Ps 146:10
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IV  [Knowledge]
Thou favourest man with knowledge, and teachest mortals understanding.
O favour us with knowledge, understanding, and discernment from thee.
O favour us, our Father, with knowledge from thyself, and understanding and discernment from thy Torah.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, gracious giver of knowledge.
Blessed art thou O Lord, who vouchsaest knowledge.

V  [Repentance]
Cause us to return, our Father, unto thy law; draw us near, O our King, unto thy service, and let us return anew (in repentance) in our days as in the former time.
Cause us to return, O Lord, unto thee, and let us return anew (in repentance) in our days as in the former time.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who delightest in repentance.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who delightest in repentance.

VI  [Forgiveness]
Forgive us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed; for thou dost pardon and forgive.
Forgive us, O Father, for we have sinned against thee; blot out, and cause our transgressions to pass from before thine eyes.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art gracious, and dost abundantly forgive.
Blessed art thou, O Lord who dost abundantly forgive.

VII  [Deliverance from affliction]
Look upon our affliction and plead our cause, and redeem us speedily for thy name's sake; for thou art a mighty Redeemer.
Look upon our affliction, and plead our cause, and redeem us for the sake of thy name.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.
**VIII  [Healing]**

Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed; save us and we shall be saved; for thou art our praise.  
Vouchsafe a perfect healing to all our wounds; for thou, almighty King, art a faithful and merciful Physician.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sick of thy people Israel.

**IX  [A bountiful year]**

Bless this year unto us, O Lord our God, together with every kind of the produce thereof, for our welfare; give a blessing upon the face of the earth. O satisfy us with thy goodness, and bless our year like other good years.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the years.

**X  [The dispersed of Israel]**

Sound the great horn for our freedom; lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the corners of the earth.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the banished ones of thy people, Israel.
XI  [The reign of God]

Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; remove from us grief and suffering; reign thou over us, O Lord, thou alone, in loving kindness and tender mercy, and justify us in judgment.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, the King, who lovest righteousness and judgment.

XII  [Heretics and apostates]

And for slanderers let there be no hope, and let all wickedness perish as in a moment; let all thine enemies be speedily cut off, and the dominion of arrogance do thou uproot and crush, cast down and humble speedily in our days.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who breakest the enemies and humblest the arrogant.

XIII  [Proselytes and righteous]

Towards the righteous and the pious, towards the elders of thy people the house of Israel, towards the remnant of their scribes, towards the proselytes of righteousness, and towards us also may thy tender mercies be stirred, O Lord our God; grant a good reward unto all who faithfully trust in thy name; set our portion with them for ever, so that we may not be put to shame; for we have trusted in thee.

Towards the righteous proselytes may thy tender mercies be stirred, and bestow a good reward upon us together with those that do thy will.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the stay and trust of the righteous.

XIV  *[The rebuilding of Jerusalem]*

And to Jerusalem, thy city, return in mercy, and dwell therein as thou hast spoken: rebuild it soon in our days as an everlasting building, and speedily set up therein the throne of David.

Blessed art thou, O Lord who rebuildest Jerusalem.

XV  *[The messianic King]*

Speedily cause the offspring of David, thy servant, to flourish, and let his horn be exalted by thy salvation, because we wait for thy salvation all the day.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest the horn of salvation to flourish.

XVI  *[The hearing of prayer]*

Hear our voice, O Lord our God; spare us and have mercy upon us and accept our prayer in mercy and favour; for thou art a God who hearkenest unto prayers and supplications; from thy presence, O our King, turn us not empty away; for thou hearkenest in mercy to the prayer of thy people Israel.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearkenest unto prayer.
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XVII [The restoration of sacrifice]  
[The [Temple] Service]

Accept, O Lord our God, thy people Israel and their prayer; restore the service to the oracle of thy house; receive in love and favour both the fire-offerings of Israel and their prayer; and may the service of thy people Israel be ever acceptable unto thee.

And let our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence unto Zion.

Accept us, O Lord our God, and dwell in Zion; and may thy servants serve thee in Jerusalem.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, whom in reverent fear we serve.

XVIII [Thanksgiving for God's goodness]  
[Thanksgiving]

We give thanks unto thee for thou art the Lord our God and the God of our fathers for ever and ever; thou art the Rock of our lives, the Shield of our Salvation through every generation.

We will give thanks unto thee and declare thy praise for our lives which are committed unto thy hand, and for our souls which are in thy charge, and for thy miracles which are daily with us, and for thy wonders and thy benefits which are wrought at all times, evening, morn and noon.

O thou who art all-good, whose mercies fail not; thou, merciful Being, whose loving-kindnesses never cease, we have ever hoped in thee.

We give thanks unto thee, who art the Lord our God,

for all the good things, the steadfast love which thou hast shown to us.

1 M.R.Sh., 4:5  
2 ib.
For all these things thy name, O our King, shall be continually blessed and exalted for ever and ever. And everything that liveth shall give thanks unto thee for ever, and shall praise thy name in truth, O God, our salvation and our help.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is all-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, unto whom it is good to give thanks.

**XIX** [Peace]

**[Benediction of the Priests]**

Grant peace, welfare, blessing, grace, loving kindness and mercy unto us and unto all Israel thy people.

Bestow thy peace upon Israel thy people, and upon thy city and upon thine inheritance, and bless us, all of us together.

Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together, with the light of thy countenance; for by the light of thy countenance thou hast given us, O Lord our God, the law of life, loving-kindness and righteousness, blessing, mercy, life and peace; and may it be good in thy sight to bless thy people Israel at all times and in every hour with thy peace.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest peace.

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1 ib.
3 The Daily Prayer of Israel and the Church

The major differences between the modern text and the reconstructed ancient text occur in III and XVIII. The third benediction, the Hallowing of the Name, has been enlarged by the incorporation into it of the texts of Isaiah 6:3 and Ezekiel 3:12 from the Shema`. This was done when the recitation of the Shema` was proscribed either under Byzantine rule in Palestine in the sixth century or in Babylonia in the fifth.¹ The eighteenth benediction, Thanksgiving, is accompanied by a shorter prayer said in an undertone by the congregation, and is supplemented by additional pericopai on Chanukah (Dedication) and Purim. The inclusion of these post-Biblical feasts in the Tefillah may have influenced the transmission of the eighteenth benediction.

These differences apart, the Tefillah displays remarkable stability. It is deeply rooted in the liturgical life of the synagogue and in the prayer habits of men throughout unnumbered generations. It is a reminder to us that liturgy, both Jewish and Christian, is essentially conservative.²

The last of the Benedictions is called in the Mishnah 'The Benediction of the Priests'.³ It was preceded in the Temple by the recitation of the Aaronic Blessing from Numbers 6:24-26. The Benediction itself is modelled on this Blessing. The conclusion of the Tefillah by this Blessing of peace directly influenced the prayer of the Church. Thus Justin in his account of the baptismal liturgy states, 'We salute each other with a kiss when our prayers are ended,⁴ and Tertullian calls the pax 'the seal of prayer'.⁵

On Sabbaths and festivals the Tefillah was not recited in full. Instead the first three benedictions, 'The Fathers', 'Power' and 'The Hallowing of the Name', were recited, and the last three, 'The [Temple] Service' 'The Thanksgiving' and the Benediction of the Priests.⁶ In between these two sets of three benedictions, an additional benediction replaced the other thirteen, and this had to do with the sanctification of the day. Moreover, while the recitation of the Tefillah was an obligation binding upon all men, it was debated whether it should be the Eighteen in full, or the substance of the Eighteen.⁷ It was not required, moreover, that the Tefillah should be recited in Hebrew, but it was allowed that it could be recited in Greek, or indeed in any language.⁸

One further point about the text of the Tefillah should be noticed. At the conclusion of the public recitation of the prayer, provision was made for the private silent prayer of individuals.⁹ Examples of such prayer are quoted by J.H. Hertz in his edition of The Authorised Daily Prayer Book.¹⁰ They arise from the petitions of the Tefillah:

² The study of liturgy has as its end elucidation, not innovation. The task of scholars on the one hand, and of bishops and clergy on the other, is to deliver to succeeding generations what has been received from the past. Without this fidelity to tradition the Christian religion will rapidly change, and change eventually out of all recognition.
³ M. Rosh ha-Shanah 4:5
⁴ Justin I Apol. 65
⁵ Tertullian, De Orat. 18
⁶ M.R.Sh. 5:5
⁷ M. Ber. 4:3
⁸ M. Sot 7:1,2
⁹ G.F. Moore, Judaism I 295f
¹⁰ London 5719-1959, pp.157f
peace, repentance, and so forth. An embolism of this character, as we shall see, regularly had a place in Christian prayer.

The Mishnah tractate Berakoth prescribes that the Tefillah should be recited three times a day, in the morning and the afternoon, corresponding to the twice daily sacrifice offered for Israel in the Temple, and also in the evening. The additional Tefillah on Sabbath and festivals might be recited at any time during the day.\(^1\) It was to be recited preferably standing, and preferably with the face turned toward Jerusalem. At the very least, the heart was to be directed towards the Holy of Holies. Thus by constant repetition of the Tefillah, an obligation resting on all men, in the Temple and in the synagogue, in the home and abroad, in the course of work and travel, in Judaea and throughout the Diaspora, the divine name was hallowed, and the devout were sanctified.

\(^1\) M. Ber.4:1
## The Daily Prayer of Israel and the Church

### (ii) The Lord's Prayer

The settlement of the Eighteen Benedictions was the historical setting in which the Lord's Prayer emerged. It is known to us in three versions, in Matthew, Luke and the Didache. The Matthaean and Lucan versions derived from Q, the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke. This material is largely made up of pericopae relating to John the Baptist and to the theme of the Kingdom of God, and is generally thought to be earlier than Mark. The date of the Didache has been variously and widely assessed, but the present trend is in the direction of the first century.\(^1\)

The texts are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew(^2)</th>
<th>Luke(^3)</th>
<th>Didache(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Our Father</strong></td>
<td>Father,</td>
<td>Our Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which art in heaven,</td>
<td>which art in heaven</td>
<td>which art in heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Hallowing of the name]</strong></td>
<td>hallowed be thy name.</td>
<td>hallowed be thy name;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>[The reign of God]</strong></td>
<td>Thy Kingdom come.</td>
<td>thy Kingdom come;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thy will be done;</td>
<td>Thy will be done,</td>
<td>thy will be done,</td>
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<tr>
<td>as in heaven,</td>
<td>as in heaven,</td>
<td>as in heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so on earth.</td>
<td>so also on earth;</td>
<td>so also on earth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[A bountiful day]</strong></td>
<td>Give us day by day</td>
<td>give us this day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our daily bread.</td>
<td>our daily bread.</td>
<td>our daily bread;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Forgiveness]</strong></td>
<td>And forgive us our sins;</td>
<td>and forgive us our debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And forgive us our debts,</td>
<td>for we ourselves also</td>
<td>as we also</td>
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<tr>
<td>as we also</td>
<td>forgive every one</td>
<td>forgive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have forgiven all</td>
<td>that is indebted to us.</td>
<td>our debtors;</td>
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<tr>
<td>debtors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Deliverance from affliction]</strong></td>
<td>And bring us not</td>
<td>and lead us not</td>
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<tr>
<td>And bring us not</td>
<td>into temptation,</td>
<td>into temptation,</td>
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<tr>
<td>into temptation,</td>
<td>but deliver us</td>
<td>but deliver us</td>
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<tr>
<td>but deliver us</td>
<td>from the evil one;</td>
<td>from the evil one;</td>
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<tr>
<td>from the evil one.</td>
<td></td>
<td>for thine is the power</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and the glory</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for ever and ever.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\) W. Rordorf & A. Tuillier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didachê)*, SC 248 Paris, 1978
\(^2\) Mt 6:9-13 RV
\(^3\) Lk 11:2-4 RV
\(^4\) Did.8:2 (tr. J.B. Lightfoot)
The context of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew is the Sermon on the Mount, in particular the three duties of almsgiving, prayer and fasting, and is interpolated in the paragraph on prayer. It clearly comes from a source distinct from that of the rest of the paragraph.

The context of the Lord's Prayer in Luke is the early part of the journey narrative from Galilee to Jerusalem (9:5-19:46), a section which is part non-Mark, and part Mark, and which contains much material not found elsewhere.

The context of the Lord's Prayer in the Didache is the section on baptism and fasting, followed by grace at table in regard to the cup and the broken bread.¹

Thus in these three documents the Lord's Prayer has no literary dependence on its immediate context, but must derive from a liturgical or para-liturgical source.

The variations in the texts clearly show that there was no one authorised version, and such would indeed be an anachronism. But the agreements on order and content - the hallowing of the name, the coming reign of God, the prayer for bread, for forgiveness and for deliverance - equally clearly suggest a relationship to the Eighteen Benedictions. But the relationship to the Eighteen also reveals a contrast. For while the Eighteen have in view the covenant relationship between God and Israel, the petitions of the Lord's Prayer are coloured by eschatological expectations.²

Furthermore, the relationship of the Lord's Prayer to the Eighteen is underlined by the embolism. We have already seen that in the recitation of the Eighteen, provision was made for private prayer at the conclusion. Such an embolism is illustrated not only in Matthew and Luke, but also in the Didache. Matthew supplements the clause on forgiveness thus:

\[
\text{For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if you forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you trespasses.}^{3}
\]

Luke similarly appends an embolism to the Lord's Prayer, but in this case it is founded on the petition for bread:

\[
\text{Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and shall say unto him Friend, lend me three loaves...}^{4}
\]

Indeed Luke then adds a supplementary embolism, based on these verses:

\[
\text{And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you...}^{5}
\]

The double embolism is then rounded off with the saying,

\[
\text{If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?}^{6}
\]

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¹ The church's supper, before the eucharist became an autonomous rite.
² This applies equally to the bread petition, where επίοστιον certainly has a subtle future meaning. See Bauer ²/AG’s.v.
³ Mt 6:14-15
⁴ Lk 11:5-8
⁵ ib.9-12
⁶ ib.13

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In the light of the use of the embolism in Matthew and Luke, it seems that we should regard the doxology appended to the Lord's Prayer in the Didache in the same way, since power and glory are closely related to the name and kingdom in the opening petitions:

For thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.¹

For a long time this doxology had no further witness. It is not part of the text of the Lord's Prayer in the earliest commentaries by Tertullian,² Cyprian³ and Origen,⁴ and it is still not conflated with the Matthaean text of the Lord's Prayer in the earliest manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries. What appears to be decisive in the appending of the doxology to the Lord's Prayer was the introduction of the Lord's Prayer into the eucharist. There the eucharistic prayer itself concluded with a trinitarian ascription of praise. This seems to have influenced the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer when in the latter part of the fourth century it was followed by the Lord's Prayer.⁵

This development brings us to an important point. From the beginning the Lord's Prayer belonged to the habitual, daily prayer of Christians. Indeed, the Didache adds to the text the rubric:

Three times in the day pray ye so.⁶

Thus, the Lord's Prayer was prayed in the same way as the Eighteen Benedictions. It was used by Christians for the sanctification of the day. Until the fourth century it did not belong to the eucharistic liturgy, and its introduction then is no doubt to be explained by the petition for bread.⁷ All three early commentaries, however, on the Lord's Prayer, Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen, refer to the daily hours of prayer. And it is with the role of the Lord's Prayer in the daily prayer of Christians at stipulated times that we must now turn.

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¹ Did.8:2
² Ernest Evans, Tertullian's Tract on the Prayer, London 1953
³ T. Herbert Brindley, S. Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer, London 1914
⁵ The Lord's Prayer is absent from the reconstructed text of Ap. Trad., and is still not part of Ap. Const. The lengthy treatment it receives in Cyril, Myst. Cat., and Ambrose, De Sacr., suggests that the Lord's Prayer was of recent introduction, and called for explanation. The doxology was added to the Lord's Prayer in the Roman rite only in 1970.
⁶ Did.8:3
⁷ There is no evidence for a daily eucharist before the fourth century.
(iii) Prayer in the catechumenate in the second century

In the light of the Christian daily régime of prayer, derived from Judaism, Justin's brief description of the catechumenate acquires fresh significance. He writes:

As many as are persuaded and believe that the things are true which are taught by us and said to be true, and promise that they can live accordingly, they are taught to pray and to ask of God with fasting, forgiveness of their former sins, and we pray and fast together with them.1

What is taught is the creed, and what is required is amendment of life - i.e. the fulfilment of the first words of Christ, 'Repent and believe in the gospel.'2 In addition, however, converts are taught to pray. The association of prayer and fasting was common. They are brought together with almsgiving in the Sermon on the Mount.3 In the Didache, fasting and prayer in the Church are distinguished from the fasting and prayer of 'the hypocrites' - Matthew's term for the Pharisees or the synagogue. From the reference to the Lord's Prayer in the context of fasting in both Matthew and Didache we may deduce that the prayer referred to by Justin was the Lord's Prayer, which of course included the petition for forgiveness. So in being taught to pray, these converts were instructed in the founding of their prayer on the Lord's Prayer with its embolisms and its repetition in the course of the day.

The repetition of the Lord's Prayer not only followed the precedent of the Eighteen Benedictions; but it represented a habit that was inculcated in the Psalms. Morning prayer is frequently mentioned:

O Lord, in the morning thou dost hear my voice;
in the morning I prepare a sacrifice for thee, and watch.5

Evening prayer is made at the time of the evening sacrifice:

Let my prayer be counted as incense before thee,
and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice.6

Prayer at night is also referred to:

At midnight I rise to praise thee,
because of thy righteous ordinances.7

Mention is made of prayer at evening and at morning and at noonday,8 and in the morning and every night.9 The fullest sequence of prayer is alluded to in Psalm 119:164:

Seven times a day do I praise thee,
because of thy righteous judgments10

where the meaning of 'seven times', however, is probably 'constantly'.

1 I Apol.65 tr. H.M. Gwatkin
2 Mk 1:15b (Mark only)
3 Mt 6:1-18
4 Did.8:1,2
5 Ps 5:3 RSV. Also 59:16, 88:13, 130:6, 143:8
6 Ps 141:2 RSV
7 Ps 119:62 RSV
8 Ps 55:17
9 Ps 92:2
10 RSV
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In being 'made new through Christ,' as Justin says, the converts were enabled through prayer to live in a new order of existence, in which they might be required to subscribe their profession of faith in their own blood.

(iv) Daily prayer in the third century

The severance of Christians from Judaism was final with the Bar Cocheba revolt under Hadrian. The causes of this revolt, including circumcision and the sanctity of the Temple site, were those with which Christians could not be identified. Henceforth Christianity became almost wholly Gentile, and increasingly Judaism and the Catholic Church stood opposed to one another. The Christian daily régime of prayer henceforth developed autonomously.

The Lord's Prayer remained the core of the treatises on prayer by Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen, from which one may deduce that it remained the core of Christian prayer. But a further development now makes its appearance, namely 'hours' of prayer. What Tertullian has to say here proves to be basic to all further pre-Nicene development.

But concerning time, we shall not find superfluous the observance ... of certain hours also - I mean those common ones which mark the periods of the day, the third, sixth and ninth, which you may find in the Scriptures were in established use. The first (gift of the) Holy Spirit was poured out upon the assembled disciples at the third hour. On the day in which Peter experienced the vision of everything common in that vessel it was at the sixth hour that he had gone to the housetop to pray. He also, along with John, was going up to the Temple at the ninth hour when he restored the palsied man to soundness. And although these are simple statements, without any precept of observance, yet let this be good enough to set up a sort of presumption such as may best enforce a behest to pray and may as it were by a law drag us from business for a space for such an occupation, so that (as we read also was the practice of Daniel, arising evidently from Israel's discipline) we 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 without any behest are due at the coming in of daylight and night.¹

The thrice-daily prayer, which originated in the first century with the use of the Lord's Prayer, is now associated with prayer at the third, sixth and ninth hours. Cyprian follows Tertullian here,² so it is probably the practice of the Church at least in North Africa. For the third hour both adopt a 'scriptural' typology from Acts 2, the illapse of

¹ Tertullian De Orat. 25, tr. E. Evans
² Cyprian De Orat. XXXIV
the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.\(^1\) Acts is now recognized as having the authority of Scripture, and prayer at the third hour is no longer associated with the morning sacrifice in the Temple. Prayer at the sixth hour is similarly associated with Acts 10, i.e. with Peter praying on the housetop at Joppa.\(^2\) As for the ninth hour, while Tertullian also links this with Acts 3, with Peter and John entering the Temple 'at the hour of prayer',\(^3\) Cyprian gives to this hour a Christocentric significance:

\textit{And from the sixth to the ninth hour the Lord, being crucified, washed away our sins in his own blood; and that he might redeem and quicken us he then perfected his victory by his passion.}\(^4\)

Origen related prayer 'not less than three times a day' to the practice of Daniel:\(^5\) 'now his windows were open in his chamber toward Jerusalem: and he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God.'\(^6\) But Christian prayer was not limited to this practice. Tertullian, as we have seen, writes of prayer 'at the beginning of the day and night'. Cyprian does the same, and again introduces a Christocentric note:

\textit{But for us, dearly beloved brethren, in addition to the hours anciently observed, both the times and the rules of prayer have now increased in number. For we must pray also in the morning, in order that the resurrection of the Lord may be celebrated by morning prayer... Likewise at sunset and the decline of day must we needs pray again. For since Christ is the true sun and the 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 light.}\(^7\)

He adds: 'Let us then who are ever in Christ, that is, in the Light, cease not from prayer even by night'.\(^8\) These same times of prayer are mentioned also by Origen, but he refers them to the words of the Psalmist: morning prayer to Psalm 5:3, 'In the morning thou shalt hear my prayer; in the morning will I stand beside thee, and will look unto thee'; evening prayer to Psalm 141:2, 'Let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice'; and prayer at night to Psalm 119:62, 'At midnight I rose to give thanks unto thee because of thy righteous judgments.'\(^9\)

The division of the day into twelve hours was a Greek and Roman practice, and was accepted in the books of the New Testament.\(^10\) But of course the length of the day was constantly changing; and although the sundial may have been in common use, for all practical purposes there was no means of telling the time with any accuracy.\(^11\) Thus in the case of the third, sixth and ninth hours we have to think rather in terms of

\(^{1}\) Ac 2:15  
\(^{2}\) Ac 10:9. Origen makes the same point, \textit{Peri euches XII.2}  
\(^{3}\) Ac 3:1  
\(^{4}\) Cyprian, \textit{De Orat. XXXIV} (end).  
\(^{5}\) Origen, \textit{Peri euches XII.2}  
\(^{6}\) Dan 6:10 RV  
\(^{7}\) Cyprian, \textit{De Orat XXXV}  
\(^{8}\) ib.XXXVI  
\(^{9}\) Origen \textit{Peri euches XII 2}  
\(^{10}\) e.g. Mt 20:1-16, Jn 11:9, the hours of the passion, etc.  
\(^{11}\) There was a \textit{horologion} at the SE corner of the atrium in the Hagia Sophia of Justinian I.
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periods of time. Accordingly this régime of daily prayer promoted continuity of prayer. This was certainly how Cyprian and Origen understood the matter. For them it was 'prayer without ceasing' (Col.4:2), like Anna in the Temple (Luke 2:37). 'The man', says Origen, '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'.

In seeking to outline the trend of development in the pre-Nicene period, it is necessary to include consideration of The Apostolic Tradition, in spite of its formidable difficulties. Dom Gregory Dix in his early critical edition argued that it was a text of Roman origin, attributable to St Hippolytus, 'Bishop and Martyr', indeed the first anti-pope, and embodying in a conservative way the traditions of the Roman Church in the second century. Some years later Dom Bernard Botte published a critical edition of the text, but this work was superseded by a further critical edition which he subtitled 'Essai de reconstitution'. More guarded in his treatment of sources than Dix, he nevertheless concurred in the general opinion that the author of Ap. Trad. is the Hippolytus who as a Roman martyr shares the same feast day as Pope Pontian on 13 August; and that he was commemorated by a seated statue, now in the Lateran Museum, which records, on the sides and back of the chair, the titles of some of his works. Confidence in this view of Ap. Trad. has however been undermined. First, there was the work of J.M. Hanssens, who in a first volume argued for an Alexandrian rather than a Roman origin for the work, and ipso facto rejected the Roman Hippolytus as author. Then in a second volume he presented, not a 'text' of Ap. Trad., but a (Latin) synopsis of texts deriving from an exemplar no longer extant. (Further, the statue of Hippolytus - a torso when first discovered in the sixteenth century - has been shown to be not only an anachronism, but a female figure; and many of the titles inscribed appear to be works of an Eastern episcopal namesake.) Thus, Ap. Trad. presents a greater array of problems than used to be supposed.

The section on daily prayer is illustrated in a Sahidic text, from which Arabic and Ethiopic versions are derived. Every Christian (fidelis), whether man or woman, should pray on rising from the night's sleep before beginning the day's work. He should pray at the third hour, whether at home, or elsewhere, the hour when Christ was nailed to the wood (of the cross); again at the sixth hour, when Christ hung upon the cross; and again at the ninth hour, when Christ's side was pierced and there came forth blood and water. Prayer was also to be made before the night's sleep, and in addition at midnight.

1 As Cyprian seems to indicate, De Orat XXXIV
2 Origen, Peri euches XII 2
3 G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome 1st ed. London 1937
4 Sources Chrétiennes, 11, 1946
5 LQF. 39. 1963
6 Hanssens, DTOC
7 Hanssens, DE
8 Statues were not set up in honour of Christians in the third century
9 M. Guarducci, in Ricerche su Ippolito, ed. V. Loi et al. Roma 1977
10 Dix XXXV1 p.62, Botte 41 p.88 Hanssens, DE.67 p.146
If it is borne in mind that 'the Coptic New Testament is important among the secondary resources for the history of the New Testament',\textsuperscript{12} then the significance of the Sahidic evidence for daily prayer will be appreciated. The earliest Sahidic MS here is later, AD 1006.\textsuperscript{13} But these same hours of prayer, with similar Christocentric apologia, are found in \textit{The Apostolic Constitutions}\textsuperscript{14} (c.AD 380), and in the \textit{Testamentum Domini}\textsuperscript{15} (probably fifth century). Moreover, these Church Orders used the documents of \textit{Ap. Trad.} as a source. In consequence it appears that the source of the evidence of the Sahidic text for daily prayer is not far removed, if at all, from the pre-Nicene evidence.

It confirms an important conclusion that we can draw from other pre-Nicene evidence, namely that this daily régime of prayer was for all, both men and women, and without distinction between the clergy and laity. It was fundamental to the whole life of the whole Church.\textsuperscript{5} A note appended to the instruction of widows bears this out. 'A widow' it is said 'is appointed for prayer, \textit{propter orationem}'. 'But this' it is added 'is a function of all Christians', \textit{Haec autem est omnium}.\textsuperscript{6}

One further point deserves notice. There is a steady transition, viewing the pre-Nicene period as a whole, from the Jewish hallowing of the day to the Christian redemption of time. To begin with the course of prayer was related to the times of the day, and even the morning and evening sacrifice in the Temple. But at the close of this period the Church was sanctifying the day by the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ.

\textsuperscript{13} British Museum or. 1320
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ap. Const.} \textit{VIII} xxxii, xxxiv
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Test. Dom.} II 24
\textsuperscript{5} It should be noted that the \textit{Ap. Trad.} makes no mention of the Lord's Prayer.
\textsuperscript{6} Text: S(AE). Dix x 5 p.21, Botte 10 p.30, Hanssens p.90
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(v) Daily prayer in the basilica

The Lord's Prayer, although it was the characteristic core of Christian prayer, was naturally not the whole of Christian prayer. Its brevity was a virtue. It could be prayed at the set times in any circumstances, but also at any time and in any place. But even with its embolisms, it was not the whole of Christian prayer, any more than the XVIII Benedictions were the whole of Jewish prayer.

The use of the Psalms, both in the synagogue and in the home, is well evidenced in Jewish sources. This usage spread similarly in the Church. Tertullian in his treatise On Prayer notes that the more conscientious were accustomed to add to their prayers Alleluia and such like psalms. This practice suggests the use of the 'alleluiatic' psalms or psalms with a response, in which the recitation of the psalm as a whole was left to the leader or cantor. This practice obtained both in the synagogue, and in the Church of the fourth century and later - and indeed remains the practice in the Orthodox Church.

In this period, between the breach between church and synagogue and the peace of the Church, the régime of prayer was determined by the dynamic of tradition. The habit of prayer was essential to the life of the Church. It appears consolidated in the text of The Apostolic Constitutions towards the end of the fourth century. First, the use of the Lord's Prayer is confirmed: 'As the Lord appointed us in the Gospel, so pray ye: 'Our Father...’ The text ends with a brief embolism: 'For thine is the Kingdom for ever. Amen.' Secondly, the hours of prayer are listed: 'Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening, and at cock-crowing.' The change to be noted here is that the domestic rule of prayer has become the rule of prayer for the bishop and his familia, and the place of prayer if possible is to be the church.

A similar and contemporary regime of prayer in Jerusalem is described in the Itinerarium Aetheriae. There was a vigil of prayer before cockcrow, morning prayer, sext, none, and evening prayer (lucernarium). These hours consisted of hymns, psalms and antiphons, each psalm being followed by prayer. When the bishop was present at the vigil, he read the gospel of the resurrection, and at other hours also pronounced the blessing after prayer. Psalms and antiphons were distinguished not so much by text as by the manner of chanting; while hymns were perhaps paraphrases of the scriptural text. No mention is made of the Lord's Prayer. The hours took place mainly in the Anastasis, but on Sunday Matins was celebrated in the Constantinian ecclesia maior, the Golgotha. Jerusalem was of course exceptional in that it attracted large numbers of pilgrims, so swelling the congregations at the hours; but the hours were nevertheless a shared liturgy for both religious and laity.

2 De Orat.. xxvii ‘et hoc genus psalmos.’
5 Itin Aeth xxiv 1-4
6 E. Wellesch, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, Oxford 1962, pp.35-45
The diffusion of the hours of prayer existed similarly elsewhere, for example under St Basil of Caesarea, and in St Cyril's time as a presbyter at Antioch and as bishop of Constantinople.  

In the West, the daily course of prayer at Milan can be illustrated from the writings of St Ambrose. It included morning prayer, which consisted of psalms ('probably the last three psalms and Psalm 51'), interspersed with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer together with the recitation of the Beatitudes; midday prayer, made up of psalms; evening prayer, at the time of the lighting of the lamp, at which psalms were intoned ('including probably Psalm 141 and Psalm 9'); and a short night vigil, with psalmody and the reading of lessons. St Augustine, in his *Confessions*, refers to his mother's habit of going to the church twice a day, morning and evening, that she might hear the words of God and that he might hear her prayers.

The importance which St Ambrose attached to the Lord's Prayer is evident in the *De Sacramentis*. In these sermons, delivered to the newly baptized in the Easter octave, he first expounds it in *De Sacr. V* as the sequel to the Canon of the Mass. Then in the following sermon he deals with the virtue of the sacraments and the grace of prayer, illustrating the latter by the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms. 'Though the Psalms of David' he says 'are one book, possessing the excellences of the prayer which we have mentioned above, yet often too in a single psalm we find represented all these parts of the prayer, as we see in the eighth psalm.'

This seems to reflect the conjunction of psalmody and the Lord's Prayer in the daily public prayer of the Church.

These reports are of course very isolated examples of the public prayer of the Church that developed in the cathedral basilicas in the fourth century. But what was happening in East and West, in Antioch and Byzantium, Milan and Africa, was not the creation of new liturgical practices, but the development of a long tradition of prayer which, before the peace of the Church, was confined for the most part to houses and domestic oratories. Where the evidence is limited and at the same time widely spread, it is hazardous to generalize, but some common trends may be recognized. Thus, although the prayer of the Church is now public, it was sustained chiefly by the bishop and his familia, the clergy. The people participated only so far as the circumstances of life and work, and their piety, allowed. For them the old practices of habitual prayer, domestic and private, still obtained. Then, although the scheme of the hours of prayer varied from place to place, there was in the basilical tradition a tendency to lay emphasis on morning and evening prayer at the beginning and the end of the hours of daylight. Psalmody, always associated with prayer, was used selectively; and although there is good evidence for its supplementation by metrical hymns at Milan, composed by St Ambrose, we do not know whether or not it was similarly supplemented in the East. The sufficiency of the Psalter was not readily to be challenged, since the composing of new texts - then as now - might admit heretical ideas. One last point: the reading of Scripture does not seem to have had a place as a

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2 See F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St Ambrose* II 442-6, Oxford 1935
3 *Confessions* 5:9
4 *De Sacr.* VI 25
5 For a detailed and systematic presentation of the evidence, see Robert Taft, S.J. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, esp. chs. 3 and 8.

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rule in basilical daily prayer. The place for the reading and exposition of Scripture was not the Office but the Mass.

(vi) Monastic prayer

If, following the Constantinian peace, the daily public prayer of the Church, in the basilicas and especially those in which the bishop had his cathedra, is rightly seen in continuity with the earlier 'private' prayer of the Church, the prayer of the monks early developed in different ways. While 'prayer without ceasing' was the habit to which clergy and laity alike aspired, it was necessarily subject to the circumstances of life in the secular world. The monks on the other hand forsook the secular world in order that time itself might be redeemed by unbroken prayer. This did not entail new ways of prayer so much as the extension of prayer to the whole of the day and night. Moreover the association of fasting with prayer, which was widely understood and practised in Jewish and Apostolic times, received fresh emphasis. While fasting hitherto had been required on certain days and at certain seasons, in early monasticism it became a constant and unremitting requirement.

The monasticism which originated spontaneously at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth soon began to flourish. Although it was associated especially with Egypt, it spread widely in the East and eventually in the West, not only in deserts and unpopulated areas, but also in the centres of urban life. There were as many rules, it might be said, as there were coenobia. Of this state of affairs Cassian writes: 'we have found that many in different countries, according to the fancy of their mind (having, indeed, as the Apostle says, "a zeal for God but not according to knowledge"), have made for themselves different rules and arrangements in this matter' After long experience of monastic life in the East, in Bethlehem and in Egypt, he moved to the West and established a monastery at Marseilles. His recommendations in regard to the daily régime of prayer are embodied in the Institutes (c. 417-425). It included vespers and nocturns, each embodying twelve psalms, each followed by prayer. To these psalms were added lessons from Scripture, one from the Old Testament and one from the New, except that on Saturday and Sunday both lessons were from the New Testament, one from the Epistles and one from the Gospels. Terce, sext and none were said, each with three psalms and prayer.

2 Institutes II. 4ff
3 Possibly the Lord's Prayer: see Dom O. Rousseau, in Cassian and Botte (edd), La Prière des Heures, Le Orandi 35, Paris 1963, p.125
4 Institutes, II.6
In addition, in Bethlehem and Gaul, a further office of three psalms and prayer was introduced between nocturns and the day hours.\(^1\)

Cassian brings before us two features that contributed to the distinction between the basilical or cathedral office and the monastic. One was the greater extent of psalmody in the monastic office in furtherance of the apostolic precept of prayer without ceasing. Yet here he sought to moderate the number of psalms to be recited, since in some monasteries in the East as many as twenty or thirty psalms were appointed for each night.\(^2\) Secondly, the monastic office made regular provision for the reading of lessons from Scripture, whereas in the basilica or cathedral the reading of Scripture was confined to the eucharistic liturgy. There the reading of the Old and New Testament, coupled with the sermon, perpetuated the practice of the Torah and hahptorah lessons in the Sabbath morning service of the synagogue. Moreover it was in the fourth century that complete manuscripts of the Bible began to make their appearance, of which the earliest extant examples are the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus. These must have been intended for institutional and liturgical use. And since the marking of the beginning and end of lessons in the margin does not begin until the eighth century,\(^3\) it seems likely that continuity of reading was the general rule.

In the old Roman Hours, and the Rule of the Master and the Rule of St Benedict originating in the neighbourhood of Rome, the structure of the office remains much the same, with psalmody, prayer, and lessons. The bulk of the psalmody was included in the night office, and arranged in nocturns of psalms, lessons and prayer. Benedict provided for the recitation of the whole of the Psalter in the course of the week. As for the lessons, the Rule of the Master included both Apostle (Epistle) and Gospel in each hour of the day, but made no use of the Old Testament. Benedict included lessons from both the Old and New Testaments, and they were lacking only in the Little Hours. The Lord's Prayer was recited according to the Rule of St Benedict at the end of matins (lauds) and vespers, and may have been adopted from the old Roman practice. The \textit{Rogus dei} which concluded each hour in the Rule of the Master may conceivably have embodied the Lord's Prayer, since this is not otherwise mentioned.\(^4\)

In the Roman office of the fifth and sixth centuries and in the Rule of St Benedict the Psalms were recited \textit{currente}, in course in the night office and at vespers. They were used selectively for lauds, but always including the 'Laudate' psalms 148-150. There were fixed psalms for compline, viz. 4, 91, and 134. Psalm 119 and the Psalms of Ascent were used for the day hours.

The earliest evidence in the West for the lessons is \textit{Ordo Romanus XIV},\(^5\) the lectionary of St Peter in Rome, from the second half of the seventh century. Starting a week before Lent and continuing until the week before Easter the five books of Moses, Joshua and Judges were read. In the earlier part of Holy Week Isaiah was read, then

\(^{1}\) \textit{Institutes}, III.4-6  
\(^{2}\) \textit{Institutes}, II. 2  
\(^{3}\) K. and B. Aland, \textit{The text of the New Testament}, pp.164f. A few lectionaries, containing selected Scripture pericopae, date from the fourth and following centuries, but not until the eighth century do they begin to proliferate. See Aland, ib., chart 3, p.82  
\(^{4}\) But 'improbably' says Taft: op.cit. p.125  
at the end Lamentations. Throughout Eastertide the Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse were appointed. Then came the historical books of the Old Testament, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, which occupied the time until mid-Autumn, i.e. mid-November. Then followed the books of the Apocrypha until mid-December. From that point, through the Nativity of Christ until the Epiphany, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel were read. Ezekiel and the minor Prophets followed until the week before Lent. It is noted that the Psalms, the Gospels and the Epistles of St Paul were read throughout the year, as well as the writings and lives of the fathers and the passions of the martyrs.

Eventually it was the Rule of St Benedict which prevailed throughout the West.¹ And this Rule, as we have seen, incorporated the ancient rule of prayer. 'The Offices of lauds and vespers should never be allowed to pass without the superior at the end of all reciting the Lord's Prayer in the hearing of all the brethren.' A distinction, however, is drawn between the use of the Lord's Prayer at lauds and vespers and the other hours. 'At the other Offices let the last part of that prayer [only] be said aloud, so that all may answer: "But deliver us from evil".'² If the recitation of the Lord's Prayer aloud derives ultimately from public prayer in the basilica, and from the pre-Nicene rule of domestic prayer, both customs testify to the unique place of the Lord's Prayer in the Christian tradition. And this tradition traces its descent finally from the place of The Eighteen in the prayer of Judaism.

¹ See Timothy Fry, et al., edd. RB 1980, The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes, Collegeville, Minnesota 1981, pp.113-131
² RB c.xiii (tr. J. McCann).
The dis-integration of the Church's prayer

There seems to have been a period of optimum development in all liturgical rites. There is an inner dynamic, securing the implementation of essential characteristics and realization of potential, which is followed - even accompanied - by subtle changes which lead to distortion, dislocation and dis-integration. This course of development is widely recognized so far as baptismal liturgy is concerned; but it is equally true in regard to the eucharistic liturgy, for holy order, for the calendar, for Church architecture, and - which is what concerns us here - for the daily prayer of the Church.

The sanctity of the Benedictine office eventually led to its widespread adoption and its superseding, by and large, of all other orders of prayer. This Benedictine hegemony was reached by the eighth and ninth centuries. Its influence was deeply felt not only in monastic institutions, but also in cathedral and collegiate foundations, where the clergy lived under a corporate rule. The monastic office steadily superseded the old cathedral office, and thus bishops and clerics who had from the first pastoral duties among the laity came to be bound by a rule of prayer which inhibited the fulfillment of these duties.1 This development became all the more onerous when it was imposed on the clergy not only corporately but also individually.2 Thus, it is significant that the earliest breviaries, embodying in a single volume the different books necessary for the performance of the office, survive from the eleventh century.

The continuity or semi-continuity of reading of the psalms and the lessons was increasingly interrupted by the growth of the sanctorale, the calendar of saints and its propría. For centuries the veneration of the saints was localized at the place of their relics. But the desire to share in their veneration led to widespread commemoration in the prayers, psalmody and lessons of the liturgy. Laudable though this desire was, it resulted in the lessening of the impact, and interior and pervasive influence, of the continuous reading of Scripture in course. Cranmer's criticism of it is both well-known and well-founded:

'commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima: but they were only begun, and never read through. After a like sort were other books of Holy Scripture used.'

Thus the sanctoral office replaced the ferial office, a 'double' office of feria and saint being insupportable even in the conditions of monastic life.4

The daily office was further supplemented by the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Beginning in the Carolingian period masses of St Mary were introduced.5 By the eleventh century a complete office of St Mary existed, and was widely used. In the following centuries it came to be adopted for daily use by Cluniac, Carthusian and Cistercian houses, and was added to the office of the day.6 It was to accommodate this office and mass that a Lady Chapel was commonly added to the greater Churches,

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1 See P. Salmon, L'Office Divin, Paris 1959, c.I, pt II
2 ib. pp.30f
5 See J. Deshusses, Le Sacramentaire Grégorien t.II pp.45-47
usually in the east on the east-west axis of the building. Given the principle of orientation in all its profound significance, it was unwritten wisdom that she, from whom Christ our light arose like the sun, should be honoured at the head of the Church.

A further addition to the daily office was the office of the dead. It arose from the funeral rites in which mass and other prayers were said for the dead before burial. It came to be expanded into a vigil, consisting of Vespers, Nocturns and Lauds, and to be celebrated not only before burial, but also on the anniversary of death, until it was being celebrated every day in addition to Vespers, Nocturns and Lauds of the day. This additional office, which made the daily round of prayer excessively burdensome, owed its compulsion to the bequest and benefactions by which institutions were at least in part sustained.

This great edifice of prayer was given full architectural expression in the Gothic church. To appreciate this fact it is necessary to return to the manner in which the psalms, which with the Lord's Prayer were the core of the Church's daily prayer, were recited in antiquity. In the synagogue the method was for the reader to cantillate the psalm, and for the congregation to join in with a response. In certain psalms the response was made verse by verse, or after a group of verses, in others at the end. This method passed from the Greek-speaking synagogue into the Greek-speaking Church. It remains the method of singing the psalms in the Orthodox Church to this day. The cantor cantillates the psalm from the ambo - where the lessons are read and the sermon preached - and the congregation all around respond. In the West, by contrast, the rendering of the psalmody eventually followed a different course of development. The term antiphon, which is Greek in origin, had a range of meanings; but one meaning in particular came to predominate, namely, the singing of the psalms verse by verse by two choirs of singers, cantoris and decani, who faced one another.

The early Christian basilica consisted of a nave, with an eastern apse, flanked by an aisle on each side. In the East the introduction of the dome over the nave meant that the square basilica tended to be the most common form of the basilica, and this domed basilica served equally well for the office and the eucharistic liturgy. In the West, however, the domed basilica did not catch on, but instead the basilica tended to be lengthened, often with a schola cantorum inserted into the nave in the easternmost bays. The next step, in the Romanesque period, was to introduce a new architectural space between the nave and the apse, so that the monastic or collegiate choir was placed in the architectural choir. Thus the architectural choir became in effect a separate church for the clergy and monks, leaving the nave for the people.

Thus the Gothic church, with its Lady Chapel, high altar sanctuary, choir and nave, to say nothing of its numerous subsidiary altars, powerfully re-inforced the truth that in the daily prayer of the Church the monks and the clergy had become separated from the laity. What should have united them became a cause of division.

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1 e.g. Ordo Romanus XLIX, ed. Andrieu t.IV pp.529-530. Date: probably 11th century.
2 See Batiffol, op. cit. pp.153-154
The daily prayer of the Church in the West everywhere bore a family resemblance. The dominant influence was Benedictine, but it was marked by innumerable variants in provinces and dioceses, institutions and orders. Uniformity was not to be had when every book was copied by hand, and every copy embodied occasional and local adaptations. Stability and similarity were secured by tradition. But while every addition had its justification, any subtraction was difficult to justify. Guiding principles for reform were totally lacking, for of course the history of liturgy which enables us to appreciate distinctions between one practice and another is an entirely modern approach. Daily prayer was overloaded. This much was widely felt and often admitted; but there was no agreement on what needed to be done, or recognition that anything could be done. But, as is the case so often in human affairs, events led to a solution: and, as is so often the case, the solution was a muddle.

St John Lateran was, and is, the cathedral church of the pope. Ideally the daily prayer of the Church should have been sustained by the pope and his familia. But the pope was heavily involved in administration. He lacked the time demanded by the capitular office, and indeed was often on his travels and resident elsewhere. Thus the pope and his curia had their own office; and when in residence in the Lateran palace they recited the office in the chapel, close at hand to the papal apartments, of St Laurence, the *Sancta Sanctorum*. The changes introduced by Innocent III, by correction, re-arrangement, addition and suppression, exercised an influence far beyond the confines of this small chapel. For when St Francis sought an ordinal, regulating the daily prayer of his friars, it was the papal ordinal which was given him by the pope. This ordinal as revised by Haymo of Faversham was eventually carried by the Franciscans throughout Europe and the world, and in the process was received back in Rome as the breviary of the Roman Church. The *temporale* was broadly that of the old Roman office, but in the lectionary the scripture lessons were reduced to a few verses. The number of saints commemorated in the *sanctorale* was not greatly increased, but their status was enhanced in such a way that their feasts, sometimes with octaves, superseded the ferial office for almost half the days of the year. Moreover the ferial office, with few exceptions, was supplemented by the little office of our Lady and the office of the dead, and by the seven penitential and fifteen gradual psalms; and the *Paternoster* was to be recited privately before the beginning and after the end of each office. After compline the seasonal anthem of our Lady was sung. The whole was intended not only for singing in choir, but also for reading by the individual cleric in private.

Such was the office that was codified by the printing presses at the end of the fifteenth century. But once again change was triggered by events. The Church was soon in a state of uproar. The need to reform the daily régime of prayer was indispensable to remedying other matters. Clement VII entrusted the task to Cardinal Francis Quignon, the Cardinal-presbyter of the basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem just down...
The Daily Prayer of Israel and the Church

the road from the Lateran. Quignon’s revised breviary was addressed not to those who sang the daily office in choir, but to clerics who recited the office privately. Hence its use, for a time, by Jesuits. The structure of the Hours was retained, but those accretions that had overburdened the office were eliminated: the office of our Lady, the office of the dead, and the penitential and gradual psalms. The Psalms were read, not in order but in an invariable sequence, week by week, with no concessions to feasts. The lessons, drawn mainly from Scripture, were reduced in number but extended in length. Those features of the office which derived from communal celebration were abandoned: most of the antiphons and responsories, even the preces. The calendar was simplified and octaves reduced. The Breviary went through a hundred printings between its first appearance in 1535, accompanied by a Brief of Paul III, and its extinction by Pius V in 1568.

Many of its principles survived, however, in The Book of Common Prayer ‘after the use of the Church of England’ which first appeared in 1549. Some were carried further. Thus the ‘Common Prayer’ in the title of the book meant the twofold office of Morning and Evening Prayer, recited in the vernacular, and intended for the use of both the clergy, cathedral, collegiate and parochial, and the laity. This régime of prayer for clergy and people alike gained ground, at least on Sundays, as the Sunday mass and communion foundered. The Psalter was recited in course once a month. Proper psalms were introduced in 1552 only for Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, and Whitsun. The Old Testament was read through in continuity or semi-continuity from January to December, and the New Testament three times in the year. Patristic lessons were abandoned. The calendar was severely pruned, and the temporale recovered its primacy over the sanctorale. The Te Deum, Benedicite, and Benedictus Dominus Deus were assigned to Matins, and the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis to Evensong. The Apostles’ Creed was recited morning and evening, and Quicunque Vult, given currency by the Franciscans, on the principal feasts. The preces included both the Lord’s Prayer and the collect for the day, plus two further collects, one for peace, the other related to the time of day. It was a drastic reconstruction of the traditional prayer of the hours. But its content - the Lord’s Prayer with a sort of embolism in the preces, psalmody, and the reading of Scripture - went some long way to redress, in the language of Cranmer’s Preface, the inconveniences that had altered the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers. It was not a work governed by historical scholarship, for that hardly as yet existed; but it achieved considerable success in returning the daily prayer of the clergy and the religious to the prayer of the whole Church.

The revision of the Breviary under Pius V was on conservative lines. The liturgy of the Papal court became the liturgy of the Roman Church. Quignon’s rejection of the office of our Lady and of the dead, and of the penitential and gradual psalms was accepted. The intrusion of the sanctorale upon the ferial office was reduced to about a hundred days. The lectionary for the temporale restored the eighth century scheme, although the lectionary for the sanctorale still admitted lessons that deserved to be suppressed. The Psalter continued to be recited on a weekly basis. The special dignity of the Lord’s Prayer was masked rather by over-use - silently, together with the

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Ave, before and after each hour, and by inclusion in the preces, with or without a collect, at the end of each hour.

The text of the Psalter and of Scripture was that of the Vulgate. Latin thus enclosed the Breviary Office as a clerical and religious preserve, from which the laity were largely excluded.

A thorough-going reform of the office had to wait until the Second Vatican Council. The Scheme of the hours of prayer was reconstructed, albeit with respect to tradition. Morning Prayer or Lauds and Evening Prayer or Vespers were restored so as to mark, as in the earliest centuries, the beginning and the end of the day. An Office of Readings, providing a more extensive use of Scripture and a Patristic or similar lesson, was assembled in such a way that it could be used either as a nocturnal vigil or as prayer during the day. The lesser hours were compressed into a single office for use during the day, before noon, at midday or in the afternoon. Prime was abandoned, and Compline or Night Prayer was treated as prayer before bedtime. It is a régime of prayer designed for the circumstances of present-day life, and for a secular clergy. No longer were they to struggle with an office that had monastic life primarily in view. The fact that it was to be read in the vernacular brought it in whole or in part within the compass of the laity.

The Psalter was spread over the month, as in the Book of Common Prayer, instead of the week; and verses or even whole psalms judged to be unsuitable for public recitation, as in the revision of the Prayer Book in 1928, were omitted. Lessons from the Scriptures and the Fathers and other writers were read in extenso in an annual cycle. Intercessions were added to Morning and Evening Prayer; and at the conclusion of these offices the Lord's Prayer, restored to its ancient prestige, was to be recited by all. The whole Liturgy of the Hours 'has therefore been composed so that it is the prayer not only of the clergy but of the whole of the People of God, and religious and lay people can take part in it, and there are various forms of celebration so that it can be accommodated to the various groups, with their differing needs.'

The revision of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer has been in general by way of reduction in bulk and diversification of material rather than structural re-organisation. In the Alternative Service Book 1980 the Psalter has been distributed over ten weeks instead of the month; and those psalms or psalm verses judged to be offensive to modern susceptibilities, as in 1928, have been omitted or replaced. The recitation of the traditional canticles has been thinned out in order to make room for several new ones gleaned from Scripture and other sources. The reading of both the Old and New Testaments is now spread over two years, instead of the year, in a complicated scheme intended to accommodate the different interests of daily and Sunday users, and of those who use the services on either mornings or evenings only. Shortening, flexibility and variety characterize the ASB revision as a whole, to such a degree that what is now provided is more like an anthology than an office. 'May' is more typical of the rubrics than 'shall'; and the educational methods of the 1960s are more in evidence than Cranmer's principle that 'all the whole realm shall have but one use'.

1  Apostolic Constitution of Paul VI, promulgating the Liturgia Horarum 1.
2  1549, Preface
The Daily Prayer of Israel and the Church

The prayer of the Church developed as the Church separated from the Synagogue. Converts were instructed in it. It afforded that unceasing communion with God in which the parousia of Christ was realized in the present. The focus of this prayer was in the Lord's Prayer and its embolisms. The act of prayer was enlarged first by the psalms and eventually by the Scriptures. Prayer without ceasing was characteristic of the Christian life. Although ascetics strove for unbroken prayer, even they had to work and eat and sleep. For Christians living in the world, such prayer was realized in the sanctification of the Name at intervals in the day - and night - and more generally in the redemption of time, the consecration to God through Christ of the whole of life.
The Faith of the Church

(i) The Christ event and Christology

Prayer is as much a natural and characteristic function of man as thought. This is because he is made in the image and likeness of God. Man therefore, unless he is subjected to corrupt and hostile agencies, tends to reflect upon, to adore and to love God.

Christian prayer, however, has to be taught. Christ cannot be known by way of natural theology. He can only be known by the Church making him known. In order that men may pray in Christ, they have to be taught about Christ. This is the Church’s task.

The Church is the witness to Christ. It is primarily the witness to his death and resurrection - what is often called, or used to be called, the Christ event, that is, the event or events by which he is revealed as the Christ. An early Church formulation of this is given by St Paul in I Corinthians 1:

I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hast been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve...

A late formulation is to be found at the end of Luke:

... all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. ... and he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; ... Ye are witnesses of these things.

The Christ event therefore, namely of his death and resurrection, was illuminated in the witness of the Church by the interpretation of Scripture. It was 'necessary' that the Christ should suffer, where the Greek verb dei implies that it was of divine necessity; and this 'necessity', as St Paul says, was in accordance with the Scriptures, in which the will of God is revealed. The Evangelists made use of individual texts to illustrate the passion of Christ. But the theme of suffering is everywhere present in the Old

1 15:3-5 (RV)
2 Luke 24:44-48 (RV)
4 See the verses in bold face type in GNT³.
Testament, for suffering was the constant experience of Israel, and of the Psalmist and the prophets; and it is this tradition which is fulfilled in Christ's passion. Thus although suffering was not a messianic category in Judaism, it was central to Christology. Moreover the Christian vocation was to a share in Christ's sufferings.

As for the resurrection of Christ, it is again the general sense of Scripture which finds its fulfilment here. Specific texts are however not wanting. 'The third day'\(^1\) and 'the first day of the week'\(^2\) have profound doctrinal implications. For the first day of the week was the day of the beginning of creation,\(^3\) and is now the day of the beginning of its restoration by Christ in his resurrection. Again, the third day is the day on which Abraham offered up his beloved son,\(^4\) in spite of the promise that 'in Isaac shall thy seed be called,'\(^5\) 'accounting that God is able to raise up, even from the dead; from whence he did also in a parable receive him back.'\(^6\)

In the thought of the New Testament as a whole, Luke apart, the resurrection of Christ is not radically distinguished from his exaltation, as for example in the reply of Jesus to the high priest given in the words of Daniel, 'Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.'\(^7\) Nor is this 'coming' an exclusively future event, for in the closing words of Matthew his presence is realized in the life of the Church.\(^8\)

All this represents the eschatological dimension of the Christ event, brought out in the witness of the Church. But the Church's eschatology was accompanied by protology, or meditation on the 'whence' of Jesus. For the exploration of the Christ event inevitably raised the question of who he was whom God raised from the dead.

He was, as St Paul writes, 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh';\(^9\) and this is elaborated with scriptural learning in the genealogies and the Bethlehem traditions of both Matthew and Luke. These historical perspectives are nevertheless transcended in a cosmological setting in the Hellenistic Gentile Church. This is given epigrammatic expression by St Paul:

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\text{Though he was rich,} \\
\text{yet for your sakes he became poor,} \\
\text{that ye through his poverty} \\
\text{might become rich.}\]

Similarly:

\[
\text{Him who knew no sin} \\
\text{he made to be sin on our behalf}
\]

1  Mk 8:31, 9:31, 10:33, and par.
2  Mk 16:2, Mt 28:1, Lk 24:1, Jn 20:1
3  Gen 1: 1-5
4  Gen 22:4. The whole scene is not less significant for Judaism than for Christianity. Thus it is represented on the facade of the ark in the synagogue at Dura-Europos, and in the floor mosaic at the entrance to the synagogue at Beth Alpha, some 20m SSW of the Sea of Galilee.
5  Gen 21:12
6  Heb 11: 17-19 RV; 'in a parable' = Greek en parabole: RSV 'figuratively speaking', REB 'in a sense'.
7  Mk 14:62 par., Dan 7:13 + Ps 110:1
8  Mt 28:20-6
9  Rom 1:3 RV
10  2 Cor 8:9 RV

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that we might become
the righteousness of God in him.¹

- or in an alternative translation:
  Christ was innocent of sin,
  and yet for our sake God made him
  one with human sinfulness,
  so that in him we might be made
  one with the righteousness of God.²

This descent of Christ from God into the realm of flesh and his return to glory, for our
sake, is celebrated in the Christological hymns of Phil.2:6-11, Col.1:13-20, Heb.1:1-13 and John 1:1-18. In these cosmological statements the Church sought to fathom the
mystery of Christ.

In addition to these eschatological and protological figures, the Apostolic Church
spoke of Jesus by means of a number of Christological titles. These too had their
roots in Scripture. Thus he is the Anointed (One) and the Lord. He is the Son - the
Son of David, the regal Son of God, the beloved Son, Son absolutely and without
further qualification, and in the seeming self-designation of Jesus Son of man. He is a
prophet, or the prophet spoken of by Moses. He is a priest, with the seamless robe,
and a priest after the order of Melchizedek. He is the Servant, and the second or last
Adam. He is the Wisdom of God, and the Word. No one concept here completely
does justice to the revealed Christ. They are partial and diverse figures from the past
that are focussed afresh in him. In him they find their coherence.

This apostolic tradition of the death and resurrection of Christ, then, was not merely
asserted, but it was on the one hand accompanied by the exegesis of Scripture and the
attribution of Christological titles, and on the other hand experienced and verified by
communion with the risen Christ in prayer. Such prayer and study formed the mind of
the Church. It was not only the event of Christ, but also the person of Christ,
illuminated by the Scriptures, which were the foundations of Christology and of the
creed of the Church.

(ii) The content of the faith and baptism

The unity of God is proclaimed in the Shema’, recited twice daily: ‘Hear, O Israel, the
Lord is our God, the Lord is one.’ The ‘first commandment’ then is to love God:
‘And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and
with all thy might.’³ And this love was expressed in ‘remembering all the
commandments of the Lord, and doing them.’⁴ Those who obey the commandments,
and so continue in that relationship which God has established with Israel, are
righteous, and will inherit a share in the world to come.⁵ This is what is meant by St
Paul’s expression, ‘to live in the Jewish manner.’⁶

¹ 2 Cor 5:21 RV
² ib. REB
³ Deut 6:5 RV
⁴ Num 15:39 RV
⁵ E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, London 1977, pp.81-84, 198-205
⁶ Gal 2:14. RV: ‘to live as do the Jews’
But to live in the Jewish manner, to Judaize, to cross over to Judaism, from the pagan world, was for the Gentile, a tall order. Christianity, however, opened up another way to salvation for the Gentile, namely to receive righteousness through or by faith in Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{1} This compressed formula, \textit{pistis Christou}, described by H.D. Betz as 'a strange abbreviation', is regarded by him as pre-Pauline. \textit{Christos} here is not yet virtually a name, as with Paul, but is a messianic title. 'Believing ... that the Messiah is Jesus becomes the channel which mediates "justification" before the throne of God, instead of "doing" the works of the Torah.'\textsuperscript{12} For Paul, however, the object of faith is specifically the death and resurrection of Christ.\textsuperscript{3} But if this was the way of righteousness for the Gentile, it was equally so for the Jew.

The death and resurrection of Christ revealed him to be the Son of God; and it was with this revelation that Christianity opposed Judaism, and which it proclaimed to the Gentile world.

Thus Ignatius of Antioch insisted on the one hand on the events of the birth and the passion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ which took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate,\textsuperscript{4} and on the other hand called him in his person our hope, our Saviour, our teacher, the Son of God, and our God. It was this truth with its double aspect, historical and theological, which characterised Christianity. This was the testimony of the Church before there were any generally received Christian writings and long before there was any canon of the New Testament. God the Father and Jesus Christ formed a binary Christian confession before there was an agreed catechetical creed. 'There is one God who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Word that proceeded from silence, who in all things was well-pleasing unto him that sent him.'\textsuperscript{5}

This same Father-Son relationship underlines the whole of the argument of Justin's \textit{Dialogue with Trypho} a Jew - an argument which is underpinned throughout by reference to Scripture, that is, the Old Testament. 'Jesus' he says 'we acknowledge as Christ the Son of God, who was crucified and rose from the dead, and went up into heaven, and will come again to judge all men whatever, even up to Adam himself'.\textsuperscript{6} In the \textit{First Apology}, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, there are the outlines of a trinitarian creed. Christians are not atheists, for they worship the Creator of the universe; but in the second place they hold him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, having learned him to be the Son of the Very God; and in the third place is the Spirit of Prophecy.\textsuperscript{7} However, 'people accuse us of madness, affirming that we assign the second place, after the immutable and eternal God and Father of all things, to a crucified man' - a paradox which Justin undertakes to explain.\textsuperscript{8}

This paradox forms the basis of catechetical instruction. Those who 'believe that the things are true which are taught by us' receive the baptismal washing 'in the name of

\textsuperscript{1} Gal 2:16  
\textsuperscript{3} H.D. Betz, op. cit. p.117. Also, R. Bultmann, TWNT VI, 203, 209 (cit Rom 10:9, 1 Thess 4:14).  
\textsuperscript{4} I. Mag. 11  
\textsuperscript{5} I. Mag. 8:2  
\textsuperscript{6} Dial. Trypho 132 (later than 1 Apol.)  
\textsuperscript{7} 1 Apol.13 (c.150-155)  
\textsuperscript{8} ibid  

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God the Father and Lord of the Universe and of our Saviour Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit.\(^1\) Almost immediately afterwards this formula is expanded thus: 'There is called over him who chooses the new birth, and repents of his sins the name of God the Father and Lord of all things ... And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who foretold by the prophets all these things about Jesus, does he who is enlightened receive the washing'.\(^2\) Further in what is a reference perhaps to both supper and eucharist, he says that 'in all our offerings we bless the Maker of all through his Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit'.\(^3\) Thus with Justin, although he addresses himself to non-Christians, a trinitarian confession seems to be related to the liturgy, to both baptism and the eucharist.

By contrast Irenaeus, a generation later than Justin, wrote for those who were within the Church. For him the tradition that derived continuously from the Apostles and their disciples in the churches formed the rule of trust or faith. In the extensive work Against Heresies he counters the deviations from the truth that have arisen, and this leads him to develop the second section of the creed in far greater detail than Justin.

For, as to the Church, dispersed as she is through the whole world unto the ends of the earth, yet having received from the Apostles and their disciples the faith in one God the Father almighty, who made the heavens and the earth and the seas and all that is therein; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who by the prophets declared the economies, and the advents, and the birth of a virgin, and the passion, and the rising from the dead, and the bodily ascension into heaven of the Beloved, Christ Jesus our Lord, and his coming from the heavens in the glory of the Father, to sum up all things and to raise up all flesh of all human nature; that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God, and Saviour and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, of things in heaven and in earth and under the earth, and that every tongue may confess to him, and he may administer just judgment to them all; that is, may both send into the everlasting fire the spiritual things of wickedness, as well angels that have transgressed and passed into revolt, as the ungodly and unjust and lawless and blasphemous among men; and also to the righteous and holy, and to such as have kept his commandments and persevered in his love, whether from the first or after penitence, may freely give life, grant incorruption, and compass for them eternal glory.

This preaching and this faith, the Church, as we said before, dispersed as she is in the whole world, keeps diligently, as though she dwelt but in one house; and her belief herein is just as if she had one only soul, and the same heart, and she proclaims and teaches and delivers these things harmoniously, as possessing one mouth. Thus, while the languages of the world differ, the tenor of the tradition is one and the same.\(^4\)

Such was the common teaching tradition of the Church as Irenaeus claimed to have learnt it from Polycarp, found it in Rome, and taught it himself. As such it is not yet

\(^1\) ib. 61
\(^2\) ib. 61
\(^3\) ib. 67
\(^4\) Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*. Bk I. x.1f. (tr. J. Keble)
marshalled into a credal formula. In another and later work The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching\(^1\) he covers much the same ground:

This then is the order and rule of our faith, and the foundation of the building, and the stability of our conversation: God the Father, not made, not material, invisible: this is the first point of our faith. The second point is: The Word of God, Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who was manifested to the prophets according to the form of their prophesying and according to the method of the dispensation of the Father: through whom all things were made; who also at the end of the times, to complete and gather up all things, was made man among men, visible and tangible, in order to abolish death and show forth life and produce a community of union between God and man. And the third point is: The Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied, and the fathers learned the things of God, and the righteous were led forth into the way of righteousness; and who in the end of the times was poured out in a new way upon mankind in all the earth, renewing man unto God. And for this reason the baptism of our regeneration proceeds through these three points: God the Father bestowing on us regeneration through his Son by the Holy Spirit.

All this might well have served as a syllabus of instruction for catechumens, but it is not in the form of a creed for use in the baptismal liturgy. Such a creed is nevertheless indicated in The Demonstration a little earlier:

... we have received baptism for the remission of sins, in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was incarnate and died and rose again, and in the Holy Spirit of God.\(^2\)

This statement can be readily translated into the declaratory baptismal creed:

\[\text{N the servant of God is baptized for the remission of sins in the name of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,}\]  

or into the interrogatory baptismal creed:

\[\text{Dost thou believe in God the Father?} \quad \text{R: I believe}\] 
\[\text{Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God?} \quad \text{R: I believe}\] 
\[\text{Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit of God, and in the remission of sins?} \quad \text{R: I believe.}\]

The Christological section here in Irenaeus's Demonstration is an expansion of Justin's single clause, 'And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate.'

One further point should be noticed about this second century development. Although Justin knew of a fourfold Gospel corpus, and a Pauline corpus of ten epistles (i.e. lacking the Pastorals and Hebrews), and although by the time of Irenaeus a canon of

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2 Demonstration 3
3 cp. St John Chrysostom, Baptismal Instructions, Stavronikita Series, 2.26
4 cp. St Ambrose, De Sacr. II.20
New Testament writings was gaining widespread acceptance, the catechetical and baptismal creed was not created as a summary of these, but was derived continuously from the tradition from the Apostles and the rule of faith.

So far as the baptismal interrogations are concerned, as distinct from catechetical instruction, the evidence of Tertullian and Cyprian in the third century shows little development. Thus Tertullian in the *De baptismo* writes of ‘faith signed and sealed in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’. But he adds that ‘there is a necessary addition, the mention of the Church; because where there are the three, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, there is the Church *quae trium corpus est*’. It is perhaps with reference to this addition that he says in *De Corona*, ‘we are thrice dipped, pledging ourselves to something more that the Lord hast prescribed in the Gospel’ (sc. Matthew 28:19). Cyprian for his part also expands the trinitarian confession with the question, ‘Dost thou believe in the remission of sins and eternal life through the Church?’ Since Tertullian also speaks of the cancellation of sins by the Holy Spirit in response to the baptismal confession of faith, the two Latin fathers are in agreement on this addition to the baptismal creed, and in agreement with Irenaeus.

(iii) *Catechesis, the contract, and the baptismal formula in the East.*

In the course of the second and third centuries confessional statements frequently appear in Christian writing. Sometimes these are Christological, sometimes binitarian referring to the Father and the Son, sometimes trinitarian. They result both from the desire of Christians to explore the content of the faith, and also from the need to counteract gnostic or semi-agnostic writing. But it was not until the beginning of the fourth century that accepted, formal statements of the Church’s faith began to make their appearance. They derived from the creeds of local churches, now brought into line with one another, and given a widely held and indeed oecumenical form.

The faith of the convert was none other than the faith of the Church. He was taught the faith in the catechumenate in the church in which he was to be baptized, and thus the reception of the creed had from the first a liturgical context. With the early fourth century, however, these local catechumenate creeds came to be consolidated in a form of the creed that was intended to serve a further end. Local or general councils of the churches were now held, and a definitive form of the creed was adopted in order to form catholic tradition and to exclude heresy - i.e. divergent or opposing theological propositions. It is commonly acknowledged that the first of the conciliar creeds was that adopted at the Council of Nicaea. The conciliar creed did not at once supersede the local creed, and during the fourth century at least the two forms of the creed, catechetical and conciliar, existed side by side, until eventually the oecumenical creed became the creed of every local church.

1 *De Bap.* 6
2 *ib.*
3 *De Cor.* 3
4 Letters CSEL III. 2. 69f
5 *De Bap.* 6
The reception of the Church's faith by the convert was in three stages. First, there was formal instruction in the faith in the closing stage of the catechumenate. Here the creed was taught clause by clause. Secondly, at the completion of the instruction there followed the 'contract', in which the convert renounced Satan and enlisted himself in the service of Christ. And thirdly, the convert was baptized in the threefold Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

The three stages in the reception of the Church's faith are fully seen for the first time in the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, given when he was a presbyter in the church of Jerusalem about 350, and in the later Mystagogical Catecheses. The creed which Cyril expounds is the creed of the Jerusalem church, not the creed of the Council of Nicaea in 325, preached in the Constantinian basilica. The text of the creed is not quoted verbatim, but has to be extracted from the text of the instruction, and is distributed over fifteen instructions (IV - XVIII). The Christological section of the creed is the longest of the three, and begins with the person and pre-existence of Christ before the clause on the incarnation. And whereas the Nicene Creed has the single clause 'And in the Holy Spirit,' Cyril considerably expands this. These two features prove to be characteristic of eastern creeds.

The second stage in the reception of the Church's faith lies in the contract, and this took place in the antechamber of the baptistery. Here the photizomenos, facing west, the region of darkness, renounced Satan; and then facing east, the place of light, made the Christian confession, 'I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance.' This was the creed which had been the subject of the preceding catechetical lectures.

The third and final stage in the reception of the Church's faith then took place in the baptistry itself. Standing at the font 'each of you was asked whether he believed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and ye made that saving confession, and descended three times into the water, and ascended again.'

The scheme of initiation into the faith at Jerusalem existed also at Antioch. The evidence is provided not only by the Apostolic Constitutions, known since the sixteenth century, but now also by two further sets of catechetical instructions - those of Theodore of Mopsuestia and (most recently) of St John Chrysostom.

The catechesis in Apostolic Constitutions included instruction in the knowledge of God and of his only-begotten Son - his incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension - and of the Holy Spirit. In addition there was teaching as to the creation, and the ways of error and truth illustrated from the lives of the saints in every generation from Seth to Phinehas.

The catechesis in the faith of the Church led to the second stage in its reception, namely the renunciation (apotassomai) of Satan and the adherence (syntassomai) to Christ. The vow, 'And I adhere to Christ' was followed at once by the profession of
The Faith of the Church

the creed in which the photizomenos had now been instructed: 'And I believe, and am baptized, in one, unbegotten, only, true God, almighty, the Father of the Christ'\(^1\), and so forth in full. This creed was the creed of the church in Antioch, in which Ap. Const. originated in 380.\(^2\) It thus antedated the creed of the Council of Constantinople in 381, and was not identical with it.

The final stage in the reception of the Church's faith lay in the moment of baptism. The baptizand was baptized 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'\(^3\) But whether this form was declaratory or, as in Cyril of Jerusalem, interrogatory, is not clear.

Since St John Chrysostom was born in Antioch, baptized there, and admitted to the presbyterate there in 386, it is not surprising that his evidence for initiation into the faith should conform to that of Ap. Const. The Stavronikita series of catecheses, recently discovered in a monastery on Mount Athos,\(^4\) were probably delivered in 390. They do not form a continuous commentary on the text of the creed, but the credal syllabus, although briefer than the creed in Ap. Const., is set out in detail in the first instruction.\(^5\) The contract is described in the second instruction.\(^6\) The photizomenos first makes the renunciation, 'I renounce thee, Satan, thy pomp, thy service, and thy works'. Then he declares his adherence to Christ, 'And I enter thy service, O Christ.' Finally, in the night of the Easter vigil in the baptistery he is baptized with the declaratory formula in the passive, 'So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' 'It is faith in this Trinity', Chrysostom says, 'which gives the grace of remission from sin; it is this confession which gives to us the gift of filial adoption.'\(^7\)

Before his ordination St John Chrysostom had lived as a monk in a monastery in Antioch with Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore became bishop of Mopsuestia, in the 'diocese' of Antioch, in 392, until his death in 424. A series of Catechetical Homilies reliably attributed to Theodore were first published in a Syriac text, translated from a Greek original, in 1932.\(^8\) Once again there is the same structure of initiation in the faith of the Church. Ten Homilies are devoted to the clauses of the creed (I-X). The contract is again in the form of the renunciation of Satan and engagement in the service of Christ with the recitation of the creed (Hom. XII-XIII). And finally baptism is given by a triple immersion in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (Hom. XIV). Like Chrysostom, Theodore explains that the baptism formula is declaratory and passive, i.e. not 'I baptize thee,' but 'So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (XIV.15).

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2 ib. vol.I, 54-62
5 Stav. I 19-23, See the synopsis on p.58f
6 Stav. II 17-21
7 Stav. II 25-26

(References are to this edition.)
The pattern of initiation into the faith of the Church at Jerusalem and Antioch at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth proved to be normative for Orthodoxy throughout the succeeding centuries. It was modified however in two ways. First, with the transition from adult to infant baptism, instruction in the creed in the course of the catechumenate necessarily disappeared; and secondly the text of the local creed was gradually adjusted to the oecumenical creed of the Council of Constantinople in 381, and reaffirmed in the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹

This development is partly illustrated in the baptismal liturgy included in the Euchologian, date about 800, in the Biblioteca Barberini in Rome.² The infant was formally admitted to the catechumenate, and underwent three exorcisms, but naturally received no instruction in the creed. The day before the Pascha, nevertheless, he was required to enter into 'the contract of faith' by means of a triple renunciation of Satan, the profession 'And I adhere to Christ', and the triple confession of the creed, "And I believe in one God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God", and so on to the end.¹ The text of the creed, however, is not given. Finally he is baptized with the declaratory formula in the passive, 'Such a one, the servant of God, is baptized in the name' etc.

More than a thousand years later the same initiation in the faith obtains in the Orthodox baptismal rite today. The infant is admitted to the catechumenate and undergoes the exorcisms. Next, he or his Godparent makes the renunciation of Satan and the adherence to Christ, followed by the recitation of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Finally he receives the triple baptism, 'The servant of God, N is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.'³

'Of all existing creeds', Kelly says, 'it is the only one for which oecumenicity, or universal acceptance, can be plausibly claimed.'⁴ It is this faith which in the baptismal liturgy of the Byzantine rite the baptizand receives and makes his own.

¹ Kelly, Creeds, 344-348
⁴ op. cit. 296
[The synopsis that follows is laid out across facing pages]
### Synopsis: The Creed in the East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Nicaea 325</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cyril of Jerusalem c.350</strong></th>
<th><strong>Apostolic Constitutions c.380</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We believe in one God</td>
<td>Believe in one God</td>
<td>And I believe, and am baptized, into one unbegotten being, the only true God, almighty the Father of Christ, the creator and maker of all things, from whom are all things;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Father, almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible;</td>
<td>the Father maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father the only-begotten,</td>
<td>Believe also in one Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God begotten</td>
<td>And into the Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, the first-born of the whole creation who before the ages was begotten, &lt;not created,†&gt; by the good pleasure of the Father,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that is of the essence of the Father, God of God, light of light very God of very God begotten not made of one substance with the Father by whom all things were made both in heaven and on earth</td>
<td>Son of God begotten, Life of Life begotten, Light of Light begotten</td>
<td>by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth, visible and invisible; who came down from heaven and was incarnate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate and was made man; he suffered</td>
<td>He for our sins came down and was incarnate and was made man; He was crucified for our sins. He was laid truly as man in a tomb of rock He descended to the regions beneath in the earth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 1877, vol.1, p.28f ([http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds1.iv.iii.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds1.iv.iii.html)); see also Kelly Creeds, 215f
2 LF (tr RW Church) 34ff, excerpted by the author; see also Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creeds*, p.55
3 Book VII, c.XLI, tr J Donaldson, ANF Vol.7 ([http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/07157.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/07157.htm)); see also Kelly 186f
4 Kelly, *loc.cit.*
### The Faith of the Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constantinople 381/ Chalcedon 451</th>
<th>John Chrysostom c.388</th>
<th>Theodore of Mopsuestia 392</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We believe</td>
<td>[They] believe</td>
<td>I believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in one God, the Father, almighty,</td>
<td>in the God of the universe</td>
<td>in one God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maker of heaven and earth,</td>
<td>the Father</td>
<td>the Father, almighty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and of all things</td>
<td>of our Lord Jesus Christ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visible and invisible;</td>
<td>the cause of all things</td>
<td>creator of all things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And in one Lord Jesus Christ,</td>
<td>And in Jesus Christ,</td>
<td>And in one Lord Jesus Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the only begotten Son of God,</td>
<td>his only-begotten Son,</td>
<td>the only begotten Son of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begotten of the Father</td>
<td>our Lord</td>
<td>the first-born of all the creatures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before all worlds (aeons), light of light, very God of very God,</td>
<td>who was born of his Father</td>
<td>before all the worlds, and not made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begotten not made,</td>
<td>Consubstantial with the Father</td>
<td>true God of true God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of one substance with the Father,</td>
<td>who was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by whom</td>
<td>before time began,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all things were made;</td>
<td>and is creator of all ages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who for us men and for our salvation</td>
<td>Who in later times for our salvation</td>
<td>Who for us children of men and for our salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>came down</td>
<td>took the form of a slave</td>
<td>came down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from heaven,</td>
<td>and became man</td>
<td>from heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and was incarnate</td>
<td></td>
<td>was incarnate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the Holy Ghost</td>
<td></td>
<td>and became a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Virgin Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td>and was born of the Virgin Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and was made man;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he was crucified for us</td>
<td>was crucified</td>
<td>and crucified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under Pontius Pilate</td>
<td></td>
<td>in the days of Pontius Pilate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and suffered and was buried,</td>
<td></td>
<td>and was buried.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Schaff *ibid*; Kelly 297f
2 Baptismal Instructions, P.W.Harkins, A.C.W. XXXI 31ff
<table>
<thead>
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<th><strong>Cyril of Jerusalem c.350</strong></th>
<th><strong>Apostolic Constitutions c.380</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and rose again</td>
<td>He rose again truly</td>
<td>and rose again from the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the third day</td>
<td>on the third day</td>
<td>after his passion the third day,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ascended into heaven;</td>
<td>He ascended into the heavens</td>
<td>and ascended into the heavens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from thence he shall come</td>
<td>He sits at the right hand of the Father</td>
<td>and sits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to judge the quick and the dead;</td>
<td>He is to come from heaven</td>
<td>at the right hand of the Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And in the Holy Ghost.</td>
<td>Believe also</td>
<td>and again is to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who descended on the Lord Jesus in the form of a dove who wrought in the Law and the Prophets</td>
<td>who is exalted with the Father and the Son in the glory of the Godhead</td>
<td>at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead of whose kingdom there shall be no end;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but afterwards was sent to the apostles by the Father according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; and after the apostles to all those that believe in the holy Catholic &lt;and apostolic&gt; Church;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Cat.XVIII 20]
And in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; and in one holy Catholic Church; and in the resurrection of the flesh; and in eternal life.

But those who say...

'This seal have thou ever on thy mind which now by way of summary has been touched on in its heads.

1 Kelly, loc.cit.
### The Faith of the Church

**Constantinople 381/ Chalcedon 451**  
**John Chrysostom c.388**  
**Theodore of Mopsuestia 392**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father From thence he shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead whose kingdom shall have no end;</th>
<th>and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures. and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God. and he shall come again to judge the living and the dead.</th>
<th>and rose the third day according to the Scriptures. and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God. and he shall come again to judge the living and the dead.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father,</td>
<td>the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>And in one Holy Spirit. who proceeds from the Father, giver of life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets; in one holy Catholic and apostolic Church; We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; for the remission of sins.

[We confess] one baptism, one holy Catholic Church.

we look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen. for the resurrection of the flesh. and life everlasting.
(iv) *Catechesis, the contract, and the baptismal formula in Apostolic Tradition and related documents.*

A second group of documents, later than the Jerusalem-Antioch group, sheds light on a non-Byzantine baptismal tradition in the East. These are related to the exemplar that lies behind the Verona Latin version of the *Apostolic Tradition* ascribed to Hippolytus. The supposed Roman origin of *Apostolic Tradition*, so long taken for granted since the time of the reconstruction of the text, has been subjected to detailed criticism by J.M. Hanssens, who argued instead for Alexandria as the place of origin.\(^1\) Without attempting to enter into the complications of the argument, the reconstructed text of *Ap. Trad.* will be considered here in relation to the family of texts which appear to derive from that exemplar. They consist of a series of similar church orders which were current in Egypt, Ethiopia and Syria.

Of the six documents to be considered, the Latin version appears to have been made in the late fifth or early sixth century from a Greek text which had its origin in the early part of the third century. The Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions display a close family relationship with this text. The earliest and most important manuscript of the Sahidic version is dated 1066, being the translation of a Greek text not later than the seventh century and possibly as early as the fourth or fifth. The Arabic version is of uncertain date and origin. The witnesses to the Ethiopian version are extremely difficult to date, but in part appear to reach back to at least the third century. The *Testamentum Domini* was translated into Syriac from the Greek in 687, while the *Canons of Hippolytus* are known from an Arabic version of the fourteenth century.\(^2\)

There is an extensive lacuna in the Verona Latin version, and the text begins to run only from the first immersion following the first section of the baptismal creed.\(^3\) Leaving this text on one side, then, for a moment, the other documents all display that threefold initiation in the faith of the Church which we have seen in the rite of Jerusalem and Antioch, namely the catechumenate, contract, and baptism. But there are two major differences in the Alexandrian group of texts, first in the catechumenate and secondly in the baptismal formula.

First, in the catechumenate nothing is said about instruction in the creed. The Sahidic text speaks of being introduced to the faith, and the Ethiopic of seeking the faith, but nowhere is the creed mentioned. There are the usual features of scrutiny, the prohibited trades, prayer, the imposition of hands, and exorcism. The noun 'catechumen' and the verb 'to be catechized' are frequently used. There is 'hearing' of the word, or the Gospels (*Test. Dom.*). But nothing is said about the creed. Although a catechumenate of three years is referred to, it may of course be the case that in these relatively late documents infant baptism has become the norm, and so a passive catechumenate without formal instruction in the creed has come to prevail.

In the next stage, however, the contract still consists of the renunciation and belief. But while renunciation is in the form of the renunciation of Satan, with his angels and

\(^1\) Hanssens, DTOC, DE
\(^2\) Details of contents and dates of these documents are given in the first two chapters of Hanssens' first volume, 3-87
\(^3\) Hanssens, volume two, 112
works, much as in the Byzantine rite, belief is in the form not simply of adherence to Christ, but of a trinitarian creed: thus the Sahidic text, 'I believe in the true God, one, Father almighty, and in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, and his holy Spirit, giving life to the world.' Indeed the Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic texts all have a series of additional clauses on the divine Unity and on the Church.

With this Trinitarian confession the first of the three baptismal immersions follows: and thus in these three texts, as also in the Canons of Hippolytus, the dividing line between the contract and the baptismal confession has become blurred.

Nevertheless the third stage in the initiation in the faith is now reached. In response to the 'Credo' at each of the three sections of the creed, tendered in an interrogatory form, the immersions in the font take place. The creed is not identical with the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol; but in a characteristically Eastern manner it amplifies both the pre-existence of Christ and his incarnation, and the role of the Holy Spirit.

With the first of the baptismal immersions the text of the Latin version is resumed after the long lacuna. But, remarkably, the text is not that of the Eastern credal tradition, but seemingly of the Western, close to the text of the Apostles' Creed. Nevertheless, before it is judged to be Western in character and origin, certain features need to be taken into account which point to an Eastern provenance. First of all the creed is in an interrogatory form, consistent with the baptismal interrogations of the Egyptian and derived baptismal rite. Secondly, as an interrogatory creed it differs from the earliest declaratory creeds in the West, which make their appearance a century and a half or two centuries later than the original of the Apostolic Tradition. Thirdly, the text of the Verona Latin credo has at least as much in common with the text of the creed in the derived documents as with the earliest witnesses of the Apostles' Creed. And while it lacks the later Eastern fullness in regard to the pre-existence of Christ and to the Holy Spirit, it has at least one Eastern and non-Western feature, namely the use of the term 'living' with reference to the resurrection: 'he rose the third day living from the dead.' The Latin text of the baptismal liturgy of the Apostolic Tradition may therefore confidently be aligned with that of the other versions.

Viewing this group of texts as a whole, there are these three stages of initiation into the Church's faith: the catechumenate, the contract, and the baptismal formula. Formal instruction in the clauses of the creed, however, does not appear to be given in the catechumenate; but by contrast the affirmation of the Church's creed in an extended interrogation is made the condition of baptism.

[The synopsis that follows is laid out across facing pages]
### Synopsis: The contract and creed in Apostolic Tradition and related documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Sahidic</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy worship and all thy works.</td>
<td>I renounce thee, O devil, and all thy service and all thy impure works.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 [in aquam] [ad aquam]  
I believe in the true God one, Father almighty, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ Our Lord and our Saviour, and his holy Spirit giving life to the world, consubstantial Trinity one divinity, one domination one kingdom, one faith one baptism in the holy Catholic Apostolic Church eternal life. Amen. 

12 I believe. 

13 [Imposition of hand and triple immersion.] [Imposition of hand and triple immersion]

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1 The texts here from Hanssens DE, 110ff; see also Botte 44ff; ed. and tr. by the author
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ethiopic</strong></th>
<th><strong>Test. Dom. Syriac</strong></th>
<th><strong>Can. Hipp. Arabic.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy angels and every impure work of thine.</td>
<td>I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy worship and all thy shows and thy pleasures and all thy works.</td>
<td>I renounce thee, Satan, with all thy pomp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I consent to thee</td>
<td>And I believe and bow myself to thee and all thy pomps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.</td>
<td>Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ad aquam]

Do you believe in one God the Father almighty, and in his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, and the Holy Spirit giving life to the whole creation whose Trinity is of equal deity and one Lord and one kingdom and one faith and one baptism in Holy Church which is universal, and life for ever Amen?

I believe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Imposition of hand and triple immersion]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[In aqua]

Do you believe in God the Father almighty?

I believe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[First immersion]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[In aqua]

Do you believe in God the Father almighty?

I believe

| [Imposition of hand and first immersion] |
Latin
Do you believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was born of Holy Spirit from Mary the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate, was dead and buried, rose the third day living from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat on the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the living and the dead?

I believe.

[Sahidic]

13 Do you believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father, who was made man through a miracle for our sakes in an incomprehensible unity through his Holy Spirit from the virgin Mary, without human seed, crucified for us under Pontius Pilate of his own will died for the salvation of us all, rose the third day, set free the captives, ascended into heaven sat at the right hand of his good Father in glory and will come again to judge the living and the dead at his appearance and his kingdom

[Second immersion]

And do you believe in the holy Spirit, and the holy Church, and the resurrection of the flesh?

I believe

[Third immersion]

Arabic
Do you believe in Jesus Christ Our Lord the only Son of God the Father who was made man through an incomprehensible miracle of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary, without human seed, and crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, and of his own will died for the salvation of us all, and rose the third day from the dead, set free the captives, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead at his appearance and his kingdom?

I believe.

Do you believe in the Holy, good and purifying Spirit, in the holy Church? And do you believe in the resurrection of the flesh which will happen to everyone, the kingdom of heaven, and eternal judgement? I believe.
### The Faith of the Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ethiopic</strong></th>
<th><strong>Test. Dom. Syriac</strong></th>
<th><strong>Can. Hipp. Arabic.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you believe in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord who was made man through an incomprehensible miracle by the Holy Spirit and by the Virgin Mary without human seed, and was crucified, in the days of Pontius Pilate and died of his own will for the salvation of us all, and was restored to life from the dead on the third day, and set free the captives, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead at his appearance and his kingdom? I believe. [Second immersion] And do you believe in the Holy, good and purifying Spirit, and in the holy Church? And do you believe in the resurrection of the flesh which will happen to every man, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in everlasting judgment? I believe.</td>
<td>Do you believe also in Christ Jesus the Son of God him who comes from the Father prior with the Father born by the Virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate and died, from the dead on the third day, and ascended into heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead? I believe.</td>
<td>Do you believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God whom the Virgin Mary bore of the Holy Spirit, who came for the salvation of the human race, was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, died, and rose again on the third day living from the dead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(v) The catechumenate, the 'return' of the creed, and the baptismal interrogations in the West

As in the 'Byzantine' and 'Alexandrian' East, so in the West, three stages may be discerned in the transmission of the faith of the Church to the convert. There is the final stage of the catechumenate, reached when the catechumen has in view baptism at the ensuing Easter. There is, secondly, the reddito or 'return' of the creed at the conclusion of the catechumenate, before the liturgy of the Easter Vigil. And, thirdly, there is baptism in the course of the Easter Vigil, which concludes with the bishop's greeting of the baptized, 'Pax tecum'. These stages in the Western tradition of the faith will now be discussed.

Ambrose appears to refer to the beginning of the first stage when he says in his Easter sermons On the sacraments1 'When you have given your name', i.e. with a view to baptism at Easter. At the beginning of the second series of Easter sermons, On the Mysteries, looking back to that period he refers to the daily moral instructions when the lives of the patriarchs and the precepts from Proverbs were read.2 There does not survive from this period in the West, however, anything quite comparable to the catechetical instructions on the creed of Cyril of Jerusalem or Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nevertheless, as with St John Chrysostom's catechetical instructions, we may be sure that instruction in the creed formed part of the catechumen's preparation. John the Deacon, of Rome, c.500, tells us that the 'competent' or 'elect' received, along with repeated exorcism, the words of the Creed.3 Further, the Gelasianum, in its earliest stratum, includes in the liturgical provisions for Lent a form for the recitation of the creed by the elect.4 The creed here is indeed the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed, said in either Greek or Latin, and the elect are children in arms, the creed being recited by an acolyte. But all this belongs to the Byzantine period in Rome. In John the Deacon's time the creed was the Apostles' Creed, and the elect were generally speaking adults.5 We may therefore be reasonably sure that in the final weeks of the catechumenate instruction was given in the creed.

The second stage in the initiation in the faith takes place early on the Sabbath before Easter Day.6 In principle it is the same as the eastern contract, namely the (final) renunciation of Satan, followed by the 'return' of the creed. The form of the creed may be illustrated by three 'local' creeds, those of Marcellus, the Explanatio Symboli, and Rufinus, together with the Apostles' Creed to which John the Deacon refers, and which came to prevail throughout the West. (See the synopsis on p.72.)

First, Marcellus, bishop of the church of Ancyra (Ankara in modern Turkey), addressed to Pope Julius I at a Synod held in Rome in 340 the declaratory form of the creed, in Greek, which he himself received. Since Marcellus had been driven from his see and taken refuge in Rome, it may be that his text is an instance of captatio benevolentiae, since he wished to enlist the support of the Pope. It may then be better

1 De Sacr. III, 12, 'quando dedisti nomen tuum'
2 De Myst. I, 1
4 Vat.Reg.lat., 316, I xxxv, mg. refs 310-318
5 A. Chavasse, Le Sacramentaire Gélasien, Tournai 1958, pp.160, 164
6 Vat.Reg.lat, 316, 'Mane'; OR XI 83, 'after the third hour'
representative of the creed in Rome than of the creed in Ancyra, although oecumenicity is nevertheless already since the Council of Nicaea a factor in the formation of the creed.

Secondly, there is the *Explanatio Symboli* which Dom Bernard Botte included in his edition of Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* and *De Mysteriis* as itself a work of Ambrose. Botte regarded all three texts as affording the understanding of the rite of initiation at Milan in the latter part of the fourth century when Ambrose was bishop. It was Ambrose's acknowledged rule to follow the Roman Church in all things;¹ so accordingly he says, 'We hold the creed of the Roman church.'²

Thirdly, Rufinus, a presbyter of the church of Aquileia, at the northernmost tip of the Adriatic, wrote in Latin a 'Commentary on the creed of the Apostles' about 404. In this work he notes the points at which the Roman version of the Apostles' Creed differs from the version received in Aquileia, and in which he himself had been baptized.

It will be seen that all three will be seen to be closely related to the fuller form of the *textus receptus* of the Roman creed.

The creed taught by Ambrose was received by his most illustrious catechumen Augustine. It was in turn taught by Augustine, with but minor variants, resulting no doubt from extempore teaching,³ when he became bishop of the church in Hippo Regius. The catechumen was to make the creed of the church his own:

*Receive, my children, the rule of faith which is called the creed [symbolum], and when you have received it write it in your hearts, and say it to yourselves every day. Before you go to bed, before you leave your chamber, arm yourselves with your creed.*⁴

The creed of the church in Milan and the creed of the church in Hippo Regius were thus substantially the same. This illustrates a point of capital importance. For what is true of Milan and Hippo Regius is also true of all churches in the West from the fourth century onwards, in Italy, North Africa, Spain and Gaul. They agreed in short with the creed of the Roman church. Dr Kelly's conclusion is the fact that all Western baptismal creeds were directly descended from the creed of the Roman church.⁵

The stabilisation of the creed is no doubt due to the influence of the Roman church. At the same time the clauses of the Roman creed could all be illustrated from scripture. The reception of the Roman creed was therefore facilitated inasmuch as the canon of the New Testament writings, with the exception of three or four minor epistles and the Apocalypse, was universally acknowledged from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third. The creed read accordingly like a summary of the apostolic faith.

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1. *De Sacr. III,5*
2. *Expl. Symb. 4.* The text is a conflation of the actual words of the creed quoted in Ambrose's text, together with the language of the creed used by Ambrose elsewhere.
3. Two versions of the creed, extracted from Augustine's writings, are printed in Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, 35f.
4. *Sermons, 212, 213, 214, (PL 38, 1058-72)*
5. *Kelly, Creeds, 181.* See his whole discussion, 167ff
The Apostles' Creed, then, came to be the creed of the Church throughout the West. It was the creed of the Church, but it was professed individually, in the first person singular, and in a declaratory form, 'I believe.' It was the creed for catechumens.

In the third stage of the initiation of the convert in the faith of the Church, namely at his baptism, a different form of the creed was used. It was in an abbreviated form, and it was put in question form. This baptismal interrogation is given by Ambrose in the De Sacramentis:

Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?
R: I believe.
Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his cross?
R: I believe.
Dost thou believe also in the Holy Spirit?
R: I believe.¹

The response to each question was followed by washing. Nearly four centuries later in Rome, according to the old Gelasian Sacramentary, the baptismal liturgy retained these same characteristics, even though at this date the catechumens were no longer adults, but infants in arms. After the blessing of the font, the priest baptized each infant following the response to each of the three baptismal interrogations:

Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?
R: I believe.
Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered?
R: I believe.
And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?
R: I believe.

And after the third washing, the consignation with chrism followed.²

In the old Mozarabic rite baptism had come to be celebrated at times other than Easter, but the same distinctions in the creed are observed. The 'tradition' of the creed is first made to the infant.³ Then, after the blessing of the font, the triple renunciations follow, and, after the naming of the infant, the triple credal interrogatio⁷⁰n:

N: dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?
R: I believe.
And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our God and Lord?
R: I believe.
And in the Holy Spirit?
R: I believe.
And I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen.⁴

The same rite is incorporated in the Easter Vigil.⁵

1 De Sacr. II,20
2 Lib. Sacr. Vat.Reg.lat. 316, I, xlv, mg. refs. 449-450
3 M. Férotin, Le Liber Ordinum, 28f
4 Lib. Ord. 31f
5 Lib. Ord. 219

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The distinction then obtains everywhere in the West between the creed of the local church - which is the creed of the Roman church - and the form of credal interrogation in the baptismal liturgy. The creed in full is delivered to the catechumens as they undergo instruction in preparation for baptism, and finally 'returned'. Then, at the baptismal liturgy itself they are asked, in an abbreviated form, whether they believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and responding affirmatively to this interrogation they are baptized. The convert makes the faith of the Church his own.
## Synopsis: The Creed in the West.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marcellus¹</th>
<th>Explanatio Symboli²</th>
<th>Rufinus³</th>
<th>Apostles' Creed⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.340</td>
<td>temp. Ambrose</td>
<td>c.404</td>
<td>Textus Receptus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe in God almighty</td>
<td>I believe (in God the Father almighty)</td>
<td>I believe in God the Father almighty, invisible and impassible;</td>
<td>I believe in God the Father almighty maker of heaven and earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and in Christ Jesus his only Son, our Lord, who was born of [ek] the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate</td>
<td>and in Jesus Christ his only Son (Son our Lord) who was born (of the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary suffered under Pontius Pilate</td>
<td>and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born of [de] the Holy Ghost, of [ex] the Virgin Mary was crucified under Pontius Pilate</td>
<td>and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost born of the Virgin Mary suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified dead and buried he descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and was buried was dead) and buried</td>
<td>and was buried, descended into hell,</td>
<td></td>
<td>the third day he rose again from the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the third day rose from the dead,</td>
<td>the third day (he rose again) from the dead</td>
<td></td>
<td>the third day he rose again from the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,</td>
<td>he ascended (into heaven) and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,</td>
<td></td>
<td>he ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whence</td>
<td>from whence</td>
<td></td>
<td>from thence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he cometh to judge the living and the dead,</td>
<td>(he will come to judge the living) and the dead</td>
<td></td>
<td>he shall come to judge the quick and the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church,</td>
<td>and in the Holy Spirit (the Church)</td>
<td></td>
<td>I believe in the Holy Ghost Church, Catholic Church, the communion of saints the forgiveness of sins the resurrection of the body [flesh] and the life everlasting. Amen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, the life everlasting.</td>
<td>the remission (of sins) the resurrection of the flesh</td>
<td>the forgiveness of sins the resurrection of the flesh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ Text from [http://www.hebrew-streams.org/works/monotheism/early-creeds.html](http://www.hebrew-streams.org/works/monotheism/early-creeds.html); see also Kelly 103 (Greek), Stevenson CCC 10 (ET)
² Botte 50-53 Lat. & Fr. tr. (words in brackets supplied by editor), ET by the author
³ Heurtley De F & S 37f, Lat. On F & C 80 ET
⁴ Schaff, op.cit.; [http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2.iv.i.i.v.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2.iv.i.i.v.html); Kelly 369 Lat & ET 219
(vi) The conciliar creed and baptism.

The catechetical creed in the distinctive liturgical families we have been considering is essentially a local creed. As a genre it was no doubt influenced by the local tradition of the baptismal and eucharistic mysteries, and by the settlement of the canon of New Testament writings and their increasing availability. Increasingly too it must have felt the influence of the tradition of the faith in the great sees. But in the fourth century the catechetical creed continued to be that teaching tradition which was delivered and received locally year by year.

In the fourth century, however, and in the fifth there was a further development in the creedal tradition, namely the conciliar creed. The earliest creed authorised by a general council of bishops was the creed of Nicaea; but while it was intended to consolidate the faith of the Church as a whole, there is no evidence that it superseded the local tradition of the faith in the catechumenate.

The influence of the Nicene creed was however transcended by the creed which was read to the Council of Constantinople. This creed, the local creed of the metropolitical see, appears to have been accepted by the Council. It was subsequently reaffirmed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, with the addition of this admonition:

*The Holy and Oecumenical Synod hath decreed that it is unlawful for anyone to present, write, compose, devise or teach to others any other Creed.*

With the weight of the Council of Chalcedon behind it, this creed gradually became the catechetical creed of the churches throughout the Byzantine empire.

Its fortunes in the West, as a catechetical creed, were however different. There the Apostles' Creed as the catechetical creed of the Roman Church had been everywhere accepted by the fifth century. This has remained the Western tradition. Nevertheless, by the first half of the eighth century at least, when there was a succession of Greek popes, the creed of the Council of Chalcedon gained partial acceptance as the catechumenate creed in the Latin rite. We have already noticed that in the old Gelasian Sacramentary the confession of the creed during Lent was in terms of the Chalcedonian definition, in either Greek or Latin. Similarly the Gregorian Sacramentary, in two of its main family lines, also presupposes the Chalcedonian definition. First, the Hadrianum at the end of the eighth century, although it is silent on the delivery of the creed, implies that the *reddito symboli* 'in Sabbato Paschae' will be in Greek, or the Latin version of the Greek text; for the introductory rubric includes the expression 'post pisteugis' which is a Latinization of the Greek verb 'to believe'. Secondly, the Paduense of the ninth century has a similar Graecism; for instead of 'post postengis' the rubric reads 'postpisteuis'. And again, a century later, the *Ordo Romanus L*, compiled in the Benedictine Abbey of Mainz, still has the Greek and

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2. See Kelly, op. cit., 344-348
3. Vat.Reg.lat. 316, I, xxxv, mg. refs, 310-318
Latin texts of the Chalcedonian definition, first in Greek, then in Latin, at the delivery of the creed.¹

But the manuscripts of Ordo Romanus XI display a mixed tradition in regard to the creed. This Ordo contains the rites of initiation. Its author had before him an early stage of the old Gelasian Sacramentary, from which he borrowed.² The extant manuscripts of this Ordo belong to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, and fall into two groups, each of five manuscripts. One group is Roman in origin, and nearer to the original; the other group is Gallicanized. In the first group the catechetical creed, as in the Gelasianum, is the Chalcedonian definition; in the second group, it is the Apostles' Creed.³ It thus appears that the Gallicanized versions of Ordo Romanus XI preserved the older form of the catechumenate creed of the Roman Church. The reason for this must lie in the strong probability that the textus receptus of the Apostles' Creed reached its final form north of the Alps in the late sixth or the seventh century.⁴ It benefitted from the Carolingian rulers' drive for liturgical uniformity, and continued to be regarded in succeeding centuries as the authoritative version of the creed.⁵ Accordingly, in the liturgical books of the Carolingian reform, which though Roman in origin underwent a process of Gallicanization, the Apostles' Creed came to replace the Chalcedonian definition. In this form the baptismal liturgy, like other rites, was eventually received back in Rome.⁶

This outline account may fittingly be concluded by the final sentence with which Kelly closes his history of the creeds:

_In persuading Rome to accept a new baptismal confession, the church beyond the Alps was merely handing back to her, enriched and improved, that same venerable rule of faith which she herself had compiled in the second century as an epitome of the everlasting gospel._⁷

¹ ed. M. Andrieu, OR V, 73-79, pp.151-154
² ed. M. Andrieu, OR II, p.389
³ ed. M. Andrieu, OR XI II, pp.365-447
⁴ Kelly, op. cit., 420
⁵ Kelly, op. cit., 420-434
⁶ The Franco-German development of the Roman liturgy is discussed by T. Klauser, _A short history of the Western Liturgy_, ET, London 1969, 77-84
⁷ ib., 434. The use of the Apostles' Creed in the baptismal liturgy passed from late medieval sources into the Book of Common Prayer, 1549, revised 1552. In recent liturgical revision the 'Niceno-Constantinopolitan' creed has been restored as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed in the _Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adultorum_, Vatican 1972, no.186. On the other hand the Apostles' Creed has been abandoned in the baptismal rite in the Alternative Services Book, 1980.
(vii) The conciliar creed and the eucharist

The conciliar creed, then, or to be more precise the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, began to replace local creeds in the catechesis in preparation for baptism. In the Byzantine Church this happened straightaway after the Council of Chalcedon. Other Oriental Churches either followed its example, or interpolated its characteristic clauses into their own credal tradition. We have seen how it came to replace the Apostles' Creed for a limited period in the Roman rite, though not in the Franco-German.

More surprising is its introduction into the eucharistic liturgy. Hitherto the creed had had no place in this liturgy, and is not integral to its structure. But as the Christological heresies of Arianism and Adoptionism persisted, so the virtue of including the oecumenical creed in the Sunday liturgy to foster the right understanding among the people came to be perceived.¹ Its piecemeal introduction is reflected, however, not only in date, but also in the place which it came to occupy in the liturgy. It was introduced first at Antioch and Byzantium at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, and it was placed after the kiss of peace. Thus, those who received the traditio symboli under the arcane circumstances of the later stages of the catechumenate recited it now after the dismissals of the hearers, the catechumens, and the penitents. This was also the case in the Byzantinized Alexandrian Liturgy of St Mark,² although in the old Coptic Liturgy it concluded the intercessions and preceded the kiss.³ In the East Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari the creed was recited by the priest after the offertory procession.⁴

In the West the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed had a different history. Rome for a long time resisted its introduction into the mass, although it was introduced elsewhere in the West. Thus it does not occur in the outline of the mass placed at the beginning of the Hadrianum.⁵ Then in 810, addressing the delegation from Charlemagne, Leo III, while using it for instruction in the faith, defended and commended the practice of the Roman church in not reciting the creed at mass.⁶ It was not until 1014, following the coronation of Henry II in Rome, that Benedict VIII agreed to include the creed in the mass.⁷

The place of the creed in the order of the Mass varied. Thus in the Mozarabic rite of the sixth/seventh centuries it was placed after the eucharistic prayer and before the Lord's Prayer.⁸ In the Stowe Missal it follows the oratio after the gospel.⁹ In Milan it follows the offertory and precedes the sursum corda, in agreement with Byzantine practice. Eventually in Rome it followed the gospel, in accordance with Frankish tradition; but it was recited not at every mass, but only on Sundays and major feasts.

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¹ See Kelly, op. cit: ch.XI, 4
² Brightman, LEW, I.124. 5ff
³ ib. 161f
⁴ ib. 270f
⁵ J. Deshusses, Le Sacramentaire Grégorian, 1 (p.85f)
⁶ Kelly, op. cit. pp.354f, 365f
⁷ Berno of Reichenau, De quibusdam rebus ad missae officium spectantibus, Migne P.L 142:160
⁸ M. Férotin, Le Liber Mozarabicus, col.601
⁹ G.F. Warner (ed.) The Stowe Missal, II p.8
The text of the creed that was thus received in the West was in the first place that which was agreed by the One Hundred and Fifty Fathers at the Council of Constantinople. To this the creed in the Stowe Missal and in the Gelasianum Vat. Reg. 316 bear witness. Subsequently, however, the creed was modified by the interpolation of the word *Filioque* in the clause regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit: 'Who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*'. The impulse for this addition seems to have been the determination to extinguish Arian Christology from the Western Church. It figured prominently in the proceedings of the fourth Council of Toledo in Spain in 589, and was therefore incorporated in subsequent manuscripts of the Mozarabic rite. The *Filioque* was similarly taken up in the Carolingian Church, and it was with this addition that the use of the creed was urged, in vain, upon Leo III. If in resisting Charlemagne's envoys Leo was unwilling to affront the Patriarchate of Constantinople, his successors in the eleventh century were no longer moved by the same reticence. It is unlikely that Benedict VIII, in deferring to the insistence of the Emperor Henry II, finally introduced the creed into the Roman mass without the *Filioque*, but altogether probable that he would have adopted the Carolingian text coupled with its chant. Forty years later the delegates of Leo IX placed a bull on the altar of Hagia Sophia, excommunicating the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. A week later Cerularius responded with counter-anathemas. The schism of east and West was complete. *Filioque* has since remained an obstacle to reconciliation.

(viii) *The creed in the daily prayer of the Church*

While the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed eventually established itself in the eucharist both in East and West, it was never incorporated in the daily prayer of the Church. Following, however, the precedent of N-C in thus finding a place in the liturgy, first the Apostles' Creed and then the Athanasian Creed were received into the daily Western office.

We have already seen that the Lord's Prayer had a pre-eminent place in the morning and evening prayer of the Church, deriving, we venture to suggest, from extreme antiquity. The Apostles' Creed, however, never acquired so significant a position. It never became part of Matins and Lauds or Vespers, but was included in the minor hours of Prime and Compline. Prime indeed did not belong to the earliest stratum of the day hours, and Compline was in origin introduced as the last prayer of the day before the time for sleep. At Prime the Apostles’ Creed followed the Kyrie and Paternoster at the conclusion of the psalmody. It was similarly recited, but silently, at the end of Compline. This conjunction of Paternoster and Creed led to the practice of

1 ib. p.8
2 L.C. Mohlberg (ed.), p.49
3 See Férotin, op. cit. 601, 773
4 The anathemas were lifted by a common declaration of Pope Paul VI and the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras on 7 Dec. 1965. (See Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI*, London 1993, pp.452f.)
5 e.g. W.H. Frere, *Use of Sarum* II.14 (Prime), 4 (Compline)
enjoining upon those who did not have the obligation of reciting the full office the saying of the Paternoster, Ave, and Credo in Deum instead.

The Athanasian Creed has a different history. From at least the seventh century it was used in catechetical instruction, and, in the words of Dr. Kelly, 'by the Carolingian period its prestige as a summary of orthodox theological teaching stood enormously high'. Early in the ninth century it was in use at Prime on Sundays. Although it was non-Roman in origin, it had been received in the Roman office by the thirteenth century, and subsequently widely disseminated by the Franciscans. In England it was recited at Prime after the psalms almost daily, and was treated as a psalm with its own seasonal antiphon. It was followed by Kyrie, Paternoster, and Credo in Deum. Differentiated liturgically from the Creed, it had nevertheless come to be regarded as itself a creed with the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The Church in the sixteenth century therefore inherited in the Creeds a robust theological discipline. They proved to be a highly durable constituent of tradition, and passed into the revisions of the daily office. The Breviarium Romanum reformed by Cardinal Quignon, and published in 1535, included the 'Symbolum Athanasii episcopi' for use at Prime after the psalms on all Sundays of the year, but provided the Apostles' Creed in its place on all weekdays.

This usage was not lost on Cranmer. In the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 he provided for the quicunque vult to be sung or said after the Benedictus on the principal feasts of the year, namely Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday. Their number was increased in 1552 by the addition of St John the Baptist and six feasts of Apostles, so as to secure the distribution of its recitation about once a month in the course of the year. Although it was called 'this confession of our Christian faith', it did not on those occasions replace the Apostles' Creed. Only in 1662 was alternative use prescribed. It is indeed this regular use of the three creeds, informing the daily ordered use of the psalms and the Old and New Testaments, which has given to the Church of England through the Book of Common Prayer its weighty doctrinal and spiritual inheritance.

Nor was Cranmer alone among the reformers in his regard for the creeds. They were equally acknowledged by the Continental reformers.

In the Breviarium Romanum revised by decree of the Council of Trent and authorized by the Bull of Pius V in 1568, while the Pater and Ave were to be recited before each hour of prayer, the Apostles' Creed was to be recited before Matins and Prime and at the end of Compline. The Athanasian Creed was recited after the psalms at Prime on all Sundays.

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1 Kelly, The Athanasian Creed. London, 1964, p.42. 'It can now ... be taken as established that the earliest witness to the Quicunque is Caesarius ... who was primate of Arles from 502 ... to 542' (p.35).
2 S. Bäumer, tr. R. Biron, Histoire du Bréviaire, Paris 1905, II. 37
4 Ordo Exon. I 35f, Breviarium ad Usum Sarum, I. xxxix-xl
5 Breviarium ad Usum Sarum, II. 46-52
6 Kelly, op. cit. p.44
7 ed. J.W. Legg, Cambridge, 1888, pp.3f
(ix) **Dis-integration in the credal tradition.**

The retreat from this credal inheritance began, in the Church of England, in a proposal in that the use of *Qui/cunque Vult* should be made optimal. It stemmed from the Royal Commission on Ritual which in its fourth report in 1870 suggested alterations to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. It was opposed by Pusey (and the other Oxford professors of Divinity) on the grounds that, embodying as it does ‘the most central truths of Faith’, it remains ‘our most powerful bond of unity’. If it were to be removed from public worship, or in any way mutilated, ‘it could no longer be affirmed that the Church of England did teach the full truth as to the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation’. The crisis passed without any change being made; but it seems that the rubrics governing its use were increasingly disregarded. In an attempt to come to terms with this state of affairs the proposed Prayer Book of 1927-28 abandoned the obligatory recitation of *quicunque vult*, and instead drew up a complicated scheme of rubrics allowing for its use in the future. A revised translation was provided as an alternative, and the number of days on which the creed might be used was increased, but on no occasion was its use obligatory. It was divided into sections, vv. 3-28 on the Trinity, and vv. 30-44 on the Incarnation, which might be used on different occasions. The warning clauses (vv. 2, 20, and 42) might be omitted. It is doubtful whether these options achieved anything except to signal the abandonment of the creed both from public worship and from the clerical recitation of the daily office. It is wholly omitted from the Alternative Service Book.

Meanwhile in the Roman rite Pius X had reduced the occasions for saying *quicunque vult* to the ordinary Sundays after the Epiphany and after Pentecost. Pius XII reduced these occasions still further to one only, namely Trinity Sunday. As for the *Liturgia Horarum* (1970-71) the suppression of Prime to which it belonged meant that there was no longer any occasion for saying it.

The Apostles’ Creed, in the *Liturgia Horarum*, fared no better. In the general clean-up of the hours, the silent devotional saying of the Pater and Ave before each hour, plus the Apostles' Creed before Matins, was abandoned. Each hour began where the text began *clara voce*. Since Prime was also suppressed, the Creed disappeared from the daily office entirely.

As for the Anglican office, no part of the Book of Common Prayer proved more resilient than Morning and Evening Prayer. The revised forms in the Authorised Service Book did not attract the same interest as the revised forms of the eucharist. Thus in so far as the daily office was still recited among the clergy, the Apostles' Creed continued to be recited, twice daily. The ASB nevertheless reveals a trend away from this practice. Thus whereas the rubrics of the BCP are generally in the form of directions, e.g. 'Then shall be said or sung', the rubrics of the ASB are frequently in the form of permission, e.g. 'The minister may say or sing.' The BCP therefore prescribes an order of common prayer, whereas the ASB reflecting the educational ethos of its age is in the form of a resource book. Accordingly, although the Apostles’ Creed is included in the forms of Morning and Evening Prayer, and in

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2. ib. 243  
3. The preface to the 1549 Book was wholly devoted to it (entitled in 1661 'Concerning the Service of the Church').

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Morning Prayer (Shorter Form), no rubric governs its use. It is omitted from Evening Prayer (Shorter Form). The ASB daily office does not then display the same commitment to the Apostles' Creed as the BCP.

More significant is the abandonment of the Apostles' Creed in the ASB from its place of origin, namely baptism. It is replaced by a threefold formula, which makes no specific mention of the incarnation or the death, resurrection, ascension and heavenly session of Christ. There is an ambiguous reference to 'his Holy Spirit', whether the Father's or the Son's is not clear, with the implication that the Person of the Holy Spirit is by-passed. The bishop is then required to say to the congregation, 'This is the faith of the Church'. It may indeed be the faith of parts of the Church of England; but it is not the faith of the Catholic Church in the West, or indeed the East.

Thus the ASB reveals a trend against the use of the Creed in the Office, and abandons it where it matters most, in baptism.

It is true that the Apostles' Creed and the *quicunque vult* belong to the later strata of the daily office. This is in striking contrast to the Lord's Prayer, which may be said to be its point of origin. Nevertheless the incorporation of the baptismal confession into the daily prayer habits of the Church has in the West a long history. The creed was short, Ambrose told the catechumens, so that it could be remembered. And it was to be remembered by them, not written down, so that they could meditate on it every day.¹ The same teaching was given by Augustine: 'Say the creed daily. When you rise, when you compose yourself to sleep, repeat your creed'.² It was not a liturgical practice, but the counsel of the pastor with the cure of souls. A thousand years later it was recommended to those who did not have the obligation of reciting the daily office.

Putting this credal development into reverse has not proceeded from a single cause. In the case of the *Liturgia Horarum* the aim was to relieve the burdensomeness of the Tridentine office, which was even then basically designed for religious in another age, and to replace it with a régime of prayer suited to the secular clergy today, in which indeed even less people might be able to some extent to participate. Pruning, even on a drastic scale, was necessary; and the chief problem was the reorganisation of the psalmody. The result has been the redistribution of daily prayer throughout the day, in manageable proportions, and appropriate to the time of day. In this process, however, the creeds - the Apostles' Creed and the *quicunque vult* - have been eliminated, perhaps because they were deemed to be extraneous to the character of the hours. But this means that in the prayer of the hours, to which we are admitted by baptism, the structure of belief has been lost. It may be doubted whether it receives adequate compensation in the renewal of the baptismal promises, now introduced to the Easter Vigil.

In the Church of England the retreat from the Creeds is evident not only in the Alternative Service Book; but in the Canons also a distinction is drawn between the faith which is 'uniquely revealed' in the Holy Scriptures and 'set forth' in the catholic creeds.³ This faith 'the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation'.

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¹ *Explanatio Symboli*, 2
² Sermon 58,11 (P.L. 38, 399f)
³ Canon C15
This seemingly innocuous truism nevertheless leaves the door ajar to increasingly anthropomorphic ideas of God, Jesus talk without the Christological titles, and born-again pentecostalism which belittles baptism and confirmation - all far distant from the first five of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion. The creed is no longer, as it was in the age of the Fathers, 'the wise and saving creed of the divine grace, sufficient for complete knowledge and confirmation of orthodoxy';¹ nor, as it properly is in the baptismal liturgy, the syllabus of instruction in Christianity. The retreat from the credal categories undermines the understanding of God in the face of the increasingly secular outlook of our time.

¹ The Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith
The Origin and Early Development of the Baptismal Liturgy

(i) Antecedents in Judaism.

The history of post-exilic Judaism is marked by profound contradictions. The struggle to establish an autonomous theocracy, imperfectly known to us from Haggai and Zechariah, Nehemiah and Ezra, and heroically renewed by the Maccabees, ended in the extinction of the Jewish state under Hadrian with the failure of the Bar Cocheba revolt. The formation of the Canon of Scripture - of the law, the books of Moses, early in the fourth century, of the Prophets by the end of the third century, and of the Writings, settled in regard to content, though not order, by the end of the first Christian century - served to give definition to Judaism along with the Temple liturgy, in the face of the nations of the world, and to resist assimilation. Yet even while this great corpus was being formed, its place and influence were being challenged by the Greek version, the Septuagint (LXX), made in Alexandria, in the latter part of the third century. It made its way in those synagogues, especially in the Diaspora, where Greek was spoken, and Hebrew no longer generally understood. Indeed, it opened the doors of the synagogues to Greek-speaking Gentiles; and it was in just such an environment that Christianity arose within the synagogue, and subsequently expanded in the Gentile world. Thus the formation of the Hebrew canon of the law and the Prophets, the purpose of which was to consolidate the theocratic state of Jerusalem and Judaea, had as its eventual consequence the evangelization of the Gentiles.

Within the theocratic state there emerged in the course of the second century BC both Sadducees and Pharisees. The Sadducees were largely identified with the aristocracy and with the Temple in Jerusalem. They sought to realise the holiness prescribed in the law in regard to the Temple liturgy and to the circumstances of life in Jerusalem. Elsewhere, however, they did not require the same attachment to the rule of purity, and to this extent accepted the indiscipline of the life of the ‘am ha-arez.

1 Sirach, Prologue
2 ib. cc.43-45
3 ib. cc. 46-49
6 ib. II. 664f
By contrast the Pharisees sought to extend the code of holiness to the whole of life. This entailed the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath and of the law of circumcision, of the Levitical laws in regard to tithing, to food and to male and female issues. The rules governing purity extended to the washing of hands and of utensils. In all these matters it was difficult, if not impossible, to achieve consistency, and accordingly the controversies between Shammai and Hillel include a wide range of questions. Indeed, while the Pharisees attracted severe censure in the Gospels, there is some evidence that Christians entertained some of the same scruples as the Pharisees. Thus Cephas, though at first in Antioch he was prepared to share the same table as Gentiles, subsequently separated himself from them at the insistence of some disciples ‘who came from James’. Equally Jesus - we are dealing with a text written later than Galatians - while he eventually admitted the approach of the Syrophoenician woman, declined to enter her house. The request of the centurion at Capernaum is a similar case; for it was necessary for him to approach Jesus, and the eventual healing took place at a distance from the house where the servant lay. Indeed the initial response of Jesus to his request may be read, not as an undertaking, ‘I will come and heal him’, but as a question, ‘Shall I come and heal him?’ or even as a reproach, ‘Am I to come and heal him?’ It is not too much to say therefore that the status of the Gentile at first constituted a problem for the Christian as for the Pharisee.

The solution of the problem in each case had much in common: baptism. In the case of proselyte baptism, since the devout Jew repeatedly found himself in a state of uncleanness, in which the immersion bath was required for its removal, it is not surprising that the Gentile should be regarded as being in a permanent state of uncleanness. The law of the proselyte entailed circumcision in the case of a male, the immersion bath, and the offering of sacrifice - or, where distance from the Temple made that impossible, the performance of good works. This rite was preceded by hindering and by instruction. Hindering meant asking the enquirer why he desired to become a proselyte, and giving warning of the tribulations that befall Israel. Instruction was in both the lighter and weightier commandments, the punishments attached to their infringement and the rewards for their fulfilment in the age to come. The proselyte thus became an Israelite in all respects. He was, said R.Jose, as a newborn child.

The proselyte, as one who is incorporated into Israel, is mentioned forty-three times in the Mishnah. In two instances, one a repetition of the other, the different opinions of Shammai and Hillel in regard to proselyte baptism are mentioned. The fuller account in Eduyoth 5:2 reads thus:

R.Jose reports six opinions in which the School of Shammai follow the more lenient and the School of Hillel the more stringent ruling.

1 Lev 27, Num 18, Deut 14
2 Lev 11-15
3 See especially Mk 7:2-4, Mt 23 passim
4 Gal 2:11-12
5 Mk 7:24-30, Mt 15:21-28
6 Mt 8:7. See K. Aland et al. GNT punctuation apparatus; K. Aland, SQE app. crit.; NEB (mg.)
7 B Yeb.47
8 B Yeb.46b
9 M Pes.8:8, M Eduy.5:2
5 Origin and Early Development of Baptism

The last opinion of the six concerns proselyte baptism:

*The School of Shammai says: If a man became a proselyte on the day before Passover, he may immerse himself and consume his Passover-offering in the evening. And the School of Hillel say: He that separates himself from his uncircumcision is as one that separates himself from the grave.*

The meaning of the latter comment is given by Danby in his edition of the Mishnah in a supplementary footnote: 'And needs to be sprinkled...on the third and seventh days following, before he becomes clean.' It is accordingly clear that while these Schools took issue with one another over the interpretation of the law of the proselyte, their masters did not dispute the validity of proselyte baptism itself. Thus it is evident that proselyte baptism was established in Judaism before the beginning of the Christian era and antedates Christian baptism.

(ii) Baptism in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts.

So long as Christianity remained within Judaism, there was no question of an initiatory baptismal rite. What was distinctive of Christians in the synagogue was faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and Lord. On these terms even Gentiles might be accepted, as the pericopai of the Syro-Phoenician/Canaanite woman and the centurion show. It was only with the increasing dissociation of Christians from the synagogue, and their eventual exclusion, together with growing openness towards Greek-speaking Gentiles, that the Gentile 'question' arose. Moreover, with the arising of the Gentile question there also emerged the self-conscious autonomy of the Christian Church.

In the elucidation of this matter we need to begin with Mark and Matthew. It is evident that for Matthew baptism is an institution of the risen Lord in the Apostolic Church. Before the passion there is in Matthew, as also in Mark, but little orientation towards the Gentile world, and the need for a proselyte baptismal rite is not felt. The mention of cup and baptism, in that order, in Mk 10:38-39, is figurative and refers to suffering; it has nothing to do with the Christian sacraments. But the command to make disciples of all the nations in the resurrection account, reversing the earlier command not to take the road to the Gentiles, reveals a new situation for the Church. The form of the command, attributing a trinitarian formulation to the risen Jesus, suggests that it has a history. Indeed the whole participial clause, 'baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' is absent in the pre-Nicene texts of Eusebius. It is hardly possible to resolve these textual issues in the absence of any manuscripts of Matthew containing the ending of the Gospel earlier than the Sinaiaticus and Vaticanus of the fourth

1 H. Danby (tr), The Mishnah, OUP 1933, Pes.8:8, p.148, n.4
2 e.g. Jn 16:2
3 Mt 28:16-20
4 The mention of cup and baptism, in that order, in Mk 10:38-39, is figurative and refers to suffering; it has nothing to do with the Christian sacraments.
5 Mt 28:20
6 Mt 10:5
7 Mt 28:19 RV
8 See Aland, SQE, ad loc. See also Tertullian, adv. Marc. IV, 43.9
century. Nevertheless, the received ending of Matthew seems to fall within the period of the history of an initiatory baptismal rite in the Church.

There is nothing in Luke by way of foreshadowing an initiatory baptismal rite, even though the whole Gospel, from its dedication onwards, has the Gentile world in view. In the final sections of the Gospel devoted to the passion and resurrection Luke relies mainly on a non-Marcan source, and uses Mark only in a supplementary way. Accordingly in the last chapter Luke has a different thesis, in terms of the fulfilment of the Scriptures. But with the Acts of the Apostles it is a different matter. In Acts Luke uses a multiplicity of sources. With these sources there is also a multiplicity of evidence in regard to an initiatory baptismal rite.

Thus there is at least one case of conversion without mention of baptism, namely that of the proconsul Sergius Paulus at Paphos. In the case of the jailor at Philippi who believed in the Lord Jesus, baptism is mentioned along with the washing of the wounds of Paul and Silas incurred by flogging. At the primordial conversion of a Gentile, that of Cornelius, the Holy Spirit is given before baptism. This sequence also occurs in the first account of Paul's conversion, where baptism is again coupled with the taking of food. Twice baptism is followed by the laying on of hands. In Samaria converts are first baptized by Philip, and then subsequently receive the laying on of hands from Peter and John for the gift of the Holy Spirit; and secondly at Ephesus the disciples of John receive from Paul first baptism, and then the laying on of hands for the illapse of the Holy Spirit. Again, the climax to the scene on the occasion of Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem is in a very precise formulation: 'Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost'. Two points about this text need to be noticed. First, although the sermon is addressed to the men of Judaea and all that dwell in Jerusalem (ver. 14), the final exhortation has in view a wider audience, including Gentiles: 'For to you is the promise, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto him'. Secondly, Luke's text in Codex Bezae (D) is assimilated to this formulation in the Samaria and Ephesus episodes just mentioned. How far back this text-type goes is uncertain, possibly to the second century. But it is certain that the D scribe read into his text the liturgical practice that was familiar to him. A similar expansion of Luke's text in the light of later liturgical practice is found in the story of the

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1 See the end-paper charts in Aland and Aland, The Text of the New Testament
2 Was Matthew following Mark? The question of the ending of Mark at 16:8 is similarly incapable of resolution. In favour of the view that Matthew had the completed text of Mark before him is the fact of the encounter of the women with the risen Jesus at Mt.28:9-10. This is otiose in Matthew since Jesus merely reiterates the command which the women had received from the angel at the tomb, and which they already were on their way to fulfil. But such an encounter was essential for Mark, in order to overcome the flight of the women from the tomb.
3 Ac 13:12
4 Ac 16:33, v.34 also refers to a meal. This suggests that the food laws, distinguishing between clean and unclean, Jew and Gentile, have been annulled by baptism.
5 Ac 10:44-48
6 Ac 9:17-19
7 Ac 8:14-17
8 Ac 19:1-6
9 Ac 2:38 RV
10 Ac 2:39
11 Ac 8:12,15f; 19:5f. D (See Nestle-Aland. 25)
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**Origin and Early Development of Baptism**

conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, when the baptismal interrogation and response are found in many later uncial and minuscule manuscripts.¹

Thus Luke does not present a systematic picture of an initiatory baptismal rite, but rather reflects the diversity of his sources. Nevertheless, the expansion of the Church into the Gentile world is marked by a growing insistence on baptism as the mode of entry into the Church.

**Baptism in the Johannine writings.**

In contrast with the Synoptic Gospels, there is in the Fourth Gospel, as Austin Farrer once observed, a great deal of water about, all of it related to life - or death. The first point to notice is that the baptism of John has been transformed. It is no longer a baptism for repentance - an alien concept in the Fourth Gospel. Instead it is for witness - a central concept in the Fourth Gospel. In consequence, the baptism of John is brought into close association with the baptism of Jesus, since John bears witness to Jesus, while Jesus bears witness pre-eminently to the truth. Accordingly, Jesus baptized more disciples than John,² and indeed 'all men came to him'.³ The idea however, that Jesus baptized inspired the editorial interpolation although Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples,⁴ by one who was more familiar with the Synoptic tradition than with the Johannine idiom of water.

Nevertheless, the association of baptism with the risen Lord in the era of the resurrection, familiar to us from Matthew, is also made by the Fourth Evangelist. John 20, as is generally acknowledged, is made up of independent pericopai.⁵ One of these is the manifestation of the risen Lord to the disciples on the evening of the first day of the week.⁶ He delivers to them a message of peace, and 'breathing'⁷ on them says 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained'. There is nothing in the course of the Gospel which elucidates the thought here; but the probability is that the terminology, peace, spirit, forgiveness of sins, is drawn from the baptismal practice of the Church.

There is one more episode that has baptismal overtones, namely the giving of sight to the man born blind.⁸ Anointing, with clay made from spittle, preceded washing, which was followed by 'enlightenment'.⁹ The sequence belongs to the tradition eventually embodied in the East Syrian baptismal liturgy,¹⁰ - a tradition on which the sequence in John 20: 22-23 is also modelled.¹¹

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1. Ac 8:37, app. crit. GNT¹; and see Metzger. *A textual commentary on the GNT*. ad loc.
2. Jn 4:1
3. Jn 3:26
4. Jn 4:12
5. Except in the case of Jn 20:26-29, which presupposes 24-25
6. Jn 20:19-23
7. Ἐνέφυσάσθην. See Gen 2:7, LXX. Does the Evangelist imply the re-birth of man in baptism?
8. Jn 9:1-7
9. ib. vv.6-7
10. See below, p.113ff
11. Two other texts are assigned by some commentators to 'ecclesiastical redaction', namely the words hudatos kai in 3:5, and 19:34 'and straightway there came out blood and water' (RV). In the former
These intimations of an initiatory baptismal rite in the background of the Fourth Gospel receive further support in the first of the Johannine Epistles. The Johannine idiom is difficult to handle, because it was developed in opposition to a form of gnosticism that cannot be precisely defined. In the Fourth Gospel it is used to set forth afresh the old Gospel tradition, with its history and testimonia. In the Epistles the idiom stands on its own, so to speak, in the setting out of the pateres in the face of gnosticism. Thus, to say that Jesus Christ ‘came by water and blood; not with the water only but with the water and with the blood’ means that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was revealed both in his baptism and in his crucifixion. This kerygmatic assertion is aimed at gnostics who maintained that Jesus was acclaimed from heaven in his baptism, but abandoned in his death. These kerygmatic facts, asserted by the writer, are however present in the reader in virtue of the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist, mediated by the Spirit: ‘There are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one.’ It is in this light that we need to understand the earlier references to anointing:

And ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and ye know all things. I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and because no lie is of the truth.

And again:

And as for you, the anointing which ye received from him abideth in you, and ye need not that any one teach you; but as his anointing teacheth you concerning all things, and is true, and is no lie, and even as it taught you, ye abide in him.

Since water and blood refer to the sacramental rites of baptism and the eucharist, the reference to anointing must equally be sacramental. Thus the Fourth Gospel and the first of the Johannine Epistles cohere in disclosing an initiation rite in the sequence known to us in the later East Syrian rites of anointing, baptism and the eucharist.

In the latter case, it is suggested, ‘water and’ has been interpolated to secure a reference to baptism by ‘water and the Spirit’, for admittedly the whole pericope seems to depend on the antithesis between flesh and Spirit. In the latter case the intention of the words is to root the Christian mysteries in the death of Christ. The weakness in both cases lies in reliance on a conjectural emendation of the text, without manuscript support.

1 1 Jn 5:6
2 Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani. Mk 15:34 RV
3 1 Jn 5:8
4 1 Jn 2:20-21 RV
5 1 Jn 2:27 RV. See the punctuation apparatus in GNT ad loc.
6 This fact must be a pointer to the place of origin of the Fourth Gospel.
(iv) **Baptism in the Pauline Epistles, other Deutero-Pauline Epistles, and in the Apostolic Fathers.**

The Synoptic Gospels and Acts, together with the Fourth Gospel and the first of the Johannine Epistles, which enable us to trace the development of an initiatory baptismal rite, belong to the period of the separation of the church from the synagogue. When we turn to the Epistles of St Paul, we are dealing with documents that originated at an earlier date than that of the written Gospels. In them, however, it is not a matter of the growing separation of the church from the synagogue, for the Pauline churches seem to have been founded independently from the first. Nevertheless the over-riding question is of the relationship of Jews and Gentiles, and in the circles in which Paul moved there seems to have been an initial assumption that proselyte baptism was to be required of Gentile converts. Paul, it seems, had to reconcile himself to this practice, but in the end he came to accept it whole-heartedly, yet for his own reasons.

Not only do we hear nothing of the synagogue in Paul's letters, but the Judaism that confronted him seems to have been of a heterodox character. The so-called Judaizers who opposed him were certainly Jews. 'Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I.' On the other hand they entertained heterodox views of anthropogeny and eschatology. Accordingly, the Genesis tradition of Adam was reworked, and the spiritual (body) was said to be first, then that which was natural. Suffering and death were a defeat, and the resurrection is past already in that they (St Paul's opponents) already have become rich and already reigned. There is a radical dichotomy of spirit and flesh, and they glory in the gifts of the Spirit.

Paradoxically, access to this spiritual state appears to have been by the rite of proselyte baptism. This is at the root of Paul's tirade against these 'illuminati' in Galatians. They compel Gentiles to be circumcised 'only that [they] may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ.' Circumcision certainly accompanied baptism. Paul for his part rejected circumcision on the grounds that it placed a man under an obligation to keep the law as a whole. But he was not content at the outset merely to detach circumcision from proselyte baptism. On the contrary he was dismissive of proselyte baptism as a whole: 'I thank God I baptized none of you' - then follow some exceptions brought to mind perhaps by his anamnesis - 'for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel' The combination of spiritual boasting and proselyte baptism led to the abuse of baptism for the dead.

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1 2 Cor 11:22 RV
2 1 Cor 15:46
3 The reverse boast is stated by Paul in Gal 6:14
4 See 1 Cor 4:7-13
5 1 Cor 12-14
6 Gal 6:12
7 Cp.Gal 3:27
8 Gal 5:3
9 1 Cor 1:14-17
10 1 Cor 15:29-34
But it was one thing to oppose proselyte baptism, another to cause it to cease. Thus he had to put up with the fact that they were baptized 'as many of you as were baptized into Christ,' thereby not including himself, 'did put on Christ'.

Of course proselyte baptism was not the invention of Paul's opponents in Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians. They took it over from Judaism because it was a ready made solution to the problem of what to do about converts from paganism. Paul for his part resolved his own critical attitude towards the practice in two ways. First, he invested the rite with the kerygma - that is to say, baptism effected not just cleansing, but the forgiveness of sins through the death of Christ; and secondly, baptism was not only for Gentiles, but for Jews and Gentiles alike.

Are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life.

The question arises of what became of circumcision in such a Christianized form of baptism. The Epistle to the Colossians contains a hint about its transformation in what is admittedly an obscure and difficult passage:

In [Christ] ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead.

Another recent interpretation of this passage sheds further light on its meaning:

In him also you were circumcised, not in a physical sense, but by the stripping away of the old nature, which is Christ's way of circumcision. For you were buried with him in baptism, and in that baptism you were also raised to life with him through your faith in the active power of God, who raised him from the dead.

Thus circumcision was simply abandoned as the significance of the baptismal bath was more fully explored.

While this reconstruction must remain tentative on account of the sparseness of the evidence, there is no doubt that in the later epistles baptism emerges as the essential initiatory liturgical rite of entry into the Church. In Ephesians it coheres with the fundamentals of religion:

There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all.

In 1 Peter baptism is vindicated from the law, in the story of the flood, through which Noah and his company were saved. In Hebrews baptism belongs to 'the first

1 Gal 3:27. The verb for 'baptize' here is in the 2nd person plural.
2 Rom 6:3-4. The use of the verb form in the 1st person plural is emphatic throughout this passage. Here then Paul stands in line with his readers.
3 Col 2:11-12 RV
4 ib. REB
5 Eph 4:4-6 RV
6 1 Pet 3:20-22
Origin and Early Development of Baptism

principles of Christ' (RV) or 'the rudiments of Christianity' (REB). These are listed as repentance, faith, 'the teachings of baptisms and of laying on of hands', of resurrection and judgment. The plural 'baptisms' is probably to be explained as referring to Jewish as well as Christian lustration, and perhaps also Gnostic. The mention of the laying on of hands is further evidence of the complex form of the initiatory rite of the Church from the earliest period. In each of these epistles, Ephesians, 1 Peter and Hebrews, the Church in view is a mixed community of both Jews and Gentiles.

Later than these is the situation in the longer ending of Mark, in which baptism is said to be necessary to salvation:

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.

Thus the New Testament affords fragmentary but coherent evidence of the development in the Church of an initiatory baptismal liturgy that had its origins in the synagogue. What is new is its orientation in the risen Christ.

It is important, however, not to isolate the New Testament evidence in exploring the evidence for the early history of Christian baptism. And first in importance outside the limits of the New Testament is the Didache, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The section on baptism runs as follows in the translation of J.B. Lightfoot:

But concerning baptism, thus shall ye baptize. Having first received all these things, baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit inn living (running) water.

2. But if thou hast not living water, then baptize in other water; and if thou art not able in cold, then in warm.

3. But if thou hast neither, then pour water on the head thrice in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

4. But before the baptism let him that baptizeth and him that is baptized fast, and any others also who are able; and thou shalt order him that is baptized to fast a day or two before.

The text is known from a single complete Greek manuscript, written in 1056, and recovered in 1873. It displays many similarities with the Gospel according to Matthew, and was the earliest of the manuals of Church Order. It was highly regarded among the Fathers by Eusebius and Athanasius, and was one of the sources of the Apostolic Constitutions. But increasingly its provisions were inevitably antiquated.

Nevertheless they shed light on the Church of the age of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. The phrase 'All these things' in 7:1 refers to the way of life and the way of death (1-6). These correspond to the instruction in the weightier and lighter matters of the law that precedes Jewish proselyte baptism, and so form an early, if not

1 Heb 6:1-2
2 So A Oepke, TDNT I 545
3 Mk 16:9-20 - 'dating perhaps from the first half of the second century' (B.M. Metzger, A textual commentary on the Greek New Testament p.125)
4 Mk 16:16 RV
5 J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, one volume ed. 1891 et seq., p.232
6 See the edition of W. Rordorf and A. Tuilié, pp.111-128, for other witnesses.
the earliest, indication of the catechumenate. Baptism by the trinitarian formula found in Matthew 28 was to be in living water - a further instance of the influence of proselyte baptism. In 7:2-3 there is a change from the 2nd person plural to the 2nd person singular, 'But if thou hast not living water...,,' and so a different source from that of 7:1 is evident. The prescriptions of other water if not living water, of warm if not cold, and of pouring water if necessary upon the head, is like the collection of rabbinical opinions in the Mishnah. Hence the indebtedness of the church to the synagogue is felt here. On the other hand the requirement of fasting in 7:4 on the part of the baptizer and the baptizand, as well as of others, is the earliest statement of the discipline that was to become a regular feature in Christian baptism. Further, in this section for the first time the baptizer is distinguished from the baptized. That is to say, Christian baptism is not self-administered. But whereas in Jewish proselyte baptism there had to be two witnesses, although the proselyte immersed himself, in Christian baptism the 'witness' had an active and not just a passive role. In other words, Christian baptism was an authoritative act of the Church through its leiturgoi.

This point emerges again in Ignatius, in the Epistle to the Smyrnaens: 'It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast.' Elsewhere, among the fragmentary notices of baptism in the Apostolic Fathers, the suggestion appears of the objective efficacy of baptism. 'Let your baptism' Ignatius writes to Polycarp, 'abide with you as your shield' Baptism is also called a seal. These brief notices afford but glimpses into the initiatory baptismal rite of the Church. In this respect they are like the earliest papyrus texts of the NT. They are witness to a tradition that is as yet largely hidden from us.

(v) The baptismal liturgy in the Apologists and Cyprian.

But, turning from the Apostolic Fathers to the Apologists, it is a different matter. Here in the latter half of the second century we encounter, in Justin and Tertullian, the first accounts of the Church's baptismal liturgy.

Justin was not the first apologist for the Christian religion to the Roman world. He had a predecessor half a century earlier in St Luke. St Luke addressed his works to 'the most excellent Theophilus', of equestrian ranks like the procurators of Judaea Felix and Festus; Justin, to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, his sons, and the Senate and people of Rome. Justin devotes the bulk of his first Apology to the refutation of accusations made against Christians, and to the vindication of their belief in Christ and the character of their life and worship. Only towards the end does he give an account of Christian worship. He gives in fact two accounts of the eucharist, the

1 A few NT texts, with the verb in the middle voice, might be read in this sense, e.g. Ac 22:16, 1 Cor 6:11, 10:2
2 I Smyr, 8:26. Lightfoot's translation
3 Agape
4 I Pol 6:2
5 Hermas S. 9:16.3-4; see also 2 Clem 7:6, 8:6
6 Lk 1:1; Ac 23:26, 24:3, 26:25
7 1 Apol 1:1
second of which is of the regular Sunday liturgy. The first occurs in connection with his explanation of Christian initiation, and is the earliest account of the Easter Vigil. His explanation is sufficiently full to disarm suspicion and misunderstanding among the adherents of non-Christian religious practices, and to gain respect for the Christian religion.

**Catechumenate**

But I will explain how we also dedicated ourselves to God when we were made new through Christ, lest by passing it over I should seem in any way unfair in my explanation. As many as are persuaded and believe that the things are true which are taught by us and said to be true, and promise that they can live accordingly - they are taught to pray and to ask God with fasting forgiveness of their former sins, and we pray and fast together with them.

**Initiation**

Then they are brought by us to a place where there is water, and born again with a new birth even as we ourselves were born again. For in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, do they then receive the washing in water. For Christ said, Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven... And this washing is called enlightenment, because those who learn these things have their understanding enlightened...

**Synaxis**

But after having thus washed him that is persuaded and has given his assent, we bring him to where the brethren as they are called are gathered, to make earnest prayers in common for ourselves and for the newly enlightened, and for all others everywhere, that they may be counted worthy after we have learned the truth by our works also to be found right livers and keepers of the commandments, that we may be saved with the eternal salvation. We salute each other with a kiss when our prayers are ended.

**Eucharist**

(a) Offertory

Afterwards is brought to the ruler of the brethren bread and a cup of water and (mixed) wine.

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1 See below, p.161ff
(b) Eucharistic prayer

And he takes it and offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at length that we have received these favours from him. And at the end of his prayers and thanksgiving the whole people present responds, saying amen. (Now the word Amen in the Hebrew language signifies So be it.)

(c) Communion

Then after the ruler has given thanks and all the people responded, the deacons (as we call them) allow every one of those present to partake of the bread and wine and water for which thanks have been given; and for those absent they take away a portion.¹

It will be seen that the catechumenate has a double aspect, namely moral formation and doctrinal instruction, i.e. in the things that are true and are taught by us. The need for moral formation in converts from paganism resulted eventually in the extension of the catechumenate to a period of years. The doctrinal instruction was essentially in the content of the trinitarian baptismal formula. At the same time converts were taught to pray, for Christian prayer was different from any other kind of prayer; and prayer was in turn to be accompanied, as in the traditional Jewish discipline, by fasting in order to give urgency to it.² Repentance was the fruit of these habits. The prayer and fasting of the convert, moreover, were supported by the prayer and fasting of the local church - a point that is already noticed in the Didache.

In regard to baptism, there was no question at this date of a baptismal font.³ But baptism took place, as we shall see from Tertullian, where there was sufficient water for bathing, clearly in the absence of the congregation. The baptismal formula expressed the theology of the times, and so went beyond the Pauline formula of baptism ‘into Christ’. The first act of the newly baptized was to join in the prayer of the faithful, and this prayer was sealed by the kiss.⁴ The baptismal liturgy is completed by the eucharistic oblation and communion.

It will be noticed that in this account of baptism Justin quotes the words of Christ: 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' The reference is to the words of Christ to Nicodemus.⁵ New Testament manuscripts, however, are unanimous in reading, 'Except ye be born again of water and the Spirit ...',⁶ and so Justin was perhaps quoting from memory. Now, although he does not mention the gift of the Holy Spirit here, he makes much of this gift in the Dialogue with Trypho. Trypho was a learned Jew, and with him accordingly the argument ranged over the meaning of Scripture. The crucial passage at issue between them was Isaiah 11:2: 'and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of'...
wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord; and the spirit of the fear of God will fill him." There were two stages in the argument. First, Trypho raised the objection that if Christ were pre-existent, how should he come to be filled by those powers at his baptism, 'as if he were in need of them'? Justin met this objection by saying that in the past kings and prophets had received those gifts, some one power, some another. But they had rested upon Christ, in the sense of ceasing from Israel with him, so that thereafter no prophets have arisen. The second stage in the argument is that Christ was baptized, as he was born and crucified, 'for the race of men.' So Justin joins a second quotation from Scripture to Isaiah 11, namely Psalms 68:18: 'He ascended on high, he led captivity captive, he gave gifts to the sons of men.' These gifts of the Spirit of God are now bestowed upon those who believe in Christ, both men and women. 'It was foretold' Justin says, 'that after his ascension into heaven Christ should rescue us from our former errors, and give us gifts.' These gifts are bestowed upon those who are 'enlightened through the name of this same Christ.' In view of the close and long association of the text of Isaiah 11 with the Western baptismal liturgy, it seems a reasonable deduction that in Justin's time the gift of the Spirit at baptism by unction and/or the imposition of hands was already established.

Tertullian's treatise On Baptism, written at the beginning of the third century, while he was still in the communion of the Catholic Church, is the most detailed exposition in the pre-Nicene centuries. It was written for the benefit of those under instruction for baptism, as also of those who had already undergone baptism. Its purpose was to distinguish baptism on the one hand from the baptisms of heretics, and on the other hand from the purificatory rites of the Jews. Its contents may also be supplemented by notices in other writings of his.

The water of baptism is the same as the waters in creation 'The species is one.' But as then the Spirit of God came upon and sanctified the waters in creation, so in baptism 'all waters, when God is invoked, acquire the sacred significance of conveying sanctity'. This sanctifying power of the baptismal water is necessary, since sin, served in the flesh, begins in the Spirit. Thus 'the spirit [of man] is in those waters corporally washed, while the flesh is in those same waters spiritually cleansed.'

It is not the case, however, 'that the Holy Spirit is given to us in the water, but in the water we are made clean by the action of the angel,' and made ready for the Holy

1 The last clause is in the LXX.
2 Dial 87
3 ib. 88
4 Both the Heb. and Gk texts of this verse have 'received gifts'. It refers of course to the king victorious in battle receiving tribute.
5 Dial 87f
6 ib. 39
7 Dial 39
8 The evidence from the Dial. w. Trypho is not included in E.C. Whitaker, The documents of the baptismal liturgy.
10 De Bap. 15
11 De Bap. 4 ET E. Evans.
12 A reference to Jn 5:4,7. See GNT app.crit.
Sins are first cancelled in response to the renunciation of the devil and his pomp and his angels, and to faith in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. After the baptismal washing and emergence from the water, there follows anointing with the blessed unction. Our Lord obtained his title, that is of Christ, from his chrismation with the Holy Spirit. 'So also in our case, the unction flows upon the flesh, but turns to spiritual profit, just as in the baptism itself there is an act that touches the flesh, that we are immersed in water, but a spiritual effect, that we are set free from sins.' And 'Next follows the imposition of the hand in benediction, inviting and welcoming the Holy Spirit.' Finally, at the ensuing eucharistic liturgy, the administration of the eucharist included a mixture of milk and honey.

The place for the baptismal bath was 'in the sea or in a pond, a river or a fountain, a cistern or a tub.' As for the time, the preferred time for baptism was Easter, but it was not the only time. 'The Passover provides the day of most solemnity for baptism, for then was accomplished our Lord's passion, and into it we are baptized... After that, Pentecost is a most auspicious period for arranging baptisms, for during it our Lord's resurrection was several times made known among the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit first given...' Moreover, Tertullian adds, the day of Pentecost 'is in a special sense a festal day.' 'For all that,' he concludes, 'every day is a Lord's day: any hour, any season, is suitable for baptism. If there is a difference of solemnity, it makes no difference to the grace.'

In regard to the recipients of baptism, in spite of the examples of immediate baptism in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch and of St Paul, Tertullian favoured the 'deferment of baptism... in accordance with each person's character and attitude, and even age.' Especially does this consideration apply in the case of children. 'Let them come' he says, 'when they are growing up, when they are learning, when they are being taught what they are coming to: let them be made Christians when they have become competent to know Christ.' 'All' he adds, 'who understand what a burden [or: how weighty a matter] baptism is will have more fear of obtaining it than of its postponement.' The preparation for baptism, meanwhile, is to be marked by fervent prayer, fasting, kneeling, the keeping of vigils, and the confession of former sins.

The question of who should give baptism is also discussed. Tertullian's explanation rests on the understanding of order in the Church. This is differentiated in terms of the bishop (summus sacerdos), presbyter, deacon and layman. Like Ignatius,
5  Origin and Early Development of Baptism

Tertullian insists that nothing should be done without the authority of the bishop, for it is this that secures peace. The historical context of Catholic order is gnosticism, with its self-appointed leaders, each with his or her own form of gnosis. In ch.1 Tertullian referred to a woman of the Cainite sect who made a point of opposing baptism altogether; but here in ch.17 he attacks the pseudepigraphal Acts of Paul, in which a woman, Thecla, sought to baptize herself. Thus, the giving of baptism belongs to the bishop. On his authority presbyters or deacons might baptize. Indeed, even laymen have the right to baptize in circumstances of dire emergency: but it should be remembered that episcopatus aemulatio, claiming to be the equal of the bishop, ‘is the mother of schisms’; so laymen ‘must not arrogate to themselves the office of the bishop’. Tertullian does not define what constitutes an emergency in which a layman might or should baptize, or in such a case how much of the baptismal catechesis and liturgy should be given.

Tertullian was born in Carthage, and after a period in Rome returned to Carthage. Fifty years later, St Cyprian bishop of Carthage reveals in his letters a baptismal liturgy that conforms to the rite which is the basis of Tertullian’s treatise. Thus there is an initial blessing of the water. The baptismal interrogations that follow are extended beyond belief in God the Father, his Son Christ, and the Holy Spirit, to include mention of the Church: Dost thou believe in the remission of sins and eternal life through the Church? Cyprian associated baptism with the washing away of sins, and so he explains that it is required then that the water should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may wash away by its baptism the sins of the man that is baptized. Subsequently to the baptism, the baptized is anointed with chrism and receives the imposition of the hand for the gift of the Holy Spirit: ‘It is also necessary that he who is baptized should be anointed: so that having received the chrism, that is the anointing, he may be the anointed of God and have in him the grace of Christ.’ ‘Those who are baptized’ he says again, ‘are brought to the prelates of the Church, and by our prayers and by the imposition of the hand obtain the Holy Spirit, and are perfected with the Lord’s seal.’

Cyprian consistently distinguishes between baptism and the gift of the Holy Spirit by the imposition of the hand, ‘Men can only be fully sanctified and sons of God if they are born of both sacraments; since the Scripture says, ‘unless a man is born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter the Kingdom of God’. The distinction is founded upon the creation narrative: ‘a man is born not by imposition of the hand, when he receives the Holy Spirit, but in baptism. Thus he is born first, and then receives the Holy Spirit. This is what happened with the first man, Adam. God fashioned him, then breathed into his face the breath of life. The Spirit cannot be received, unless the person is already there to receive it.’

Cyprian differs from Tertullian over infant baptism. Tertullian was opposed to it. But Cyprian saw in it a deep significance: ‘If remission of sins is granted to even the worst

1  CSEL III.2. Ep 70.1  
2  Ep 69.7 (tr. E.C. Whitaker, Documents)  
3  Ep 70.1 (ib.)  
4  Ep 70.3 (ib.)  
5  Ep 73.9 (ib.)  
7  Ep 74.7, (tr. Bettenson).
offenders, how much less ought an infant to be excluded from baptism. In his case the sins remitted are another's ['the contagion of the ancient death], not his own.¹ But while he conceded infant baptism, he repudiated baptism outside the Church, since the baptismal faith was defective. Schismatics are not re-baptized, but baptized in the Church. This was not a matter of narrow-mindedness or unbending rigorism; it was a question, as we shall see, of the integrity of the Catholic Church.

¹ Ep 64.5, (ib.)
### Origin and Early Development of Baptism

**Synopsis: The baptismal liturgy in the Apologists and Cyprian**

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(vi) The Jewish and gnostic environment of the early baptismal liturgy

The origin and early development of the Church's baptismal liturgy may be seen in perspective when it is compared with similar developments in Judaism and gnosis.

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in AD70 brought the Temple liturgy finally to an end. It was however succeeded by the re-organisation of Judaism on a scholarly basis first under Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai at Jamnia. He was followed by Gamaliel II, and then by R. Akiba ben Joseph and R. Ishmael ben Elisha. The written law from Exodus to Deuteronomy was studied and applied with reference to the rules of Halakah, the unwritten law. This Jewish revival seemed to be brought to an end by the second Jewish war under Hadrian (132-135). Thereafter Jerusalem, re-named Aelia Capitolina, was rebuilt as a Roman colonia, and a temple of Jupiter was built on the site of the old Jewish Temple. Jews were forbidden to enter the city on pain of death, and circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals of the calendar were also made capital offences, along with the study and teaching of the law. The severity of these restrictions was however mitigated after the death of Hadrian; and the work of earlier scholars laid the foundations for the compilation of the Mishnah under Judah the Patriarch in Galilee in the latter part of the second century.

The breach between Judaism and Christianity was now complete, and little reference to the debate was henceforth made on the Jewish side. The law was now discussed without reference to historical considerations, and thus the Temple liturgy was treated as though it continued to be the centre of the nation's life. In consequence proselyte baptism continued to be regarded as consisting of circumcision, baptism and sacrifice, although the offering of sacrifice had ceased with the fall of Jerusalem.

Rabbi Judah drew attention to the correspondence between the reception of the proselyte and God's covenant with Israel. The Israelites were circumcised before leaving Egypt; this was deduced from Joshua 5:2, 'Circumcise again the children of Israel the second time'. They were baptized in the wilderness - deduced from Exodus 19:10, 'Go unto the people and sanctify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments.' And the covenant was sealed with sacrifice, as in Exodus 24:8, 'And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold, the blood of the covenant.' By these same means, therefore, circumcision, baptism and sacrifice, the proselyte entered the covenant of Israel. At the moment of his reception he was like a new born child. It made no difference if the act of offering an oblation was in suspense.

The Judaism that could produce the monumental works of the Mishnah and later of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds was by no means in decline. Such a reconstruction indeed served the needs of a people that was finally dispersed from the city and the land, and was now permanently exiled as far as Babylon in the East and throughout the cities of the Roman Empire in the West. Living in daily contact with the Gentile world, they needed the codified teaching of Judaism in the synagogues to maintain their identity. How many Gentiles themselves became proselytes in this age is unknowable.
The Catholic Church of the pre-Nicene era soon came to understand itself over against Judaism. The corrosive influence of gnostics, however, was more insidious. Gnosis appears to have had its roots in the first century, even as an interpretation of the apostolic kerygma. It flourished from the second to the fourth centuries. It eventually lost ground before the coherent, majestic and uplifting theology of Eastern and Western catholicism.

The modern appreciation of gnostics was formerly largely dependent on the polemical writings of the Fathers, such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Epiphanius. However justifiable their strictures may be, based on direct experience, gnostics has nevertheless become better known on its own terms through the recovery of ancient gnostic manuscripts, especially at Nag Hammadi, near ancient Luxor in Egypt.¹

While it is now possible, in the light of this evidence, to see the character of gnostics more clearly it remains difficult to make generalisations about it. It was not without its insights in being life-seeking and world-forsaking. It was however speculative and often arbitrary and incoherent, with as many systems as there were teachers.

There are no systematic or detailed accounts of gnostic rites. These are known only from scattered references in gnostic writings, often elusive in meaning because of the fundamental ambiguity about matter in gnostic thought. The recently discovered Gospel of Philip among the Nag Hammadi texts has, however, enhanced our knowledge of gnostic sacramental rites. At one point it does indeed appear to coordinate the sacraments:

*The Lord did everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber.*²

The 'bridal chamber' perhaps refers to a rite for the dying - unless it refers to the state to which the dying are destined. Whether 'redemption' refers to a distinctive rite is even less clear.

It may be worth setting out here what the Gospel of Philip says about baptism and chrism simply in order to get a foothold in this strange and vague and shadowy world. Baptism appears to be both an initiation and also perfecting:

*Those [who will be baptized go] down into the water. [But Christ, by coming] out (of the water), will consecrate it, [so that] they who have [received baptism] in his name [may be perfect]. For he said, "[Thus] we should fulfil all righteousness."³*

*Those who say they will die first and then rise are in error. If they do not first receive the resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing. So also when speaking about baptism they say, "Baptism is a great thing", because if people receive it they will live.*⁴

But although much is claimed for baptism, it appears to be subordinate to chrism. Thus Philip says:

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3. ib. p.143 (ref. Mt 3:15)
4. ib. p.144
It is from the olive tree that we get the chrism, and from the chrism, the resurrection ... The chrism is superior to baptism, for it is from the word "chrism" that we have been called "Christians", certainly not because of the word "baptism". And it is because of the chrism that "the Christ" has his name. For the Father anointed the Son, and the Son anointed the apostles, and the apostles anointed us. He who has been anointed possesses everything. He possesses the resurrection, the light, the cross, the Holy Spirit.¹

A similar sacramental scheme is to be found in another document from Nag Hammadi, namely A Valentinian Exposition (XI, 2). The exposition is of the mystery of creation and redemption, and is followed by fragmentary statements on anointing (to trample upon all the power of the Devil) and baptism (a 'first baptism' for the forgiveness of sins) and the eucharist.²

It is not very likely that the Catholic Church in the pre-Nicene period would have borrowed from gnostic rites in any major way. On the contrary the fragmentary and discrepant references to the Sacraments in these gnostic documents betray dependence upon the liturgical tradition of the Church, to which a gnostic re-interpretation has been given.

¹ ib. p.144
² The Nag Hammadi Library (XI.2), 2nd ed. pp.440-442
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

(i) Two main lines of tradition

The baptismal liturgy in the East exhibits two main lines of tradition, both of which have their roots in Christian antiquity. In one line of tradition chrismation and the imposition of the hand for the gift of the Holy Spirit follow the baptismal bath, so that the sequence is baptism, chrismation, the oblation and Communion. In the other line of tradition chrismation and the imposition of the hand for the gift of the Holy Spirit precede the baptismal bath, so that the sequence is chrismation, baptism, the oblation and communion. For the Western Christian, accustomed to the former tradition, it is tempting to regard the latter as aberrant. But it is as old as the former, and equally as deserving of respect.

The difference in sequence in these two ritual traditions should not mask for us their theological unity. A man in Christ is a new creature\(^1\) or a new creation.\(^2\) This recreation is brought about analogously with man’s creation. The Spirit moved over the face of the waters to produce light and life.\(^3\) Equally, man was made from the dust and God breathed into him the breath of life.\(^4\) Regeneration and fulfilment with the Holy Spirit are the constant motifs of the baptismal liturgies.

The parallel liturgical traditions are illustrated in the Church Orders.

(ii) The Church Orders

The Church Orders flourished in the East in the third, fourth and fifth centuries. Their earliest forbear was the Didache, if not indeed the Sermon on the Mount with its re-interpretation of the second table of the Decalogue and the duties of almsgiving, prayer and fasting.\(^5\) The latest descendant was the Testamentum Domini, extant now in a Syriac version. The ‘apogee’ of them all was the Apostolic Constitutions.\(^6\) Incorporated into the latter are the Didascalia Apostolorum and the Apostolic

---

1  2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15
2  Gen 1
3  Gen 2:7
4  Mt 5:21-48, 6:1-18
5  Les Constitutions Apostoliques, ed. M. Metzger, t.I. SC 320 p.32
Tradition or Diataxeis from the third century, as well as the Didache. The conformity of Apostolic Tradition to this Eastern genre creates a strong presumption of its Eastern provenance.

The common concern of these Church Orders is the rites, orders, institutions, practices and discipline of the Church, with insistence upon continuity from the time of the Apostles. Their purpose is to regulate the life of the Church at a time when the Church was increasingly conscious of its ecumenical expansion, and before the emergence of the great sees exercising provincial authority. They were Greek in origin, but when Greek ceased to be readily understood they were translated into versions, Latin, Sahidic, Syriac and others, and in this respect were like the versions of the Greek Scriptures. It remains an open question whether we are to think of an author or compiler of these Church Orders in terms of an individual or school. Moreover since local churches had a life of their own, these Church Orders would gain acceptance, and survive, only if their function was to co-ordinate rather than to impose. These Church Orders, then, represent the corporate life of the churches, rather than personal idiosyncrasies.

Among these Church Orders it is Apostolic Tradition (or Diataxeis) and Didascalia Apostolorum, both from the third century, which illustrate the two main lines of tradition in the baptismal liturgy. The home of Apostolic Tradition was Egypt, and of Didascalia Apostolorum Syria or East Syria.

(iii) Apostolic Tradition and the Sacramentary of Serapion

The Apostolic Tradition, ascribed to Hippolytus, presents the student with the most complex problems. No text of the source document exists. On the other hand there exists a range of derived and related documents, in Latin, Sahidic, Bohairic, Arabic, Ethiopic and Syriac, as well as some Greek fragments. Of these documents the oldest is the Latin version of the fifth or sixth century. Next in importance is the Sahidic version, known from two manuscripts, the earlier of which was copied in 1006 from a text written in the eighth century. The Syriac version is contained in Testamentum Domini, which was translated from a Greek text in the seventh century. Other versions belong to a wide spread of dates from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Modern writers in this field of study have relied principally on the Latin text, supplementing it from the other versions. J.M. Hanssens, however, refrained from printing a 'text' of Hippolytus, and in his second volume set out a synopsis of the Latin, Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions, the relevant portions of Testamentum Domini, the Canons of Hippolytus, and Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions, together with some other secondary and subsidiary text materials.

1 Hanssens,DTOC, DE
2 Hanssens, DE p.30
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

This is not the place to delve into the question of integrity, dependence, provenance and dating of these texts. But an important point should be taken from Hanssens' handling of these texts, viz. that they should be read synoptically. Thus, the Latin version should be read in comparison with the rest. Botte had already taken a step in this direction by printing the texts in two columns, with the Latin text where it is available in the left hand column, and a combination of other witnesses in the right hand column. Where the Latin text has lacunae, Botte supplemented it from one of the other versions. Hanssens showed that it is necessary to dethrone the Latin version, and to see it in perspective with the rest. He dismissed the Roman origin of this version, (in the time of Gregory the Great!), and saw nothing against accepting Verona as its place of origin as well as its home today.¹

Despite the relatively late date of the earliest manuscript witnesses, and their wide distribution as a whole over the centuries, they reveal the conditions of ecclesiastical life that are characteristic of the third century.² In particular, the catechumenate and the baptismal liturgy, briefly indicated in Justin,³ are set out in Apostolic Tradition in considerable detail. The principal witnesses here are the Sahidic and Latin texts. The Sahidic text⁴ is the source of our information from the initial scrutiny to the end of the interrogatory baptismal creed; but from that point onwards it has to be supplied from a later, dependent but not wholly reliable manuscript.⁵ The Latin text in Verona LV⁶ is extant only from the interrogatory baptismal creed onwards.

Putting together this evidence, the following scheme emerges. Those who sought conversion to the faith were subjected to an initial scrutiny, in which manner of life was examined, and discrimination was made between certain states of life and occupation. The duration of the catechumenate might extend to three years, or a longer or shorter period of time. Besides receiving instruction, catechumens were taught to pray and received the imposition of hands. As the time for baptism approached, there was a further scrutiny, and the imposition of the hand was accompanied by daily exorcism - finally by the bishop himself. Fasting was required on the Friday and the Saturday before the Easter Vigil.

At cockcrow at the Vigil the baptismal water was blessed, and the oil of thanksgiving and the oil of exorcism were consecrated by the bishop. Those who were to be baptized were bidden by a presbyter to renounce Satan, and received anointing with the oil of exorcism. Renunciation was followed by a correspondingly brief profession of faith.⁷ Then, both standing in the font, the deacon addressed to the baptizand the baptismal interrogations.

These are similar to, but not identical with, the Apostles' Creed. It is at this point too that the Latin text is resumed, after a long lacuna:

\[
\text{Manum habens in caput eius inpositam,}
\]
\[
\text{baptizet semel.}
\]

¹ Even of the second century, according to Dix, op.cit.
² See above, p.90ff
³ B.M. Or. 1320 (copt. 162)
⁴ B.M. Or. 440 (copt. 163). See Hanssens. t.1 p.32
⁵ Hanssens DTOC p.7: ‘à la fin du Vᵉ Siècle, ou, plus probablement, au commencement du VIᵉ’.
⁶ Test.Dom., Can.Hipp. In the Sahidic text, this is transferred to the font, and treated as the first of the baptismal interrogations.
⁷ See the editorial note in Botte, op.cit. p.53, n(1)
- followed by the Christological question. The long interrogatory form of the Creed, whether 'Apostles' or 'Nicene', is an Eastern characteristic, and suggests the derivation of the Verona Latin from an Eastern source. But what precedes this Christological section of the Creed, whether a Trinitarian 'adherence' as in the Sahidic text, or the first section of the Creed as in Testamentum Domini, cannot be known. However that may be, the interrogatory Creed is marked by the triple baptismal immersion. At the conclusion of the Creed, the Sahidic text followed hitherto comes to an end; and Hanssens supplements it from a later copy. Before putting on his clothes the baptized was anointed by a presbyter with the oil of thanksgiving, and then entered the church. There the bishop first laid his hands upon him and prayed that he might be filled with the Holy Spirit and that divine grace might descend upon him, then he continued the anointing, laying his hand upon his head, and sealing him on the forehead, and imparting to him the kiss. The prayer of the bishop at the imposition of the hand is in the Latin defective; but it is reconstructed in the editions of Dix and Botte as follows:

\[
O \text{ Lord God, who didst count these thy servants worthy of deserving the forgiveness of sins by the laver of regeneration, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit and send upon them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for to thee is the glory, to the Father and to the Son with the Holy Spirit in the holy Church both now and ever and world without end. Amen.}
\]

After the kiss, the neophyte joined for the first time in the prayers of the Church, and was present at the eucharistic oblation and received the body and blood of Christ.

The family of texts, to which Apostolic Tradition in the Verona Latin MS. belongs, has in this century shed a flood of light upon the liturgy of the Church, first in Egypt, and from a date as early as the third century. Its evidence, however, needs to be supplemented by that of another Egyptian text, the Sacramentary of Serapion.3

This text is known to us in a single manuscript of the eleventh century.4 The reliability and fidelity to its source or sources of this MS. cannot be tested. The motivation of its copyist is hidden from us. Different estimates of the date of the original have been advanced. The name of Serapion is mentioned twice in the headings of the prayers, before the anaphoral prayer (1), and before the prayer for the blessing of oils(15). On critical grounds Brightman accepted Serapion as the author. Lietzmann referred the ultimate origins of the Sacramentary to the Egyptian Christian gnosis of the third century. And Botte, detecting Arian features in it, assigned it to the fifth century. As with Apostolic Tradition, so with the Sacramentary of Serapion, therefore the liturgical scholar has to formulate his judgments in the knowledge that they are necessarily subject to contingent considerations.

There is a broad similarity of content between the texts that we have been discussing and the Sacramentary of Serapion. Thus, the Verona Latin MS. of Apostolic Tradition begins with the eucharistic prayer in connection with the ordination of a bishop; and

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1 Dix, op.cit: p.38, It should be noticed that the prayer for the gift of the Holy spirit is in the Eastern form, i.e. without mention of the septiform gifts that is characteristic of the West.
2 First published in Trudy, the Journal of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev in 1894; then by G. Wobbermin in Leipzig in 1899, and by F.E. Brightman in the Journal of Theological Studies, i, 88ff., 247ff. in 1899-1900.
3 MS. 149, Library of the Lavra, Mt. Athos.
this is followed by the provision for other ordinations, presbyter, deacon, and so forth. Then follow the catechumenate and baptismal rites. In Serapion the eucharistic again prayer is set out first (1ff.). The ordination prayers of deacon, presbyter and bishop (12-14), grouped together, are however placed in the midst of the prayers for the baptismal liturgy (7-11) and the blessing of the oils (15-17).

But Serapion differs from the Church orders in that while the latter are in the form of a manual of liturgical rites and regulations, including prayer texts, Serapion is a collection of bishop's prayers, without the description of the rites in which they occur. The order of the rites concerned has to be deduced from the content of the prayers, and from the headings introducing the prayers.

In regard to the prayers of the baptismal liturgy, the prayer for the sanctification of the waters (7) is placed first. This corresponds to the order of the Sahidic Church order. It presupposes not a baptistery, but the flowing water of a spring, a river or the sea.

King and Lord of all things and Artificer of the world, who gavest salvation freely to all created nature by the descent of thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, thou who didst redeem the creation that thou didst create by the coming of thy ineffable Word: see now from heaven and look upon these waters and fill them with holy Spirit. Let thine ineffable Word come to be in them and transform their energy and cause them to be generative (as) being filled with thy grace, in order that the mystery which is now being celebrated may not be found in vain in those that are being regenerated, but may fill all those that descend (into them) and are baptized (herein) with the divine grace. O loving Benefactor, spare thy own handiwork, save the creature that has been the toil of thy right hand. Form all that are being regenerated (after) the divine and ineffable form, in order that having been formed and regenerated they may be able to be saved and counted worthy of thy kingdom. And as thy only-begotten Word coming down upon the waters of the Jordan rendered them holy, so now also may he descend on these and make them holy and spiritual, to the end that those who are being baptized may be no longer flesh and blood, but spiritual and able to worship thee the uncreated Father through Jesus Christ in holy Spirit, through whom to thee (is) the glory and the strength both now and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

The next two prayers (8 and 9) relate to the renunciation and the adherence which precede baptism.

Grant him to participate in this divine regeneration that he may longer be led by any sinister and evil being, but worship thee continually and observe thy ordinances as thy only-begotten Word doth guide him. And again:

O Lord all-sovereign, seal the adherence of this thy servant which has now been made to thee, and continually keep his character and manner of life unchangeable, that he may no longer serve idolatrously, but may worship thee the God of truth, and serve thee the maker of all things...

1 ib. no.8 (with minor alterations), pp.69f
2 ib.no.9 (with minor alterations), 'After the renunciation', pp.70f
3 ib.no.15 (with minor alterations), pp.74-76
In this context must be placed the 'prayer for the anointing of those who are being baptized' (15):

... We anoint with this anointing oil those who in purpose approach this divine regeneration, beseeching thee that our Lord Jesus Christ may work in them healing and fortifying power, and by this anointing oil may reveal (himself) and heal away from their soul, body, spirit, every mark of sin and lawlessness or satanic fault, and by his own proper grace may afford them remission, that dying to sin they shall live to righteousness, and being re-created through this anointing, and being cleansed through the washing, and being renewed in the spirit, they shall be able henceforth to have victory over all the opposing energies and deceits of this world that assail them, and thus to be bound up and united with the flock of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ...

It remains uncertain whether this anointing preceded or followed the renunciation and adherence. In the Sahidic text and in Testamentum Domini it preceded them. Brightman however placed it after them.

Then followed the prayer for those who were to be regenerated in baptism (10), and another prayer following the baptismal regeneration (11).

Finally there is the prayer (16) for the blessing of the chrism and the anointing of those who have been baptized:

...we invoke thee to work in this chrism a divine and heavenly energy through the divine and unseen powers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in order that they who have been baptized, and who are being anointed with it with the impress of the sign of the saving cross of the Only-begotten, by which cross Satan and every opposing power was routed and triumphed over, they also, as being regenerated and renewed through the washing of regeneration, may become partakers of the gift of the Holy Spirit and being made secure by this seal may continue steadfast and unmovable, unhurt and inviolate, free from harsh treatment and intrigue, in the franchise of the faith and full knowledge of the truth, awaiting to the end the heavenly hopes of life and eternal promises of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom...

The prayers of Serapion's baptismal liturgy thus cohere with that family of texts of Ap.Trad. of which the Sahidic text and Verona Latin are the principal witnesses. Together they illustrate a rite which began with the blessing of the waters, followed by the renunciation and adherence and unction with the oil of exorcism, followed by baptismal regeneration, and concluded by chrismation for the gift of the Holy Spirit. It was a liturgy that was certainly current in Egypt but which was also, as we shall see, in more widespread use.

1 JTS i 264
2 tr. John Wordsworth no.16 (with minor alterations), pp.76f
3 Liturgies Eastern and Western, vol.1 (1896)
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

Synopsis: The baptismal liturgy in Serapion, Apostolic Tradition and related documents

Serapion

7
Blessing of the water
‘Let thine ineffable Word come to be in them and transform their energy to be generative, being filled with thy grace...’

Apostolic Tradition

Latin

Blessing of water and holy oils

Apostolic Tradition

Sahidic

Syriac

Testamentum Domini

46.1
At cockcrow let them first pray over the water

II.8
Let the water be pure and flowing in the pool or let it be poured upon it.

6
At the hour which is appointed for baptism let the bishop give thanks over the oil ... it is called the oil of thanksgiving. He takes another oil, and let him exorcise over it, and it is called the oil of exorcism.

ib.

1 46.1-13 BM Or 1320 (cap.162)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serapion</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition</th>
<th>Testamentum Domini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Sahidic</td>
<td>Syriac</td>
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</table>

**Before the renunciations and profession of faith:**

8 **prayer for those being baptized:**

’...that he may no longer be led by any sinister and evil being, but worship thee continually ...’

8 **ib.**

The presbyter bids those who are to receive baptism renounce [Satan]:

'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy worship and all thy service and thy shows, and thy pleasures, and all thy works.'

9 **The presbyter anoints him with the oil of exorcism:**

Anointing with oil of exorcism

Let every [evil] spirit depart far from thee.

And let him hand him over naked to the bishop, or to the presbyter who stands by the water baptizing.

9 **Profession of faith**

Likewise let the deacon be with him in the water, and let him assist him in saying:

'I believe in the one true God the Father almighty, and in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, and in his Holy Spirit who gives life to all; a consubstantial trinity, one lordship, one kingdom one faith, one baptism; one holy Catholic Apostolic Church; [and] in eternal life. Amen.'

9 **After the renunciations and profession of faith a prayer:**

’... that he may no longer serve idolatrously, but may worship thee the God of truth, and serve thee the maker of all things.’
## The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serapion</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition (Latin)</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition (Sahidic)</th>
<th>Testamentum Domini (Syriac)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before baptism:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>‘Guide him to the regeneration with thy right hand; let thy only-begotten Word guide him to the washing; let his regeneration be honoured, let it not ’ be empty of thy grace ... ’</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>He who receives, let him say in regard to these things: I so believe. And he who gives, let him place his hand upon the hand of him who receives, and let him immerse him three times, while he professes these things each time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | <strong>Baptism</strong> | | |
| <strong>[First immersion]</strong> | And afterwards let him say again: | [First immersion] | |
| 'Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died, (and was buried,) and rose the third day living from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead? - I believe.' | 'Dost thou believe also in Christ Jesus, the only Son of God, that he was made man by a miracle for our sakes in an incomprehensible unity through his Holy Spirit from Mary the holy Virgin, without human seed, and that he was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died by his own will for the salvation of us all, rose the third day set free the captives, ascended into heaven, sat at the right hand of his good Father in the heights, and will come again to judge the living and the dead at his appearance and his kingdom? - I believe' | 'I believe' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serapion</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition Latin</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition Sahidic</th>
<th>Testamentum Domini Syriac</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Second immersion]</td>
<td>'Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit in the Holy Church, and the resurrection of the flesh? - I believe.'</td>
<td>And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit good and life-giving, giving, purifying all? In the holy Church? 14 And again let him say: I believe</td>
<td>Dost thou believe also in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church? 'I believe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Third immersion]</td>
<td>Anointing with the oil of thanksgiving by the presbyter: 'I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of Jesus Christ.'</td>
<td>15 And let him go up from the water, and let the presbyter anoint him with the oil of thanksgiving, saying: I anoint thee with unction, with holy oil, in the name of Jesus Christ.</td>
<td>- Anointing with the oil of thanksgiving by the presbyter, 'I anoint thee with oil in the name of Jesus Christ.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**After baptism:**

11 '... render him clean in the regeneration, make him to have fellowship with thy angelic powers, that he may be named no longer flesh but spiritual ...'

16 In this way he anoints every one of them and clothes them.

17 And let them enter the church.

9 Then let them be together in the church.
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

Serapion

Before chrismation

16

Let the bishop lay his hand upon them after baptism, saying earnestly:

'O Lord God, O Lord God, who by thy beloved Son Jesus Christ didst fill thy Holy Apostles with the Holy Spirit; and by the Spirit didst permit thy blessed Prophets to speak:

even as thou hast made these thy servants worthy to receive to be counted worthy in thy Christ of forgiveness of sins.

17

Let the bishop lay a hand on them saying and invoking over them:

'O Lord God, who by thy beloved Son Jesus Christ didst fill thy Holy Apostles with the Holy Spirit; and by the Spirit didst permit thy blessed Prophets to speak:

who didst count these thy servants to be counted worthy in thy Christ of forgiveness of sins.

18

And he pours the oil of thanksgiving upon his hand, and lays his hand upon his head, saying:

'I anoint thee with holy oil in God the Father almighty and Christ Jesus and the Holy Spirit.'

The bishop pouring the consecrated oil and laying his hand ...

and being made secure by this seal may continue steadfast and unmovable ...

and make them to be worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them by thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will ...

may become partakers of the gift of the Holy Spirit, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them by thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will ...

through the laver of the second birth, and hast cleansed them of all the mist of error and darkness of unbelief, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit by thy love of man bestowing upon them grace so that they may serve thee according to thy will, truly, O God ...

111
Pouring the oil, and placing a hand on his head let [the bishop] say: 'Anointing I anoint thee in God almighty and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, that thou mayest be his soldier, having a perfect faith, and a vessel pleasing to him.'

19 and sealing him upon his forehead he shall give him the kiss of peace:

And he signs him when he gives the kiss to him, 'The Lord be with you.'

And let him say, 'The Lord be with you.'

And he who is signed replies: And with thy Spirit. R: 'And with thy spirit.'

20 And in this manner they do to all the rest.

21 And let all the people pray together.

Pax

1-6 Prayer of prosphora and communion

Eucharist

oblation

thanksgiving

communion in bread, water, milk and wine

Let the deacons bring the oblation to the bishop.

The oblation is brought by the deacons. So let the Shepherd give thanks. Communion in bread and cup.
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

(iv) Didascalia Apostolorum, the Acts of (Judas) Thomas, and the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai

The baptismal liturgy in the East, as represented by the Egyptian line of tradition, has the sequence baptism, chrismation, and the oblation and communion. But there is, as we have already noted, a second line of tradition in which the sequence of baptism and chrismation is reversed; and this line of tradition is associated especially with East Syria, or Persia in Brightman's classification of texts.\(^1\) The change in nomenclature reflects the growing appreciation of this family of texts in the century.

We shall limit our discussion to three texts: the Didascalia Apostolorum, the Acts of (Judas) Thomas, and the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai.\(^2\)

Didascalia Apostolorum was originally written in Greek, and the Greek text underlies Books I-IV of the Apostolic Constitutions. Otherwise the Greek text is lost. It is now principally extant in Syriac. The oldest Syriac MS. is of the eighth or ninth centuries. This MS. was the basis of the editio princeps of Paul de Lagarde in 1854. Other Syriac MSS. survive from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. There are also Latin fragments, now contained in the Verona Codex LV, dated by R.H. Connolly c.486. These were published by F.X. Funk in his edition of the Apostolic Constitutions in 1905, together with Latin translations from the Syriac to fill the lacunae in the Latin text. R.H. Connolly published an English translation of the Syriac text in 1929.\(^3\) Connolly judged the Greek text to have originated earlier rather than later in the third century,\(^4\) and the provenance to have lain between Antioch and Edessa, or in lower Syria, or even Palestine.\(^5\)

The evidence of Didascalia Apostolorum in regard to baptism is given in connection with the appointment of deacons and deaconesses,\(^6\)

...when women go down into the water, those who go down into the water ought to be anointed by a deaconess with the oil of anointing; and where there is no woman at hand, and especially no deaconess, he who baptizes must of necessity anoint her who is being baptized. But where there is a woman, and especially a deaconess, it is not fitting that women should be seen by men: but with the imposition of the hand do thou anoint the head only. As of old the priests and kings were anointed in Israel, do thou in like manner, with the imposition of the hand, anoint the head of those who receive baptism, whether of men or of women; and afterwards - whether thou thyself baptize, or thou command the deacons or presbyters to baptize - let a woman deacon, as we have already said, anoint the

1 A further list of sources is given by G.G. Willis, What was the earliest Syrian baptismal tradition? (Fourth International New Testament Congress, Oxford, September 1969).
2 R. Hugh Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum, the Syriac version translated and accompanied by the Verona Latin fragments, with introduction and notes. Oxford 1929.
3 ib. p.xcii
4 ib. p.lxxxix
5 ib. c.XVI. pp.146ff
6 ib. pp.146f
women. But let a man pronounce over them the invocation of the divine Names in the water.\textsuperscript{1}

The bishop, then, is the celebrant of the rite. He, and only he, anoints the baptizand with the imposition of the hand, whether man or woman. In the case of a woman the anointing of the whole body that follows is to be done by a deaconess or a woman. In the absence of either the anointing must necessarily be done by the baptizer. The baptizer in the sequel must be either the bishop himself, or a deacon or presbyter; for only a man may invoke the divine Names in baptism. On the assumption that at this date baptism could only take place at the Easter Vigil, the eucharistic oblation followed at the third hour of the morning of Christ's resurrection.\textsuperscript{2}

A second passage, in an earlier chapter on the honour due to the bishop, although more rhetorical in style, lends support to this sequence. It is an admonition not to speak 'against the deacon or against the bishop, through whom the Lord gave you the Holy Spirit, and through whom you have learned the word and have known God, and through whom you have been known of God, and through whom you were sealed, and through whom you became sons of the light, and through whom the Lord in baptism, by the imposition of the hand of the bishop, bore witness to each one of you and uttered his holy voice, saying: "Thou art my son: I this day have begotten thee." \textsuperscript{3}

In this passage, notwithstanding the looseness of construction, the gift of the Holy Spirit and 'sealing' precede baptism.

It is, however, immediately followed by a paragraph which embodies the Byzantine sequence:

\textit{But do you honour the bishops, who have loosed you from sins, who by the water regenerated you, who filled you with the Holy Spirit, who reared you with the word as with milk, who bred you up with doctrine, who confirmed you with admonition, and made you partakers and joint heirs of the promise of God.}\textsuperscript{4}

The use of 'bishops' in the plural here is exceptional. There is only one other instance of the plural in this chapter (IX), where the bishops of the Catholic Church are being compared with the high priests of the Old Testament.\textsuperscript{5} Otherwise it is the bishop, in the singular, of the local Church, who is the subject of the chapter. It is tempting therefore to see here the influence of another source.

But at the same time the co-existence of the two baptismal traditions in the place of origin of the \textit{Didascalia} is, as we shall see, not to be ruled out.

Nevertheless the sequence, anointing of the head and of the whole body followed by immersion, remains characteristic of the East Syrian Church. This tradition is supported first by a document that also belongs to the third century, namely the \textit{Acts of (Judas) Thomás}. This work is one of a number that owe their inspiration ultimately

\textsuperscript{1} ib. c.XXI. p.190
\textsuperscript{2} ib.c.IX. p.93
\textsuperscript{3} ib. c.IX. p.94
\textsuperscript{4} ib. c.IX. p.86
to the Canonical Acts of the Apostles, by this date established in the canon of New Testament writings under this title. It has been described by its editor in Hennecke as 'a legendary clothing for the mystery of redemption', with its basis in Gnosticism.¹

The original text was probably in Syriac, although it is now known from both Syriac and Greek texts from the eleventh/twelfth centuries and later. The Syriac text was first published in 1871,² and the Greek in 1903. The place of origin was that part of Mesopotamia between Edessa and Mesene.

The work includes five accounts of initiations. It would be tedious to review these accounts in detail, basically, however, they share the same structure, with anointing placed first, followed by baptism, followed by the eucharist. Two of the stories in the Greek version do not mention baptism, but baptism is included in the other three; and while the references to the eucharist are imprecise, in two cases they seem to imply bread only, and once bread and a cup of water. Such omissions and deviations, however, may be due to the loose narrative style. In the Syriac text the treatment of the eucharist is similar, but baptism appears regularly in all five accounts, after the anointing. Bornkamm calls this process 'catholicising'; but it also fortifies the characteristic East Syrian structure of initiation.

The third text which illustrates the East Syrian line of tradition in initiation is the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai. Narsai was the most important theologian in the Nestorian Church, first in Odessa, and then at Nisibis, in the fifth century. 47 of a total of 360 Homilies in Syriac were published by Alphonsus Mingana at Mosul in 1905. The MSS. were themselves of uncertain date. Four of these Homilies were translated into English and published by Dom R. H. Connolly in 1909, the authenticity of which he accepted. Homilies XXI and XXII deal with initiation, XXI with baptism and XXII with anointing. Mingana published them in that order, seemingly in the belief that the structure of the whole rite conformed with that of Western rites. But the content of the two Homilies shows that the opening renunciation and confession of faith, consecration of the oil and anointing came first in the rite (XXII), and that baptism is followed by the eucharist (XXI). Accordingly Connolly reverses Mingana's order.

Narsai opens his instruction (XXII) with a lengthy comparison between creation and the re-creation of man. 'The Creator... has renewed our image and blotted out our iniquity'. 'O Artist, that breathes the Spirit (and works) without hands, and sows life immortal in mortality'. 'He created a second time the creation which He had created in the beginning; and he purged out from it the old things of mortality.' 'Ah, Creator, that came and renewed His creation...! Who would not marvel at the greatness of His love and His graciousness, that He has made our clay [sc in the priesthood] the creator of a creation, after his own likeness? ... To our own nature did He give the authority, together with its renewal, that it should create itself a new creation of immortals.'³

The Church inherited from the Synagogue that baptism was the means of rebirth. It saw this regeneration of man in the light of his creation. And it is the rich imagery of

² ed. Connolly, pp.34f
³ Cat. IV.10, XIII. 22f
re-creation, drawn from the opening chapters of Genesis, which explains the two distinct lines of liturgical tradition that are found in the East.

(v) The liturgies and fathers of Jerusalem, Antioch and Byzantium

When we turn from the Church in Egypt and in East Syria, with their distinctive rites of initiation, to the Church in the principal centres of Christianity in the East, to Jerusalem, Antioch and Byzantium, a different state of the baptismal liturgy confronts us. In short, while the Egyptian scheme of baptism, chrismation and the eucharist persists at first, it is superseded by a complex rite that combines the external characteristics of both the Egyptian and East Syrian traditions. Accordingly, there is both a pre-baptismal and a post-baptismal anointing. This development seems to result from the transformation of the final exorcistic anointing. In all rites the renunciation of Satan and the summary profession of faith stood between the catechumenate and the baptismal liturgy; and it was a question whether they were seen in the perspective of the one or the other.

Let us begin with Cyril of Jerusalem. The Catechetical and Mystagogical Instructions attributed to him are as illuminating for the Church of the fourth century as Apostolic Tradition is for the third. But critical problems exist in regard to both series. It is a question whether the Catechetical series dates from the time when Cyril was still a presbyter in the Church of Jerusalem (c.347), or from the start of his episcopate (c.352). Further, while these instructions were given in the Golgotha, or Martyrium, that is, in the Constantinian basilica built adjacently to the place of the Crucifixion in the 330s and 340s,¹ in the last of the instructions he refers to instructions on the sacraments to follow after Easter Day in 'the Holy Place of the Anastasis Resurrection'.² Yet the Anastasis was not built until later in the century,³ and so the two series may belong to the closing years of his episcopate (c.381-6). But again, the earliest extant MSS of the Mystagogical Instructions bear the name of his successor John, or of himself and John, although MSS little later than these bear the name of Cyril alone.⁴ In spite of these problems, however, the authenticity of the witness of these instructions for the life of the Church in Jerusalem in the latter half of the fourth century is not in doubt.

The five Mystagogical Catecheses were delivered in the Easter Octave, and explained to the neophytes the sacraments they had received at the Easter Vigil: baptism, chrismation, and the eucharist. The first of the five, significantly enough, was devoted to the pre-baptismal renunciation of Satan and profession of faith. 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all [thy] pomp, and all thy service'.

¹ Cat. XVIII.33  
⁴ Myst.Cat. I 4,5,6,8,9
Then, turning from the west to the east, 'I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance'.

The renunciation and profession took place in the outer vestibule, but the accompanying exorcistic anointing, after stripping, in the baptistry. But while the renunciation broke the covenant with Satan and the pacts with hell, there opened with the profession of faith the paradise of God. Hence the anointing with exorcised oil from head to foot made the baptizands participate in the richness of Christ. Baptism followed by way of triple immersion in response to the threefold interrogation of belief in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The saving water was at once grave and mother, 'and your birth went hand in hand with your death'. There is in baptism not only the remission of sins and grace of adoption, as there was in John's baptism; but as there is the purification of sins and the mediation of the gift of the Holy Spirit, so there is also the antitype or counterpart of Christ's sufferings. St Paul's interpretation of baptism as burial with Christ in his death is vividly applied by Cyril, since the baptistry adjoined the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre.

Sharing in Christ's death, the baptized 'were made Christ's by receiving the antitype of the Holy Spirit'. As Christ was anointed by the Holy Spirit on coming up out of the water, so the baptized were anointed with holy oil after the invocation of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, the gift of Christ, becomes efficacious in us. This chrismation is of the forehead, and of the organs of sense, ears and nostrils, and of the breast.

In the Jerusalem baptismal liturgy, therefore, the final exorcism is drawn into the liturgy, and while the stages in the rite are clearly demarcated, the rite forms an integrated whole.

The tendency apparent here in Cyril to assimilate the exorcistic anointing to the baptismal liturgy receives confirmation in The Apostolic Constitutions. This most voluminous and comprehensive of Church orders was written in Greek round about 380 in or near Antioch. It rests on three principal sources, which we have already discussed, viz. Didacalia Apostolorum, Didache, and Apostolic Tradition. It includes three baptismal liturgies, from Didascalia (Bk. III), from Didache (Bk. VII), and a third from another, unidentifiable source (Bk. VII). But all three liturgies are assimilated to a common scheme.

The liturgy derived from Didascalia (Bk III) begins by following the East Syrian tradition. The bishop anoints the head with 'holy oil' with imposition of the hands,
making whose who are being baptized 'Christians as from Christ',\(^1\) signifying 'baptism of the Spirit'.\(^2\) This anointing is extended to the whole body, in the case of women by deaconesses. The bishop or presbyter baptizes with invocation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Finally - and this stage is added by the editor of *Apostolic Constitutions* to the baptismal liturgy in *Didascalia* - there follows 'the tradition of the inviolable seal', the bishop anointing the baptized with muron (a perfumed unguent or ointment). In this scheme, therefore, the exorcistic anointing which in Cyril follows the renunciation and profession (not mentioned here) is replaced by the episcopal anointing of the East Syrian rite, and a concluding chrismation, not part of the East Syrian rite, is added.

The second baptismal liturgy in *Apostolic Constitutions* is derived from *Didache* (Bk. VII). It supplements the brief provisions of *Didache* of baptism in water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. This formula from Matthew 28 is interpreted in terms of 'the Father who has sent, of the Son who has come, and of the Paraclete who has borne witness'. It generates not only a threefold immersion, but a threefold rite. 'But thou shalt first anoint with holy oil, then baptize with water, and finally seal with muron; in order that the chrism may be a participation in (or of) the Holy Spirit, the water a symbol of the death (sc. of the Son), and the muron a seal of the covenants (sc. made by God with Israel and the Church?)'. A rider is added: in the absence of oil or muron, the water is sufficient for the anointing, the seal and the confession of a dying man or rather one who shares in the death of the One who has died.\(^3\) Thus the earliest evidence for a baptismal liturgy is adjusted to the perspectives of fourth century Antioch.

The third baptismal liturgy, based on an unidentified source, is the fullest. It begins with a sevenfold renunciation, and a profession of faith is amplified to the proportions of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, but owing little to it. Holy oil is then blessed by the bishop for the anointing for 'the remission of sins and the preparation for baptism'.\(^4\) Then the bishop sanctifies the baptismal water so that the baptizand may thereby share in the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, and may be dead to sin and live to righteousness.\(^5\) After the baptism, the bishop then 'chrism' the baptized with muron, with the imposition of hands, so that the sweet fragrance of Christ may rest upon him, and that he who has died with Christ may rise and live with him.\(^6\) It is thus that the prayers and act of the devout priest, in a union of doctrine, sacrament and order, distinguish the rite from Jewish baptism.\(^7\)

*Apostolic Constitutions* provides the perspectives for other contemporary catechetical instructions, viz. those of St John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who at one stage had served together in the presbyterate in Antioch.

Chrysostom's catechetical instructions are known to us in three series. The

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1 ib.
2 VII.22.3
3 VII.42.1-2
4 VII.43
5 VII.44.2
6 VII.44.3
7 Migne, PG XLIX, 221-240

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Montfaucon series of two only, and those not in sequence. Secondly, the series of four, published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus at St Petersburg in 1909. Thirdly, the series of eight discovered by A. Wenger in the monastery of Stavronikita on Mt. Athos in 1955. The three series, in which instructions overlap, were delivered in Antioch after 387 and before Chrysostom's ordination as bishop of Constantinople in 398.

During Lent there were daily instructions and exorcisms (invocations by the exorcist). These reached their term in the renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ. The bishop then anointed the forehead with the olive oil of the Spirit in the threefold Name, followed by stripping and the anointing of the whole body. The tendency to fusion of the exorcistic anointing and the chrismation of the East Syrian tradition, already noticed in Apostolic Constitutions, is strengthened here.

The sequel as described by Chrysostom needs to be quoted in full since in the Stavronikita series it embodies a crux interpretum.

"After this anointing the priest [hiereous = bishop] makes you go down into the sacred waters, burying the old man and at the same time raising up the new, who is renewed in the image of his Creator. It is at this moment [tote loipon] that, through the words and the hand of the priest, the Holy Spirit descends upon you. Instead of the man who descended into the water, a different man comes forth, one who has wiped away all the filth of his sins, who has put off the old garment of sin and has put on the royal robe.

That you may also learn from this that the substance of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit is one, baptism is conferred in the following manner. When the priest says: ‘So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,’ he puts your head down into the water three times and three times he lifts it up again, preparing you by this mystic rite to receive the descent of the Spirit. For it is not only the priest who touches the head, but also the right hand of Christ, and this is shown by the very words of the one baptizing. He does not say: ‘I baptize so-and-so,’ but: ‘So-and so is baptized,’ showing that he is only the minister of grace and merely offers his hand because he has been ordained to this end by the Spirit. The one fulfilling all things is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the undivided Trinity. It is faith in this Trinity which gives the grace of remission from sin; it is this confession which gives to us the gift of filial adoption."

The account is compressed and not free of ambiguity. Is there a distinction intended between 'the priest who touches the head' and 'the one baptizing'? Yet it is the priest 'who makes you go down into the water', and who 'puts your head down into the water."

2 They are collated in an English translation by Paul W. Harkins, St John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions, Ancient Christian Writers no.31, Westminster, Maryland and London 1963.
3 Stav.2:12-14
4 Stav.17-21
5 "The chrism is a mixture of olive oil and unguent; the unguent is for the bride, the oil is for the athlete": PK III:27
6 Stav.2:22-24
7 Stav.2:25,26
8 Stav.2:10
'water'. Again, is there a distinction intended between 'burying the old man and raising up the new' and the descent of the Holy Spirit 'through the words and the hand of the priest'? The answer to this question must be yes, for the triple immersion is said to be by way of 'preparing you by this mystic rite to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit'. This distinction seems to be borne out by what Chrysostom had said earlier:

\[
\text{I say it in order that when you see the bath of water and the hand of the priest touching your head, you may not think that this is merely water, nor that only the hand of the bishop lies upon your head. For it is not a man who does what is done, but it is the grace of the Spirit which sanctifies the nature of the water and touches your head together with the hand of the priest.}\]

Some further evidence on this crux is found in the parallel account in the Papadopoulos-Kerameus series:

\[
\text{When you come to the sacred initiation, the eyes of the flesh see the water; the eyes of faith behold the Spirit. Those eyes see the body being baptized; these see the old man being buried. The eyes of the flesh see the flesh being washed; the eyes of the spirit see the soul being cleansed. The eyes of the body see the body emerging from the water; the eyes of faith see the new man come forth brightly shining from that sacred purification. Our bodily eyes see the priest as, from above, he lays his right hand on the head and touches [him who is being baptized]; our spiritual eyes see the great High Priest as He stretches forth His invisible hand to touch his head. For, at that moment, the one who baptizes is not a man but the only-begotten Son of God.}\]

In this paragraph a distinction is drawn between the baptism and the imposition of the hand. The priest (i.e. the bishop) is the liturgical celebrant, but he does but act for the only-begotten Son of God. The 'meaning' of the rite is that 'Christ is here initiating you into the regeneration that comes from the water and the Spirit.'

No mention is made here by Chrysostom of anointing with chrism to accompany the imposition of the hand, and his treatment of the rite in this respect receives support from an unedited MS. of Proclus his successor in the see of Constantinople:

\[
\text{In this you may know how poor you are whom the Master receives, how He enriches your nakedness with His grace, how He puts on you with the Chrism the odor of good deeds, how with the oil He makes you shine to brightness, how you lay aside your corruption in the grave of the bath, how the Spirit raises you up to a new life, how He clothes your body with shining garments, how the lamps you hold in your hands symbolize the illumination of the soul...}\]

Since at this period Cyril of Jerusalem, Apostolic Constitutions and (as we shall see) Theodore of Mopsuestia have a post-baptismal chrismation, it appears that the form of the rite associated with the sees of Jerusalem, Antioch and Byzantium has not been

1 PK 3:12
2 PK 3:29
3 Harkins, op.cit., p.228 n.61. See also Thomas M. Finn, The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St John Chrysostom, Washington 1967, pp.139-146, 174-181.
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finally stabilized. Yet there is agreement on the meaning of the complex rite of initiation viewed as a whole.

Theodore of Mopsuestia was born in Antioch. Together with John Chrysostom he spent some years in the monastic life in the neighbourhood of Antioch before becoming, like John, a presbyter in the church of Antioch. He became bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia in 392, and died there in 428. His catechetical sermons, delivered in Antioch between 388 and 392 before he became a bishop, and when John was there as a presbyter, were first published by A. Mingana in 1932-33.1 Thus they form an invaluable companion to those of John Chrysostom.

They begin with the catechumenate. This includes presentation by the sponsors, scrutiny of manner of life and enrolment in the catechumenate; instruction in the Creed, exorcisms, and the recitation of the Creed before the bishop.2 The initiation mystery begins with the abjuration of Satan and engagement to the name of the Holy Trinity.3 Then follows the double anointing and stripping. The priest signs the forehead with the chrism, saying 'So-and-so is signed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit': and, after stripping, the catechumen is anointed over his whole body. This chrismation as an authoritative act in the name of the Trinity separates the convert from the dominion of Satan.4 The baptismal water, 'the water of the second birth' is consecrated by the priest through the prayer for the coming of the Holy Spirit upon it. 'You descend into the water,' the bishop says, which becomes 'a womb to the sacramental birth'. The priest places his hand on the baptizand's head, and the baptizand immerses himself at the pronunciation of each of the divine names of the Trinity.5 On emerging from the font the baptized is clothed, and the bishop signs his forehead with holy oil, again in the name of the Trinity, as a sign that the Holy Spirit has come upon him, as he came upon Jesus on emerging from the water at his baptism.6 Such is the second birth through baptism, Theodore says, whereby we hope to pass to the resurrection.7 Then follows the sacrifice of the New Testament.8

This whole complex rite is 'baptism'. And it is this 'tradition of Holy Baptism' which in all essentials remains the baptismal liturgy of Byzantine Orthodoxy to this day. There are however two developments in this rite to be noticed. The first is the disappearance in the later rite of the imposition of the hand, leaving the post-baptismal chrismation on its own, and the second is the increasing prevalence of infant baptism.

The laying-on of hands was inherited by the Church from Israel. In Israel it had a wide range of significance, including the offering of sacrifice, the consecration of priests, the creation of a representative or substitute, blessing and healing.9 In the pre-Nicene Church it was used in the baptismal liturgy, in ordination, and in the

1 Hom.Cat. xii 14f. 22-26
2 Hom.Cat. xiii (intro)
3 Hom.Cat. xiii 18 - xiv 8
4 Hom.Cat. xiv 14-25
5 Hom.Cat. xiv 26f. In this connexion Theodore cites Lk.4:18 and Ac.10:38.
6 Hom.Cat. xiv.28
7 Hom.Cat. xv

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reconciliation of penitents. The latter category included schismatics, such as Novatianists, returning to the communion of the Church. The emergence of heresy, such as the denial of the consubstantiality of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, for example by the Arians, was a different matter. What was required in this case was the re-affirmation of the faith of the Church. This meant a return to the Church via the renunciation of Satan and the profession of the Church's faith, accompanied by anointing, which stood at the beginning of the baptismal liturgy, which then followed. Now the long struggle with heresy had as its eventual consequence the adoption of chrismation as the conclusion of the baptismal rite. After the baptism, the priest recites this prayer:

*Blessed art thou, O Lord God, the Almighty, the fount of good things, the Sun of righteousness, that hast raised up a light of salvation to those in darkness, through the epiphany of thy Only-Begotten Son our God, and to us unworthy hast given the blessed cleansing of his holy water and divine sanctification in the life-giving chrism: who even at this moment hast been pleased to give new birth to these thy servants newly enlightened, by water and Spirit, and hast bestowed upon them forgiveness of their sins, both willingly and unwillingly committed: thou therefore, Master most benevolent, give to them also the seal of the gift of thy holy and all powerful and worshipful Spirit, and the communion of the Holy Body and Precious Blood of thy Christ. Guard them in thy sanctification: strengthen them in the right faith: deliver them from the evil one and from all his ways, and by thy saving fear keep their souls in holiness and righteousness: that being well-pleasing to thee in every work and word, they may become sons and inheritors of thy heavenly Kingdom. For thou art one God, whose property is to have mercy and to save, and to thee we send up our praise, to the Father and the Son,*

After this prayer,

*the priest anoints those who have been baptized with the holy oil, making the sign of the Cross on the forehead and eyes and nostrils and mouth and both ears, saying: The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit.*

The priest thus prays, following the forgiveness of sins in the baptismal water, that the gift of the Holy Spirit may be sealed in the understanding and in the senses of the baptized.2

At the same time the imposition of the hand, to which St John Chrysostom refers3, has been abandoned, the imposition of hands now being reserved to the conferring both of Holy Orders and of minor orders.

The second development in the rite of initiation that deserves notice is the increasing prevalence of infant baptism. The admission of infants - children, not necessarily babes in arms - to baptism was not new. Tertullian, as we have already seen,4

1 The chrismation formula has been adopted in the revised Roman rite: 'N, accipe signaculum Doni Spiritus Sancti:' Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adultorum, editio typica, Vatican 1972. no.231. Contrast the prevaricating not to say meaningless formula of the confirmation service of the Alternative Service Book, p.234. no.25.
2 On the whole question, see L. Ligier, La Confirmation, sens et conjoncture oecuménique hier et aujourd'hui, Paris 1973, esp. cc. III-VI.
3 See above, pp.118-120
4 De Bap. xviii
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disapproved of the practice. 'Let them come' he wrote, 'when they are growing up, when they are learning, when they are being taught what they are coming to: let them be made Christians when they are able to know Christ'. Such reservations were not shared by Origen. Indeed he regarded the admission of infants to baptism as apostolic in origin; for in his commentary on Romans he writes, 'The Church has received from the apostles the tradition even to give baptism to infants'. Later again, the Sahidic text of Apostolic Tradition makes explicit provision in this matter:

And they shall baptize the little children first. And if they can answer for themselves, let them answer. But if they cannot, let their parents answer or someone from their family.123

Chrysostom, in the third of the Stavronikita instructions, acknowledges the practice and offers a brief paragraph in its justification:

You have seen how numerous are the gifts of baptism. Although many men think that the only gift it confers is the remission of sins, we have counted its honors to the number of ten. It is on this account that we baptize even infants, although they are sinless, that they may be given the further gifts of sanctification, justice, filial adoption, and inheritance, that they may be brothers and members of Christ, and become dwelling places for the Spirit.

Thus the baptismal liturgy, although it was developed with adult converts in view, was nevertheless opened to children. It is misleading, then, to say that the rite was transferred to infancy: more true to say that infants were admitted to it. It was the whole rite to which children were admitted: renunciation and profession of faith through sponsors, anointing, baptism, chrismation, the eucharistic oblation and communion. The mystery was indivisible.

[The synopsis that follows is laid out across facing pages]

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2 tr. Dix, xxi; Lat.vs. Hanssens op.cit.: vol.2, pp.110-112
3 Stav.3:6, tr. Harkins
Synopsis: The Baptismal Liturgy in Jerusalem, Antioch, Byzantium, and East Syria

Syria (i)
Jerusalem
Cyril
Myst. Cat. i-iii

Antioch
Ap. Const. vii

Syria (ii)
Antioch
Theodore Mopsuestia
Hom. Cat. xii-xiv

Antioch
St John Chrysostom
Stav./P-K series
of baptismal instructions

Renunciations
i.4-8
I renounce thee, Satan,
and all thy works,
and all (thy) pomp,
and all thy service

41
I renounce Satan
and his works
and his pomps
and his service
and all his
contrivances.

xiii 5
I renounce Satan
his angels
all his works
all his service
and all his
worldly deceits

Stav. ii 18
I renounce thee, Satan
thy pomps
thy service
thy works

Profession of faith
i.9
And I join myself
to Christ.

And I believe
in the Father,
and in the Son,
and in the Holy Spirit,
and in one baptism
of repentance.

I believe
in the only unbegotten Being,
the only true God
almighty,
the Father of Christ,
the creator
and maker of all things,
of whom are all things;
and into
one Lord Jesus Christ,
his only-begotten Son,
the first-born
of the whole creation,
who before the ages
was begotten
by the good pleasure
of the Father,
not created,
by whom
all things were made,
both those in heaven
and those on earth,
visible and invisible;
who in the last days
descended from heaven
and took flesh
and was born
of the holy Virgin Mary,
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

Byzantium

Armenia

East Syria

Antioch-Edessa

Didascalia Apostolorum

Narsai

Cod Barberini 170ff.

xxii, xxi

Arm Cod Barberini vii 44

Liturgical Homilies

Renunciations

I renounce Satan
and all his works
and all his worship
and all his angels
and all his pomp

Have ye
renounced Satan?
We have renounced him.
Then blow upon him.

Renunciations

We renounce thee, Satan,
and all thy deceitfulness,
and thy wiles,
and thy service,
and thy paths,
and thy angels

Dost thou renounce,
renounce, renounce?
I renounce.
(accompanied each time
by spitting)

Profession of faith

And I adhere to Christ,
and I believe in one God
the Father, almighty,
and so forth

Profession of faith

Dost thou believe
in the all-holy Trinity,
in Father and Son
and holy Spirit?
Dost thou believe
in the Father?
I believe.
Dost thou believe
in the Son?
I believe.
Dost thou believe
the holy Spirit?
I believe.
Dost thou believe, believe, believe?
I believe.

Profession of faith

And they shall recite
the Nicene Creed
in full.

p. 359

I renounce the Evil One
and his angels,
and I have no dealings
with him,
not even in word.

p. 361

I have turned away
from the Evil One
to the Creator.

He names himself
a soldier
of the Kingdom
of the height.
and did converse holily according to the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after his passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and is to come again at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end; and I am baptized into the Holy Spirit, that is, the Paraclete, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent to the Apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and after the apostles to all those that believe in the holy catholic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the life of the world to come.
The Baptismal Liturgy in the East

Byzantium
Cod Barberini 170ff.

Armenia
Arm Cod Barberini vii 44 Antioch-Edessa
Didascalia Apostolorum Narsai

East Syria
Edessa-Nisibis

Antioch-Edessa

Edessa-Nisibis

Didascalia Apostolorum Narsai

Lit. Hom. xxii, xxi

Consecration of the water
Deacon’s litany
Priest’s prayer
of consecration

Consecration of oil

Consecration of oil

Consecration of the water

Double anointing
of the forehead
by the priest

Double anointing
xvi
... do thou (O bishop)
with the imposition
of the hand
anoint the head
whether of men
or of women

p.363
enrolment and stripping

p.365f
consecration of the oil
with the three names

p.366f
the priest
signs the forehead:
N is signed
with the three names...
'and because (the stamp)
is not his (but the Lord's)
it drives out iniquity
and gives the Spirit'.
stripping and anointing
of the whole body
N is anointed
in the name
of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit

God himself anoints you
by the hand of the priest
...He anoints all your limbs
with this ointment.

After this
he comes to the water.
He blesses and glorifies
the Lord God almighty
... and says
'Look down from heaven
and sanctify this water ...'

And after this, when
he has baptized him
in the name
of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit, ...

the bishop signs you
on the forehead
and says: N is signed
in the name
of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit

the priest says:
N is baptized
in the name
of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit ...

preparing you
by this mystic rite
to receive
the descent
of the Holy Spirit.

... to you also,
after you had come up
from the pool
of the sacred streams,
was given the unction,
the emblem of that
wherewith Christ was
anointed; and this
is the Holy Spirit.

... this is the efficacy
of the laying on of hands
on every one.

It is then
that through the words
and the hand of the priest
the Holy Spirit
descends upon you.

For it is not only the priest
who touches the head,
but also the right hand
of Christ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Byzantium</strong></th>
<th><strong>Armenia</strong></th>
<th><strong>East Syria</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Cod Barberini 170ff.</td>
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<td>Narsai</td>
<td>Lit. Hom. xxii,xxi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **of the whole body**
  - anointing
  - (of the whole body)
  - in the case of men
  - by a deacon,
  - in the case of women
  - by a woman, and especially a deaconess

**Baptism**

- **N is baptized in the name**
  - N shall be baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

**Chrsismation**

- **The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit**
  - Forehead, eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, palm of the hands, heart, backbone, feet. Clothing.

**Eucharist**

- **And the Divine Liturgy begins**

**Eucharist**

- **Communion**

**Eucharist**

- **pp.347ff**
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

(i) The catechumenate and Lent

The foundations of the Western baptismal liturgy are readily discernible at an early date in Justin, Tertullian and Cyprian. The catechumenate, although of varying duration, was firmly established, and included scrutiny, instruction in doctrine and prayer, exorcism and fasting. The liturgical rite was preceded by the renunciation of the devil and the confession of the Church's faith. The baptismal bath included a triple immersion in the name of the Trinity for the remission of sins. Anointing and the imposition of the hand(s) followed for the gift of the Holy Spirit. This whole discipline and rite of initiation reached its climax in the eucharist. In this way man was regenerated, and restored to communion with God through the sacrifice of Christ.

The catechumenate, with its origins in Judaism, was a universal institution. A distinction was, however, drawn in the third and fourth centuries between those who were admitted to an initial stage of conversion and those who after scrutiny were prepared for baptism at Easter. The former were everywhere called catechumens, a Greek loanword. They were the 'hearers', who were admitted to hear the lessons and the sermon at the Sunday liturgy, but for whom this stage of conversion meant as much moral formation as hearing. In the second stage, that is, Lent, converts were now called in the East the photizomenoi, those who were being enlightened, and in the West the competentes, those who were established in agreement with the religion of the Church, and who were suitably conformed to be admitted to the communion of the Church. The Lenten discipline was basically the same in the West as in the East: scrutiny, fasting, exorcism and prayer, with instruction in the creed, the traditio symboli. The climax to this preparation for baptism, which was again of universal observance, was the renunciation of Satan (or the devil) and the profession of the

1 See above, p.97
2 See above, p.82f
3 St Isidore of Seville (d. 636) added 'the knowledge of the sacraments' ('imbuuntur instructione sacramentorum') (Migne, P.L. 83. p.815; Whitaker, op. cit. p.110), although this was reserved to the Easter octave in the fourth and fifth centuries. By Isidore's date, however, infant baptism was the norm, and instruction in the sacraments, as in the creed, a formality. The Lord's Prayer was added to the Lenten instruction in Ordo Romanus XI (69ff.), and subsequently, although again both Cyril of Jerusalem and Milan in the fourth century reserved this to the Easter octave.
Church’s faith, the *redditio symboli*. This took place in the West on the morning of Holy Saturday,¹ or even a day or two before.²

From the renunciation of Satan and the profession of faith, the Western rite passed to the consecration of the font and the baptism. At this point two generic differences distinguish the Eastern and Western rites. The first concerns the Trinitarian formula for baptism, and the second the practice of anointing.

(ii) The baptismal formula from the fourth to the eighth centuries.

A Trinitarian baptismal formula is of the highest antiquity. It forms the conclusion of the Gospel according to Matthew, where it defines, not the relationship of the Persons, but the sphere in which the baptized is henceforth to live. God the Father is not remote from the world; but man is restored to him through Christ, and lives in union with him in the Holy Spirit.

*Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*³

The end of Matthew is missing from all papyrus manuscripts,⁴ and its earliest witnesses are the uncial parchment manuscripts from the fourth century onwards. There is however no reason to doubt the authenticity of the reading.⁵ It is present in the earliest stratum of the pericope on baptism in the Didache.⁶ Again, a fully developed Trinitarian formula occurs in the grace at the conclusion of 2 Corinthians, where it is perhaps already traditional. Thus the Trinitarian formula is fundamental to Christian baptism. ‘If baptism shall be conferred’ writes St Isidore of Seville, ‘and any person of the Trinity omitted, then plainly nothing happens in the solemn performance of regeneration, unless the whole Trinity is invoked.’⁷

The Trinitarian formula is, however, introduced into the baptismal liturgies in different ways. Thus, although the Matthaean formula is given in the active, the passive form came to be adopted in East and West Syria and in Byzantium. Accordingly, the priest, St John Chrysostom writes:

> says: "So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"... He does not say: "I baptize so-and-so," but: "So-and-so is baptized," showing that he is only the minister of grace and merely offers his hand [sc. in baptism] because he has been ordained to

¹ OR XI (82), Sacr. Gel. (Vat. Reg. 316) (I.xiii)
² St Hildephonsus of Toledo (d. 669), *De Cog. Bap.*, Migne P.L. 96, c.34, Maundy Thursday
³ Mt 28:19, RV
⁵ It is however absent from the pre-Nicene writings of Eusebius.
⁶ Did 7:1
⁷ Migne, PL 83, cd
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

this end by the Spirit. The one fulfilling all things is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the undivided Trinity.\(^1\)

The same point is made by Narsai:

Of the name of the Divinity he makes mention, and he says three times: 'Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one equality'. The names he repeats with the voice openly, and thus he says: 'Such a one is baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit.' And he does not say 'I baptize', but 'is baptized': for it is not he that baptizes, but the power that is set in the names.\(^2\)

The passive form of the baptismal formula remains characteristic of the Byzantine rite.\(^3\)

The use of the passive form carries with it, moreover, a further characteristic. It is an authoritative act embodying the power of the Trinity. Hence no other commitment, in response to interrogation, is asked of the baptizand beyond the renunciation and profession of faith. These are the conditions for baptism. But a different approach is found both in the West and in Egypt. At least as early as Cyprian, the act of baptism was associated with interrogations. 'Novatian', Cyprian wrote, 'does not seem to differ from us in the baptismal interrogation'.\(^4\) And again, 'the very interrogation which is put in baptism is a witness of the truth. For when we say, "Dost thou believe in eternal life and remission of sins through the holy Church?", we mean that remission of sins is not granted except in the Church'.\(^5\) What is implied in this interrogation is made abundantly clear in other sources.

Tertullian in the de Baptismo wrote of the washing away of sins in baptism being sealed by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Since both the testimony of faith and the promise of salvation are pledged under the three, there is necessarily a mention made besides of the Church, seeing that where the three are, that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, there is the Church which is the body of the three.\(^6\)

The baptismal liturgy on which this account was based was probably that of Rome. It was in Rome, where he was a lawyer,\(^7\) that he was converted to Christianity. He remained a layman.\(^8\)

A further statement of the baptismal interrogations is given a couple of centuries later by St Ambrose, bishop of Milan from 374 to 397. He too, as a boy and young man, though not yet as a Christian, had lived in Rome. Later in Milan, as bishop, he

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1 Baptismal Instructions, ed. Paul W. Harkins (Stav.2) pp.52f; also Theodore of Mopsuestia, op. cit. p.403
2 The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, tr. and ed. R.H. Connolly, p.51
4 Letter 69
5 Letter 70
6 ibi ecclesia quae trium corpus est, (De Bap.6)
8 Until the abandonment of the baptistry, and the incorporation of the font in the church, the only baptism a layman ever witnessed, unless he became a sponsor in the baptism of another, was his own.

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acknowledged the indebtedness of the Church in Milan to the Roman Church. The
interrogations at Milan were as follows:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?
R: I believe
- followed by a first immersion.

Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Cross?
R: I believe
- followed by a second immersion.

Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?
R: I believe
- followed by a third immersion.

Then the baptized was brought to the bishop. Thus baptism consisted of the threefold
confession of the persons of the Trinity, with a triple immersion.

A century later John the Deacon, in Rome, writing to Senarius a Roman nobleman
says:

...his baptism is effected by a threefold immersion. And rightly so: for
whoever comes to be baptized in the Name of the Trinity must signify that
Trinity in a threefold immersion...

Baptism in this way is taken for granted in *Ordo Romanus XI*, a Roman document of
the sixth or seventh centuries. Here, in the account of initiation, the consecration of
the font is mentioned first, then the baptism of the *infantes* - one or two by the
bishop, the rest by a deacon; and immediately after comes the presbyteral anointing.
Similarly the Hadrianum (c.784-791) in describing the *Sabbato Paschae* gives the text
of the prayer for the consecration of the font, mentions the baptism in a rubric:
'Baptizat et linit eum presbiter de chrismate in cerebro', and adds the text of the prayer
at the presbyteral anointing.

Throughout this period, however, the same rite known to Ambrose persists. It is set
out in full in the old Gelasianum (731-780). After the consecration of the font there is
a rubric: 'Then, when the font is blessed, thou dost baptize each in order under these
interrogations'. The text continues:

Dost thou believe in God the Father, Almighty?
R: I believe.

And dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was
born, and who suffered?
R: I believe.

And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Church, the remission
of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?
R: I believe.

Then follows the rubric:

1 *De Sacr.* 4:5 'We follow its example and rite in every way.'
2 ib. 4:21
3 mersisti
4 Sacerdos
5 Text: E.C. Whitaker, op. cit. p.157
6 OR.XI 93
7 ib. 96
8 ib. 97. See below p.145 ff.
9 ed. Lietzmann, 85:mg. ref.11, pp.53-54. ed. Deshusses, 85, mg. ref.375, p.188
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

Thereupon, by turns, thou dost immerse him three times in the water.
The presbyteral anointing follows.¹ This particular history is a striking example of the continuity of texts in Catholic tradition. Development there is, but not novelty without precedent.

Nevertheless, throughout this period too, the baptism of infants in years became increasingly common. Tertullian, as we have seen, objected to the practice. But regular provision for it was made according to the Sahidic text of Apostolic Tradition. It was known to and accepted by Augustine:

... for we ask the sponsors who bring the children, and say, Does he believe in God? And although the child is of an age when he does not even know whether there be a God, they reply, He believes. And they reply in like manner to each of the other questions which are asked.²

Again, John the Deacon, after a lengthy account of the catechumenate and the baptismal liturgy which presupposes adult converts, then adds this note:

I must say plainly and at once, in case I seem to have overlooked the point, that all these things are done even to infants, who by reason of their youth understand nothing.³

St Isidore mentions the acceptance of children for baptism in connection with the renunciations:

Because children are not able to make renunciation themselves, this rite is performed through the hearts and mouths of those that carry them.⁴

A further indication of the growth of the initiation of small children lies in the development of the catechetical scrutiny. The scrutiny of converts, as to their manner of life, marked the beginning of their instruction in the Creed, and so came at the beginning of Lent. Indeed, John the Deacon, writing to Senarius; speaks of three scrutinies before the Pascha:

Then follow those occasions which according to the Church’s custom are commonly called scrutinies. For we scrutinize their hearts through faith, to ascertain whether since the renunciation of the devil [sc in the catechumenate] the sacred words have fastened themselves on his mind: whether they confess that they believe in God the Father almighty.⁵

In the old Gelasian Sacramentary (Vat.Reg. 316), in the oldest stratum of texts, these three scrutinies took place on the third, fourth and fifth Sundays in Lent. In the Ordo Romanus XI the number of scrutinies has been extended to seven:

It is to be so ordered that from the first scrutiny which begins in the third week of Lent to the vigil of the Pascha on Holy Saturday there shall be seven scrutinies, corresponding to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, so that when the sevenfold number is completed there may be given to them the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit.⁶

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¹ Vat.Reg. 316, ed. C. Mohlberg, I. XLIV. mg. ref.449-450
³ In E.C. Whitaker, op. cit., p.157
⁴ ib. p.110, para.21:3
⁵ Whitaker, op. cit. p.156. para.2-4
⁶ OR XI, 81, ed. Andrieu t.II. (Tr. Whitaker op. cit., p.202).
The scrutiny now takes place, not on the Sunday, but on weekdays - the second day of the week after Lent III,¹ then the following Saturday,² and so forth. It is clear that now the competentes are children in arms, and that the number of scrutiny masses is increased to compensate for the very passivity of the competentes.

The practice of the initiation of children is frequently noticed; the need to justify it is not as often felt. On the one hand there is the objective efficacy of the rite. The power, as Narsai said, is not the priest's, but God's. Moreover, the state of man is the same, whether old or young - under the dominion of Satan. The degree of sinfulness as also of understanding varies from convert to convert, whether of mature age or in infancy. What is lacking in the baptizand, whether by will or understanding or repentance, the grace of God will supply in his continuing in the communion of the Church. All share in a solidarity of need for redemption. So John the Deacon adds:

*By this you may know that when they [sc. infants] are presented by their parents or others, it is necessary that their salvation should come through other people's profession, since their damnation came by another's fault...*³

To sum up, the credal interrogation coupled with baptism remains characteristic of the Western rite. Whether the subject of baptism is adult or infant, the profession of the Trinitarian faith in response to interrogation remains the condition upon which baptism is administered.

Now before leaving this period of the development of the Western rite, it is helpful to return to the Egyptian rite with which the review of the Eastern baptismal liturgies began.⁴

The Egyptian baptismal liturgy, as we have already seen,⁵ had from an early date the sequence baptism - chrismation - offering and communion. To this extent it showed a common inheritance with Rome and North Africa. Serapion's chrismation prayer is that the baptized, 'as being regenerated and renewed through the washing of regeneration, may become partakers of the gift of the Holy Spirit, and being made secure by its seal may continue steadfast and unmovable...⁶

The baptismal liturgy in *Apostolic Tradition* follows the same sequence. There is, however, as in Rome and the West generally, a double anointing after baptism. When the baptized ascends from the font he is first anointed by a presbyter, in the Verona Latin with 'the oil of sanctification', and in the Bohairic text with 'the oil of thanksgiving', in the name of Jesus Christ. After clothing there follows the prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit, with the imposition of the hand. The text of the Verona Latin runs:

*O Lord God, who didst count these worthy of deserving the forgiveness of sins by the leaven of regeneration, send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will -

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¹ ib., (introduction)
² ib. 37f
³ Whitaker, op. cit. p.157
⁴ Chapter 6
⁵ p.106
⁶ Sacramentary, 16
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

followed by the doxology. But the comparison of this text with that of other versions suggest that a line is omitted after 'regeneration' and before 'send upon them thy grace'. And so the prayer should read: 'make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them thy grace...'\(^1\) The second anointing, of the head, by the bishop, then takes place. He pours the oil, of 'sanctification' or 'thanksgiving', from his hand, and lays his hand on the head, saying 'I anoint thee with holy oil' - now with a Trinitarian formula - 'in God the Father almighty and Christ Jesus and the Holy Spirit.'\(^2\) Then signing him on the forehead he gives to him the kiss.

In the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, which survive only in an Arabic version, the presbyteral anointing after the baptism is of the whole body 'in the name of Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'. After the clothing, the bishop lays his hand on those who have been baptized, saying:

> We bless thee, O almighty Lord God, because thou hast made these worthy who were born again, and upon whom thou dost pour out thy Holy Spirit, that they may now be united to the body of the Church, never to be separated by sinful works.\(^3\) Give more abundantly to those to whom thou hast given the forgiveness of sins, even the firstfruits of thy kingdom through Jesus Christ our Lord. Then he signs their foreheads with the sign of caritas and gives to them the kiss, saying 'The Lord be with you.'\(^4\)

The Coptic rite in current use follows the same sequence. After baptism there is an anointing of the whole body for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit in the pouring out of the Holy Chrism, followed by clothing, and the signing of the infants and breathing upon them. Then the priest says:

> Master Lord God almighty, who alone art eternal the Father of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who didst command that thy servants should be born through the laver of the new birth, and hast bestowed upon them forgiveness of their sins and the garment of incorruption and the grace of sonship. Do thou again, O our Master, send down upon them the grace of thy Holy Spirit the Paraclete; make them partakers of life eternal and immortality...\(^5\)

Then follows the gift of the holy Mysteries.

The Egyptian baptismal liturgy thus manifests stability of structure and teaching from the third and fourth centuries to the present day. It remains closely related to the baptismal liturgies of Rome and North Africa in the earlier centuries.

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1 ed. Dix p.38, Botte, pp.52-53, and p.53, n.1  
2 ed. Dix p.39, Botte pp.52-53  
3 *operibus alienis*  
4 Hanssens, op. cit, 2nd vol. p.119, ed.2  
5 R.M. Woolley, *Coptic Offices*, 1930; repr. in Whitaker, op. cit. pp.91-98
(iii) The baptismal formula from the eighth to the eleventh centuries.

The prevalence of infant baptism, and the consequent decline of adult baptism, led to the modification of the baptismal formula in the eighth century and subsequently. Hitherto the triple baptismal immersion accompanied the threefold profession of faith in the Trinity in the baptismal interrogations. But now in the case of infant baptism the baptismal immersion began to be separated from the baptismal interrogations. The interrogations were still addressed to the infant, or to the Godparent. But the act of baptism followed under another formula.

The Celtic and Gallican liturgical codices of the eighth century illustrate this development. The earliest of these is the Stowe Missal. After the blessing of the font the interrogation is conducted by the deacon:

Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?  
R: I believe.
Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered?  
R: I believe.
Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the [Holy] Catholic Church, the renunciation of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?  
R: I believe.

He descends into the font; and is bathed three times or sprinkled...

The Bobbio Missal shows two changes in the rite at this point, besides having a longer form of the Creed. First, the baptismal interrogation is switched from the infant to the Godparent, from the second to the third person singular:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?  
He replies. May he believe.
Does he also believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified and buried; he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven; he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come again to judge the living and the dead?  
He replies. May he believe.

Does he believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh; to have life after death, to rise in the glory of Christ?  
He replies. May he believe.

Secondly, the baptism is followed by a declaratory Trinitarian formula:

2 op. cit. p.31
4 ib., pp.74f, [245-7]
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, having one substance, that thou mayest have eternal life in company with the saints.  

The Gallican Missale Gothicum, although it does not give the text of the interrogations, presupposes a similar arrangement:

In baptizing him, thou dost question him and thou dost say: I baptize thee, N, in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen.

The interrogation is retained in the second person singular in the Missale Gallicanum Vetus, though in an unusual form:

Dost thou believe the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of one virtue?
R: I believe.

Dost thou believe the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of the same power?
R: I believe.

Dost thou believe the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, of trinal truth, abiding in one substance, to be perfect God?
R: I believe.

Thou sayest: Do I baptize thee?
R: Baptize.

I baptize thee who dost believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, that thou mayest have eternal life for ever and ever.

The weakened significance of the baptismal interrogative therefore in the case of the baptism of infants was remedied by the authoritative act of the priest. The declaratory formula was in part based on the baptismal formula at the conclusion of Matthew, to which however was added the end of baptism in a formula derived from the third of the baptismal interrogations.

This development in the baptismal formula is witnessed further in the Gelsonian, Gregorian and Ambrosian Sacramentaries of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Thus the Gelsonian Prague Sacramentary of the ninth century has the triple interrogation addressed to the infant, Credis, with the response Credo, followed by the triple immersion in the name of the Trinity: 'I baptize thee, N, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'. While the Gregorian Hadrianum has after the blessing of the font the simple rubric 'Baptizat [eum]’, the Anianense Supplement sets out the interrogations and baptism in full. The Hadrianum was a copy of the Roman Sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne between 784 and 791. It was adapted to the needs of the Carolingian Church by Benedict of Aniane in the early years of the ninth century. After the blessing of the font, the priest (sacerdos) first asks the name of the child. Then follow the baptismal interrogations.

1 op. cit. p.75 [248]  
2 ed. L.C. Mohlberg, RED, Series Maior Fontes V, Roma 1961  
3 Dum baptizas  
4 ed. L.C. Mohlberg, RED Series Maior Fontes III, Roma 1958  
6 ib. p.62  
7 Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, ed. J. Deshusses, Freibourg Suisse 1971  
8 ib. p.188, mg. ref.375
in the second person singular, with the response *Credo*, but without the immersions. These come next:

*Then the priest baptizes him by triple immersion, thereby invoking the Holy Trinity, and saying:*

*'And I baptize thee in the name of the Father'. And he immerses him once. 'And of the Son'. And he immerses him again. 'And of the Holy Spirit'. And he immerses him a third time.*

A similar arrangement is to be found in the Ambrosian *Sacramentarium Bergomense* of the ninth century. After the blessing of the font, the presbyter and deacon enter the font, and the priest (*sacerdos*, i.e. the bishop) asks 'Why have you come?', to which they reply 'To baptize'. The priest responds, 'Go baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. The credal interrogations follow, but in the plural, *Creditis?*, with the reply also in the plural, *Credimus*, but again without the immersions. Then the priest says, 'Baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. That the triple immersion takes place at the mention of the divine names is clear from the provisions at this point of the Ambrosian *Sacramentarium Triplex*.

It was on these lines that baptism was settled for the later middle ages in the West.

(iv) The basic rite of baptism and chrismation with the laying on of the hand.

The second generic difference between the Eastern and Western baptismal liturgies concerns the ritual for the gift of the Holy Spirit. It is as complex in the West as it is in the East.

The starting point for its elucidation must be Tertullian and Cyprian. For both of them baptism is followed by the imposition of the hand and chrismation. The relationship of the one to the other is unambiguously stated by Tertullian:

*Not that the Holy Spirit is given to us in the water, but that in the water we are made clean by the action of the angel,* and made ready for the Holy Spirit.

He goes on to explain anointing and the imposition of the hand:

*...we come up from the washing and are anointed with the blessed unction, following that ancient practice by which, ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses, there was a custom of anointing them for priesthood with oil out of a horn. That is why he is called the anointed one [christus] from the chrism which means anointing; and from this also the Lord obtained his name, for, in the spiritual order [facta spiritualis] he*

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1 op. cit. p.378. (para.1084-1085)
2 ed. A. Paredi and G. Fassi, Bergamo 1962
3 ed. O. Heiming, LQF. 49, Münster 1968, p.117
4 A reference to Jn 5:4 in *De Bap.*
5 *De Bap.*
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

was anointed in the Spirit by God the Father, as it is said in Acts¹ ... So also in our case the unction flows upon the flesh, but turns to spiritual profit, just as in the baptism itself there is an act that touches the flesh, that we are immersed in water, but a spiritual effect, that we are set free from sins.

Next follows the imposition of the hand in benediction, inviting and welcoming the Holy Spirit.²

The same distinctions and the same doctrine are found in Cyprian:

It is necessary also for him who is baptized to be anointed, that having received chrism, that is anointing, he can be God’s anointed and have in himself the grace of Christ.³

and again:

Peter and John supplied what was lacking;⁴ prayer was made for the baptized, the hand laid upon them, the Holy Spirit was invoked and was poured upon them. The same practice is observed among us now; those baptized in the Church are brought to the officers of the Church, and by our prayer and by imposition of the hand they obtain the Holy Spirit, and are perfected by the seal of the Lord.⁵

The complexity of the rite that expresses and effects redemption is not in question. What we need to clarify is the way in which the gift of the Holy Spirit was subsequently formulated.

Broadly speaking there are two variants to the basic form in Tertullian and Cyprian. First there are those rites emanating from or related to the centre, namely Rome. And secondly there are those rites which developed in other areas in response to different circumstances in the life of the Church. In the former, chrismation developed into a double anointing, presbyteral and episcopal, with the imposition of the hand. In the latter, the rite underwent changes in consequence of the absence of the bishop.

1 Ac 4:27
2 De Bap. 7,8
3 Ep 70:3
4 Ac 9:14-17
5 Ep 73:9

141
(v) **Baptism, presbyteral and episcopal chrismation, with the laying on of the hand, at the Easter Vigil.**

The evidence of St Ambrose is given in sermons, *On the Sacraments* and *On the Mysteries*, and so in the nature of the genre is not always clear and detailed, as we shall see. 'Thou didst wash therefore' he says; 'thou camest to the priest' - that is, not the presbyter, but the bishop. He then anointed the baptized:

> God the Father almighty, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Spirit, and hast forgiven thee thy sins, himself anoint(s) thee unto eternal life.  

This anointing he calls 'regeneration', because it admits to participation in the resurrection of the Son. There followed the pedilavium which, although absent from the rite of the Roman Church as he admits, he nevertheless defends as 'a work of sanctification'. After this came the vesture with the white robes. Then finally there was what Ambrose calls the *spiritale signaculum*, the spiritual seal, which he also calls the *perfectio*, the perfecting:

> At the invocation of the priest the Holy Spirit is bestowed, 'the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness, the Spirit of holy fear', as it were seven virtues of the Spirit.

He does not make it clear whether, after the prayer, there is the imposition of the hand by the priest, or chrismation, or both. The language that he uses, however, is like that of Cyprian, as we have already seen:  

> by our prayer and imposition of the hand they obtain the Holy Spirit, and are perfected by the seal of the Lord.

Cyprian appears to distinguish between the imposition of the hand, following the prayer for the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and chrismation; and it must remain possible that Ambrose does likewise.

Such a distinction is found in the *Ordo Romanus XI* of the seventh century or even the second half of the sixth century. After the baptism, a presbyter - no longer the bishop - makes the sign of the cross in chrism with his thumb on the crown of the head of the infants, saying 'Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ', and so forth. The text of this prayer is given in the old Gelasianum (Reg. 316) of the middle of the eighth century:

> Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast regenerated thee by water and the Holy Spirit, and who hast given unto thee remission of all sins, himself anoint(s) thee with the chrism of salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord unto eternal life.

R: Amen.

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1 *De Sacr.* II 24  
2 ib. III 1f  
3 *De Sacr.* III 4f  
4 *De Myst.*34  
5 *De Sacr.* III.9  
6 Ep 73.g  
7 Andrieu, op. cit., II.413  
8 op. cit., para.97. p.446  
9 Mohlberg, op. cit., para.450. p.74
The baptized infants, now vested, and brought into the Church, are arranged in a circle before the pontifex who 'prays over them, confirming [confirmans] them with the invocation of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit'.\(^1\) After the prayer, he signs them with the cross, using his thumb, in chrism on the forehead of each of them, saying 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Peace be with thee'.\(^2\) The following note is then added:

Great care must be taken that this is not neglected, because every baptism is confirmed as lawful in the name of Christianity.\(^3\)

The old Gelasian Sacramentary, which at this point reveals a conflation of sources, presbyteral and episcopal, re-organizes the conclusion of the rite in this way:

Then is given to them by the bishop the sevenfold Spirit. In giving them the seal he places his hand upon them with these words:

'Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast regenerated these servants by water and the Holy Spirit, and who hast given to them the remission of all sins: do thou, O Lord, send upon them thy Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, and give them the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness; and fill them with the Spirit of the fear of God: in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom thou livest and reignest God for ever with the Holy Spirit throughout all ages. Amen.'

Afterwards he signs them on the forehead with chrism, saying:

'The sign of Christ unto eternal life.'

R: Amen.'

'Peace be with thee'.

R: 'And with thy spirit'.\(^4\)

The Mass of the Easter Vigil follows, beginning with the Gloria.

Thus the citation of Isaiah 11:2-3 by Justin in the Dialogue with Trypho\(^5\) manifestly had its context at that date. The post-baptismal anointing in Cyprian's time, which is seen to be a double anointing by the bishop in Milan in Ambrose's time, has become in \textit{Ordo Romanus XI} and the old Gelasian Sacramentary an anointing with chrism on the crown of the head by the presbyter,\(^6\) and then after the prayer for the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit with the imposition of the hand, an anointing with chrism on the forehead. The prayer at the presbyteral anointing and the prayer at the episcopal anointing have the same introduction. Chrismation is conceived as a unity, enfolding the imposition of the hand with its prayer.

The Hadrianum, the Gregorian Sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, sets out the prayers for the blessing of the font, the presbyteral chrismation of the head (\textit{in cerebro}), and the prayer for the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit in association with the consignation of the infants, that is, the final episcopal chrismation. It is however very sparing in its use of rubrics, and so the course of the rite has to be

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\(^1\) Andrieu, \textit{op. cit.} II para.100, p.446
\(^2\) ib. para.101
\(^3\) ib. para.102
\(^4\) Mohlberg, \textit{op. cit.} 450-452, p.74
\(^5\) See p.92 above
\(^6\) Doubtless the survival of a more ample anointing in which the chrism flowed over the whole body before the vesture. Cf. the doubling anointing in the Eastern baptismal liturgy, p.124 ff.
understood from other Roman sources. The Anianense Supplement to the Hadrianum, however, not only supplies rubrical detail, but also adapts the Sacramentary to the needs of the Carolingian Church. Accordingly a new situation is brought to light, namely the possibility of there being an Easter Vigil without the bishop. Thus, after the text of the prayer at the presbyteral chrismation, the Supplement continues:

> And the infant is vested with his clothes. If indeed the bishop is present, it is necessary for him at once to be confirmed with chrism, and afterwards to communicate.
> And if the bishop is absent, let him be communicated by the presbyter with these words:
> 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thee unto eternal life. Amen.'

These rubrics make a far-reaching change in Western baptismal liturgy, but they already have a history, as we shall see.

1 Deshusses, op. cit. I para.1086-89, p.379
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

Synopsis: The baptismal liturgy in the West: Milan and Rome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Milan</th>
<th>Rome</th>
<th>Rome (Gaul)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td>Ordo Romanus XI</td>
<td>Sacr. Gel. (Vat.Reg.lat.316)</td>
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<tr>
<td>De Sacr. i-iii</td>
<td>(6th-7th cent)</td>
<td>(731-780)</td>
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Redditio symboli

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rome</th>
<th>Rome (Gaul)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>419 Early (mane)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holy Saturday at the 3rd hour</td>
<td>420 touching nostrils and ears with spittle</td>
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Effeta

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<tr>
<th>Rome</th>
<th>Rome (Gaul)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84f</td>
<td>421 touching the breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the opening of the ears and nostrils by touching</td>
<td>421 touching the breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil -</td>
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</tbody>
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Renunciations

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<tr>
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<th>Rome (Gaul)</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>421 touching the breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dost thou renounce the devil and his works?</td>
<td>421 touching the breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I renounce.</td>
<td>- I renounce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dost thou renounce the world and its pleasures?</td>
<td>421 touching the breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I renounce.</td>
<td>- I renounce.</td>
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Profession of faith

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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>425 ad ecclesiam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Then the creed is said, with imposition of the hand.</td>
<td>426ff blessing of the candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The electi pray together.</td>
<td>431ff X lessons and prayers</td>
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The Easter Vigil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rome</th>
<th>Rome (Gaul)</th>
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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>425 ad ecclesiam</td>
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<tr>
<td>426ff blessing of the candle</td>
<td>431ff X lessons and prayers</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>443 procession to the fonts</td>
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<td>91-93 procession to the fonts</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
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<tr>
<td>blessing of the water</td>
<td>litanies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litany</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
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Blessing of the water

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<th>Rome</th>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you saw the font and the sacerdos (= bishop) by the font</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacerdos says the prayer at the font</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infusing of chrism</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprinkling all the font and the people</td>
<td>445ff consecration of the font</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before the children are baptized, everyone who wishes shall receive a blessing, each taking some of the water for sprinkling in their houses or vineyards or fields or orchards.

**Credal interrogations and baptism**

**S ii 20**

Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?

- I believe.

[First immersion]

Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his cross?

- I believe.

[Second immersion]

Dost thou believe also in the Holy Spirit?

- I believe.

[Triple immersion]

Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered?

- I believe.

And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?

- I believe.

Post-baptismal anointing

**S ii 24**

thou camest to the priest: 'God the Father almighty, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Spirit, and hath forgiven thee thy sins, himself anoint thee unto eternal life.'

[Anointing]
The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

Milan
Ambrose

Rome
Ordo Romanus XI

Rome (Gaul)
Sacr. Gel. (Vat.Reg.lat.316)

Pedilavium
S iii 4-7
the washing of the feet
by the high priest
and the presbyters

‘Spiritual seal’ and ‘Perfecting’: chrismation (and imposition of the hand)
99
the pontifex goes
from the font and sits
in his chair in the church

S iii 8
There follows
the ‘spiritual seal’ and the
‘perfecting’... at the invocation
of the priest
the Holy Spirit is bestowed,
'the spirit of wisdom
and understanding,
the spirit of counsel
and strength,
the spirit of knowledge
and godliness,
the spirit of holy fear ...'

100
... and makes a prayer over them,
confirming them
with the invocation
of the sevenfold grace
of the Holy Spirit.

451
Then the sevenfold Spirit is
given to them by the bishop.
To seal them he lays his hand
upon them with these words:
'Almighty God, Father of
Our Lord Jesus Christ,
who hast made thy servants to be
regenerated of water and
the Holy Spirit,
and hast given them
remission of all their sins,
do thou Lord, send upon them
thy Holy Spirit the Paraclete,
and give them the spirit
of wisdom and understanding,
the spirit of counsel and might,
the spirit of knowledge and
godliness,
and fill them with the spirit of
fear of God, in the name
of Our Lord Jesus Christ...'.

101
When the prayer has been said,
he makes the sign of the cross
with his thumb and chrism
on the forehead of each one,
saying:
'In the name of the Father
and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit.
Peace be to thee.'
R: Amen.

452
Afterwards he signs them
on the forehead with chrism:
'The sign of Christ
unto eternal life.'
R: 'Amen'.

R: 'Peace be with thee'.
R: 'And with thy spirit'.

Eucharist
S iv 5
It follows that
you come to the altar.

103
After this they go
into Mass, and all the infants
receive communion.

Then with a litany he goes up
to his chair, and says:
'Gloria in excelsis Deo'.
(vi) **Baptism and presbyteral chrismation in the absence of the bishop.**

The foundation scheme of the Western baptismal liturgy, namely baptism and chrismation with the imposition of the hand, exhibits a second variant in the Celtic, Gallican, and Ambrosian areas of the Church. Here the celebration of the Easter Vigil in the absence of the bishop is presupposed. In consequence, the blessing of the font includes the infusion of chrism, so that the pouring of the water over the whole body also secures the anointing of the whole body, which formerly fell to the presbyter; while the presbyteral chrismation is given *in fronte*, on the forehead, which formerly fell to the bishop. On these conditions holy communion is given. Absent is any mention of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The Stowe Missal provides that when the blessing of the font is finished the priest (*sacerdos*) pours chrism into the font in the form of the cross. Then, after the interrogations and baptism, the infant is anointed with chrism *in cerebrum in fronte*, on his head and on his forehead. The presbyteral chrismation is followed by an Irish rubric, 'It is here that the anointing is done', with a Latin declaratory formula:

> I anoint thee with the oil and the chrism of salvation and of sanctification in the name of God the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit now and throughout all ages.'

After the vesture and the pedilavium, the formula for holy communion is given: 'The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee unto eternal life. Amen'. No mention is made of the bishop or of the Easter Vigil.

Similar provisions are found in the Bobbio Missal. After the blessing of the font the priest pours chrism into the font in the form of the cross, saying:

> The infusion of the chrism of salvation of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it may become a fount of living water springing up unto eternal life for all who come.'

After the baptism there is a rubric: 'Thou dost spread chrism on his forehead', which introduces the formula for the presbyteral anointing.

> While thou dost touch him with chrism, thou sayest:

> 'I anoint thee with the chrism of holiness, <[and] clothe thee with> the

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1 The next prayer 'Perform thy work, creature of oil...' is an exorcistic prayer, and so out of place in this context. In the Bobbio Missal [243] it precedes baptism.
2 HBS text, op. cit. pp.31-2
3 HBS text, op. cit. [238], p.73
4 HBS text [249], p.75
5 ib. [255-261], pp.76-78

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The Baptismal Liturgy in the West

garment of immortality, which our Lord Jesus Christ first received from the Father, that thou mayest bear it entire and spotless before the judgment seat of Christ and live for ever and ever.¹

The same changes in the rite - the infusion of chrism in the font, the eclipse of the second chrismation by the bishop in fronte, on the forehead, and the abandonment of any mention of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit - are found in the Ambrosian sacramentaries, for example, the Sacramentarium Bergomense and the Sacramentary of Biasca. But the paradoxical feature of the Ambrosian rite is that the bishop is present.

(vii) The disintegration of the baptismal liturgy.

The absence of the bishop from the Easter baptismal liturgy was the primary factor in its dis-integration in the West. The disappearance of the episcopal chrismation, the prayer for the septiform gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the imposition of the hand, was in no way compensated for by the infusion of chrism in the font. The loss of this liturgical unity is well illustrated in a striking way by the Prague Sacramentary at the end of the eighth century.² After the presbyteral chrismation the following rubric is added:

Then the septiform Spirit is given to them by the bishop after the octave day.³

On the eve of the English Reformation the last printing of the Sarum ordo baptismi in 1543 noted that the newly baptized infant was to 'be confirmed as soon as the bishop comes within a distance of seven miles' - regardless of the date of baptism in relation to Easter.⁴ The fact of the matter is that the formation of dioceses had long since ceased to keep pace with the spread of the Church, and episcopal order was no longer related to the regular course of liturgical life.⁵

Without the bishop and his part in the baptismal liturgy, only a reduced rite of baptism survived. The forgiveness of all sins in the baptismal immersions was left without its proper sequel in the septiform Messianic gift of the Holy Spirit. A start was made on initiation, but a conclusion not reached.

But if the part of the bishop at the Easter Vigil was deemed dispensable, so was the Easter Vigil itself. Accordingly in the eleventh century Mozarabic Liber Ordinum, while at the Easter Vigil, with the bishop present, baptism is allowed for,⁶ the ordo

¹ ed. Mohlberg, para.261, p.67
² Das Prager Sakramentar, edd. A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer, Beuron, 1949
³ ib. p.62*
⁴ Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis, ed. A. Jefferies Collins, HBS vol.XLI, 1960, pp.37f
⁵ Baptismal reform should start not with parents and Godparents but with bishops. Bishops need to be rescued from old lordship and new management, and restored to the ordinary ways of liturgical prayer.
⁶ Férotin, cols. 217-219
baptismi is set out at length quolibet tempore. 1 Similarly, while the rubrics at the conclusion of the Sarum rite recognize that

Solemn baptism is customarily celebrated on the Saturday before Easter and at the vigil of Pentecost; and therefore children born within eight days of Easter or within eight days of Pentecost must be reserved for baptism on Easter Eve or on the vigil of Pentecost, if conveniently and without risk they can be reserved.,

the lengthy catechumenate prayers, exorcisms, and adjurations nevertheless bear no relation to Lent; and the ordo baptismi itself is only exceptionally performed at the vigils of Easter and Pentecost. The virtual separation of the baptismal liturgy from the Easter Vigil may be further exemplified by the earliest extant printed edition of the Missale Romanum, printed at Milan in 1474. 2 Here the rite of the Easter Vigil provides for the procession to the font after the lessons and their collects; but the blessing of the font is merely referred to in a rubric, and no text is given, and nothing is said about baptism, chrismation and the imposition of the hand. The litany of the saints is no longer the chant for the procession to the baptistery, but is sung with the sacerdos and other ministers prostrate before the altar. 3

The last stage in the dis-integration of the paschal baptismal liturgy was the separation from the baptismal rite of holy communion. The Arianense Supplement to the Hadrianum allowed that, in the absence of the bishop and so of confirmation, holy communion was nevertheless to be given to the newly baptized. But the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 made communion obligatory only from 'the age of discretion'. This was not defined, but it was generally held to be later than the age for first confession, that is, approximately seven years of age. Moreover, confirmation received fresh emphasis as the normal requirement for holy communion. Thus in the Sarum Missal of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, after the presbyteral chrismation, vesture, and the giving of the candle to the infant, there is a rubric which reads:

'If the bishop is present, it is necessary for him to be confirmed straightway, and afterwards to be communicated if he is of age.', 4

The corresponding rubric in the Sarum Manual of 1543 is similar: ‘...and afterwards he is to be communicated if his age require it’. Again, nothing is said about communion after baptism, without confirmation. To this extent the process of dis-integration was arrested; for the Sarum Manual explicitly says:

Also no one must be admitted to the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ save in danger of death, unless he has been confirmed or has been reasonably prevented from receiving the sacrament of confirmation. 5

Thus the later middle ages witnessed the thoroughgoing dis-integration of the baptismal liturgy. The absence of the bishop from the Easter Vigil led to the dissociation of episcopal chrismation and the imposition of hands for the sevenfold Messianic gifts of the Holy Spirit from baptism and from Easter. Baptism too was in

1 ib. cols.21-37
2 HBS XLI, p.40, tr. E.C. Whitaker, op. cit. p.250
3 ed. R. Lippe, reprinted HBS vol.I Text 1899, vol.II Collation with other editions printed before 1570. 1907
4 HBS vol.I pp.189-190. See also vol.II pp.89-93.
5 The Sarum Missal, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford 1916, p.131
6 ib. p.43 and footnote, tr. E.C. Whitaker, op. cit. p.251
usual practice separated from the Easter Vigil. The introduction to the eucharistic life was in turn separated from both baptism and confirmation, and also from Easter. All these components gained their intelligibility and power from their coherence in a single Christological mystery. Each was weakened by isolation. Dis-integration in the middle ages led to the damaging controversies in the attempts at reformation in the sixteenth century, and still haunts the liturgical changes of our own time.¹

¹ In recent liturgical changes in the Church of England Catholic shape has been purchased at the expense of Catholic doctrine. In the reform of the Roman rite, the principles of revision are characterized by a return to sources, and are fully exhibited in the Ordo initiationis christianae adultorum (1972). Initiation consists of the threefold sacrament of baptism, confirmation and the eucharist. Provision is made for an extended catechumenate and for celebration at the Easter Vigil.
Liturgy on Sabbath and on Sunday

(i) The Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue

(a) The canon and lectionary

The synagogue and the scriptures share a common corporate existence. The formation of scriptural texts, both writing down and collecting, is inconceivable without a corporate religious life of some sort. This corporate religious life is not to be thought of as confined to the Temple. Thus the production of the Septuagint in Alexandria, spread over a period of time, suggests the existence there of a school or schools of scriptural learning. Similarly the scriptorium at Qumran and the interpretation of texts there show that scriptural scholarship flourished apart from the Temple. Indeed, to go further back, the discovery of the book of the law in the Temple in the reign of Josiah\(^1\) looks suspiciously like an editorial plant, epitomising the Deuteronomistic reform, which was by no means restricted to Josiah's reign or localized in Jerusalem. Further, as has often been supposed, the elders gathered around Ezekiel\(^2\) seem to have constituted a 'synagogue' of some sort. Synagogue and scriptures form an understandable alliance.

In speaking of the Synagogue, however, we are not necessarily to imagine a building, still less a building in stone. Before that stage was reached there was, as we can see from hints in the New Testament, the house or the courtyard, the square, the town gate or the riverside. Yet the purpose-built synagogue, and also the accompanying immersion bath, did exist in New Testament times, as the excavations have shown at Masada and Herodium for certain, and perhaps at Gamla on the Golan Heights.\(^3\) The New Testament itself is, of course, an important source for the location of synagogues, both in Judaea and Galilee and in the Diaspora.

As for the liturgy of the synagogue, it is possible to reconstruct this for Jewish and early Christian times with a reasonable degree of reliability. The core of the synagogue liturgy was the reading of the law. The earliest provision for this is contained in an interpolated section in Deuteronomy:

1. 2 Kg 22:8,10ff
2. Ezek 1:1, 8:1, 14:1, 20:1-3
And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the set time of the year of release, in the feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Assemble the people, the men and the women and the little ones, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not known, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.

On this section von Rad comments:

What Moses had till then carried in his mind and handed on by word of mouth is now transmitted to the priests in the form of a book, which they must read out from time to time to the assembled community. Here we have the first beginnings of the canon. The idea of reading aloud the whole of Deuteronomy before the great assembly at a festival presents difficulties. But the author of this section by no means invented the custom, assumed here, of a recital of the law at the culmination of a cultic celebration. It had long been customary in Israel... Our author only modified the custom so far as to claim to know that from now on Deuteronomy was included in the reading.

Similar provision for the reading of the Law is found in Nehemiah 8, but now with this difference, that the biblical Hebrew is also translated into Aramaic. Thus, after the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem:

All the people gathered themselves together [sc.from their cities] as one man into the broad place that was before the water gate ... And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And they read in the books, in the law of God, distinctly [mg. with an interpretation]; and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading.

It will be noticed that what is read is the law, and nothing else.

If in Palestine it was necessary to translate the Hebrew text into Aramaic, a practice which was eventually codified in the Targums of the late second century and later of the common era, it was similarly necessary to translate it into Greek in Egypt for the benefit of the large Jewish populations there in the third century BC. An idealised account of this is given in the Letter of Aristeas. According to this Letter, six scholars from each of the twelve tribes were assembled in Alexandria to make a

1 Deut 31:9-13 RV  
2 G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, ET London 1966 ad loc. p.189  
3 i.e. New Year (Lev 23:24), ten days before the Day of Atonement (Lev.23:27), and fifteen days before the feast of Tabernacles (Lev.23:34).  
4 Neh 8:1-8  
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translation of the books of the law from a Hebrew master copy for the benefit of King Ptolemy. But the Letter seems to have been written in the closing quarter of the second century with the intention of authenticating not a translation made for Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247BC), but a current revision. In the third century there were perhaps a number of translations of the books of the law circulating among the Jewish congregations of Egypt, and now in the late second century a kind of authorised version was attempted.1

Roughly contemporary with the Letter of Aristeas is the book Ecclesiasticus in its present Greek form. The Prologue gives an account of its origin. The translator received it from his grandfather, Jesus the son of Sirach, who was himself a scholar in Hebrew 'instruction and wisdom', and sought to furnish a digest to serve as an introduction. But this 'instruction and wisdom' embraced not only the law but also the prophets and 'the other books of our fathers' - a fact which is mentioned three times in the short Prologue. It is the earliest evidence that we have of the threefold division of Scripture. Much of the book itself belongs to the genre of wisdom writing and in that respect is like 'the other books of our fathers'; yet 'the Praise of the Fathers' in Chapters 44 to 49 passes in review the great and the mighty from Enoch to Nehemiah in the law and the Prophets.

Both Josephus and 2 Esdras in the latter part of the first century AD distinguish between different categories of books. Josephus follows the distinctions in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus:

It follows that we do not possess myriads of books, conflicting with each other. Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty, and contain the record of all time. Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver. This period falls only a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as King of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life'.2

The prophets here include the historical books as well as the writing prophets, for such a distinction began to be made only in later centuries.3 The third group includes of course the Psalms, together with Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. 2 Esdras draws a distinction between open books that are read in public for the benefit of the worthy and unworthy alike, and esoteric books reserved for the wise alone. Open and esoteric books number ninety-four altogether: twenty-four to be read in public, and seventy esoteric books.4 The twenty-four books are presumably the same as the twenty-two in Josephus, but differently grouped, and so embrace the law and the Prophets and the four wisdom books.

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3 The Twelve Prophets are treated as one book, and pairing of others brings the number of books down to thirteen.
4 2 Esdras 14:44-48

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These are the perspectives of the canon of Scripture that are assumed in parts of the New Testament. References to the law (or Moses) and the Prophets, yoked together, are several times made in Matthew and Luke-Acts, with a single reference in John and in Paul. In addition, Luke refers to ‘the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms’, which shows an awareness of the threefold division of Scripture. In the scene in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch, moreover, he mentions the two lessons, followed by the sermon, in the Sabbath morning liturgy. To this same liturgical context belongs Luke's picture of the first public appearance of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth, where Jesus stood up to read the Haftarah, the prophetic lesson, and sat down to preach the sermon.

This brings us to the formation from the canonical books of Scripture of the lectionary. An important source of information here is the Mishnah tractate Megillah; for although is deals in the first place with the reading of the Scroll of Esther at the feast of Purim, it goes on to deal with the proper lessons at the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles and Dedication, and with the regular weekly lessons. The law is read in continuity from Sabbath to Sabbath, without omissions or additions. Moreover on Sabbath and feasts there is an additional reading from the Prophets, chosen perhaps for its appropriateness to the law lesson. On Mondays, Thursdays and Sabbath afternoons the law lesson was that which was appointed for the following Sabbath, and there was no reading from the Prophets.

(b) The sermon

Since however the language of Scripture was no longer the language of the people, it was necessary to provide a translation, into Aramaic in Palestine and into Greek in Egypt. The need for this interpretation of the Hebrew text is recognized, and regulated, in the Mishnah and elsewhere, and must itself have given an impetus to the development of the expository sermon. Like the reading of the lessons, the preaching of the sermon was open to anyone with the necessary competence, but naturally tended to fall to the learned.

(c) The prayers

Important though the lessons and sermon were in the Sabbath morning liturgy, they were necessarily accompanied by prayer. Indeed the first unambiguous reference in the literature to the synagogue is as a place of prayer, namely in 3[4] Maccabees 7:20. Now it is true that the archetypal prayers of Judaism, the Shema` and the Tefillah, were obligatory for all males who were of age, and so the obligation was individual. This is the way in which it is presented in the very first tractate in the

1 Mt 5:17f, 7:12, 11:13, 22:40; Lk 24:27, Ac 28:23
2 Jn 1:45; Rom 3:21
3 Lk 24:44
4 Ac 13:15
5 Lk 4:16ff
6 ed. Danby, pp.201-207
7 M.Meg. 3:5,6
8 M.Meg 3:6, 4:1-2
9 M.Meg. 4:4
Mishnah, *Berakoth*, in association with another individual obligation, namely the saying of grace at meals. Nevertheless, since the recitation of the *Shema* and the *Tefillah* was stipulated between certain hours of the day, it would not be surprising if the recitation were attracted to the synagogue liturgy within those hours. This indeed is what the Mishnah provides for, and thus on the Sabbath:

*He that gives the concluding reading from the Prophets recites also the Shema* with its Benedictions; and he goes before the Ark [i.e. to recite the Tefillah], and he lifts up his hands [in the Benediction of the Priests].*

The practice in view here needs to be clarified. The *Tefillah*, with its 18/19 Benedictions, was to be recited in full or in an abbreviated version three times a day. But on Sabbaths and feasts only those Benedictions were recited which embodied an ascription of praise, namely the first three and the last three. All the intervening petitions, judged to be out of character on the day of rest, were omitted. They were, however, replaced by a single benediction relevant to the day. Accordingly on the Sabbath this intermediate benediction was an act of praise for the sanctification of the Sabbath.

This form of the *Tefillah* was moreover doubled on the Sabbath day. That is to say, it was recited first at the beginning of the liturgy before the reading of the lessons, and then recited a second time, as the 'Additional Prayer', after the sermon. The explanation of this practice is as follows. In the Temple there was a twice-daily sacrifice of a lamb, morning and evening, together with the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour. But on the Sabbath the offering was to be doubled:

*And on the Sabbath day two he-lambs of the first year without blemish, and two tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof: this is the burnt offering of every Sabbath, beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.*

Now although the Mishnah was written as though the Temple was still in existence, it recognized the assimilation of some of its practices to the life of the synagogue. Thus in the tractate *Taanith* ('Days of Fasting') it is said:

*Three times in the year the priests four times lift up their hands during the day [sc. in the priestly benediction] (at the Morning Prayer, at the Additional Prayer, at the Afternoon Prayer, and at the Closing of the Gates).*

Danby comments in a footnote:

*These names for the synagogue services are transferred from the Temple usage, the first three corresponding to the morning Daily Whole-offering, the Additional Offerings (on sabbaths, New Moons, and Festival-days), and the afternoon Daily Whole-offering, respectively.*

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1 M.Ber. passim
2 M.Ber. 1:1-3,4:1
3 M.Meg. 4:5
4 M.Ber. 4:1,3
5 Num 28:1-8
6 Num 28:9-10
7 M. Taan. 4:1
8 ed. Danby, p.199, n5
In the synagogue, therefore the Tefillah took the place of the sacrifices in the Temple. As for the antiquity of the Additional Prayer, a saying of R. Judah (fl. AD 140-165) is quoted in connection with the hours for prayer;¹ and a saying of R. Eleazar (fl. AD 80-120) is quoted in connection with the question of whether the Additional Prayer is an individual or a congregational obligation.² Hence the Additional Prayer can be traced back to New Testament times.

**(d) The benediction of the priests**

Now there was introduced into the Tefillah the benediction of the priests. Its history is this. The text was taken from Numbers 6:24-26:

*The Lord bless thee, and keep thee:*
*The Lord make his face to shine upon thee,*
*and be gracious unto thee:*
*The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee,*
*and give thee peace.*³

In the Temple it was recited, with the lifting up of the hands, at the conclusion of the twice-daily rite of the burnt-offering.⁴ In the synagogue, however, since the Tefillah did duty for the twice-daily sacrifice in the Temple, it was introduced immediately before the final benediction for peace: ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.’ Thus, when on Sabbaths and feasts the Tefillah was doubled, recited both before and after the lessons and sermon, the benediction of the priests in the Additional Prayer, followed by the final benediction for peace, brought the liturgy to a conclusion.

**(e) Psalmody**

Finally, in outlining the components of the synagogue liturgy, the question of the use of psalmody must arise. The Septuagint notes the use of particular psalms on five days of the week, namely Psalm 23/24⁵ on the first day of the week, Psalm 47/48 on the second, Psalm 93/94 on the fourth, Psalm 92/93 on the day before the Sabbath, and Psalm 91/92 on the Sabbath day. The tractate Tamid in the Mishnah confirms this usage, and supplements the omissions in the Septuagint text, namely Psalm 81/82 on the third day of the week, and Psalm 80/81 on the fifth.⁶ Tamid introduces the list in this way: ‘This was the singing which the Levites used to sing in the Temple.’ Since the Septuagint was essentially a synagogue book, and since the synagogue tended to reflect *mutatis mutandis* the liturgical customs of the Temple, it is a reasonable assumption that psalmody was in use in the synagogue.

In spite of the unique position of the Temple, the synagogue had become in consequence of the dispersion the normal place of prayer for the Jews. The Temple was more or less distant, more or less difficult of access, and reached only on occasion by some on pilgrimage. The synagogue, however, was close at hand. ‘He

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¹ M.Ber. 4:1
² M.Ber. 4:7
³ The divine name is strongly emphasized by being repeated. The object of the blessing is not Israel as a collective whole, but the individual as a member of Israel.
⁴ M. Taan. 7:2
⁵ LXX numbering first, Hebrew second.
⁶ M. Tam. 7:4

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came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the Sabbath day.  

(ii) The transition from the synagogue to the church in New Testament times.

(a) Mark-Matthew

The association of Jesus with the synagogue is prominent in the Synoptic Gospels, and has even left its mark on the Fourth Gospel. In Mark and Matthew, which may be regarded as the first and second editions of the same tradition, it coincides with the first part of the Gospel, which is laid in Galilee. In Mark the work of Jesus begins, after the call of Simon and Andrew, James and John, with his entry into the synagogue at Capernaum on the Sabbath day, where he taught, and exorcised the man with the unclean spirit. It ends when he returned to his own country and again taught in the synagogue on the Sabbath, only to encounter 'unbelief'.

Matthew, while adopting this scheme in broad outline, constructs within it a systematic presentation of his teaching in the Sermon on Mount, followed by the collection of ten miracles. This formal scheme of teaching and miracles constitutes a unity that begins and ends with the same formula:

\[
\text{And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people.}
\]

The diatribe against the scribes and Pharisees in Matthew 23 reflects the continued involvement of Christians in the synagogue:

\[
\text{The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe: but do not ye after their works; for they say, and do not.}
\]

On the other hand there are signs of a growing rift between Christians and the synagogue. Mark once uses the expression 'their synagogues', although otherwise he has 'the synagogues'. Matthew, however, extends the use of 'their synagogues', thus implying the increasing separation of Christians from the synagogues of the scribes and Pharisees. In the saying in Matthew about the converted scribe -

1 Lk 4:16 RV
2 Mk 1:21-28
3 Mk 6:1-6a
4 Mt 4:13-13:58
5 Mt 5-7
6 Mt 8-9
7 Mt 4:23, also 9:35 RV
8 Mt 23:2-3 RV
9 Mk 1:39
Every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.\(^1\)

- it remains unclear what their future relationship to the synagogue is. Taking the Mark-Matthew tradition as a whole, then, it seems that the struggle between Christians and Pharisees has not been finally resolved.

(b) Luke-Acts

With Luke the perspectives are different. He represents the connection of Jesus with the synagogue in another light. He introduces Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth with a dramatic scene that foreshadows the address of the gospel to the non-Jewish world.\(^2\) Thus Elijah is sent to the widow of Zarephath outside Israel, and Elisha cleanses Naaman the leper from Syria in the Jordan. Further, the scene ends with the attempt of those in the synagogue to kill Jesus, so portending his death. We find here, in short, as Conzelmann wrote, 'the basic pattern of a complete Christological conception, which is consistently set out in the chronological sequence of events in the life of Jesus.'\(^3\) But if Jesus 'went his way', never to return to Nazareth, it is not quite the end of his association with the synagogue. Indeed almost at once Luke says that 'he was preaching in the synagogues of Judaea', which here perhaps means all Palestine.\(^4\) Further references to his teaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath day follow.\(^5\) In Luke's scheme of things the Apostles continue to frequent the Temple in the early Chapters of Acts, and Paul regularly begins his missionary preaching in the synagogue until he is ejected. The final scene in Acts - the fitting climax of Luke-Acts - is of Paul in Rome in his own hired dwelling, receiving all who came to him, first Jews, then Gentiles, expounding the law and the Prophets, proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.\(^6\) The boot is now on the other foot. A Christian synagogue exists even in the capital of the Empire. It is a typical scene. Luke wrote when the Roman magistracy had at last rumbled the distinction between Judaism and Christianity, with the purpose of making a defence of Christianity.

(c) John

John is different again. Nowhere is the scene of Jesus's teaching and work mentioned as laid in the synagogue, except in a single instance at 6:59: 'These things said he in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum.' Yet with this verse John springs a surprise on us, for the scene begins at 6:25ff. by the sea.\(^7\) However this may be, the association of Jesus with the synagogue is assumed in 18:20, where Jesus standing before the high priest declared: 'I have spoken openly to the world, I ever taught in synagogues, and in the Temple, when all the Jews came together.' Indeed, although John does not report any synagogue scenes, other than the one in Chapter 6, the

\(^1\) Mt 13:52 RV  
\(^2\) Lk 4:16-30  
\(^4\) Lk 4:44. So GNT\(^1\), SQE\(^3\). See C.F. Evans, Saint Luke, London 1990, ad loc.  
\(^5\) Lk 6:6 still in the Galilean period; 13:10, on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.  
\(^6\) Ac 28:17-31  
\(^7\) Haenchen (John 1. Hermeneia. Philadelphia, 1984, ad loc), following Loisy, accepts 6:59 as the conclusion of the redactor.
synagogue and the Temple epitomize for him 'the world'. His standpoint is that of the *aposynagogos*, of one expelled from the synagogue.\(^1\)

The Evangelists wrote in the period between the Jewish rebellion ending with the fall of Jerusalem in AD70, and the time when the breach between Jews and Christians became final. For them the association of Jesus with the synagogue, and his eventual rejection, encapsulated the experience of the Church in their day. Even so, the exclusion of Christians from the synagogue probably did not occur everywhere at the same time. Christians continued to frequent the synagogue for much of the first century; and it was in the synagogue, where the Scriptures were read and expounded, that Christology developed. The Scriptures, whether in Hebrew or in Greek, were an institutional possession. This is made clear by the discoveries at Qumran with its scriptorium. The possession by individuals of libelli, such as the pericope from Isaiah read by the Ethiopian eunuch, is conceivable; but the possession of entire books and even more so of the entire canon of books it inconceivable. The writers of the books of the New Testament did not rely on libelli or a handful of testimonia, but drew on the whole range of the canon of the Scriptures. Some books were specially important to them: Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, the Psalms, Isaiah. But they quoted from the actual text of the five books of the law, the major and minor prophets, Psalms and Proverbs, and the histories, while the number of allusions and verbal parallels is many times greater.\(^2\) All this is a strong indication of the continued presence in the synagogue of those who recognized Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and Lord. What Luke says of Paul in the first account of his conversion in Acts \(\text{Ac 9:20,22}\) may be regarded as typical of Christian expository method:

> Straightway in the synagogues he proclaimed Jesus, that he is the Son of God, .. and confounded the Jews which dwelt in Damascus, proving that he is the Christ.\(^3\)

Gerhard Delling comments on this verb to 'prove': 'In the Jewish mission this proof had the character of compelling demonstration; it presupposes, of course, a belief in the authority of Scripture and in the continuity of God's saving work.'\(^4\)

With the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, the synagogue became the only regular place for prayer and instruction. Increasingly it now came to be dominated by the Pharisees under the influence of the school for the study of the law founded at Jamnia by Johanan ben Zakkai. This fact explains the increasing emphasis placed on the controversies of Jesus with the scribes and Pharisees in Matthew in comparison with Mark. Pharisees and Christians were now contending for the soul of Israel. The experience of the Apostolic Church was thus reflected in the Gospel narration. While Pharisees sought to rally Israel to the law, however, Christians took advantage of the use of Greek as a liturgical language by attracting Greek-speaking Gentiles. Hence in the pericope in Matthew of the resurrection appearance of Jesus in Galilee, the expansion of the Church into the Gentile world is adumbrated.\(^5\) The debates between Christianity and Judaism are still in Mark-Matthew under the umbrella of Judaism, but the future of a Gentile Church is coming

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1. Jn 9:22, 12:42, 16:2
2. See GNT pp.897-911
3. Ac 9:20,22
4. TDNT VII 764
5. Mt 28:19. Did Matthew get this pericope from Mark, like the rest of the passion and resurrection tradition in the main? Mt 28:9-10, otiose in Matthew, would have been essential to Mark.
into view. In Luke-Acts the breach between Synagogue and Church had occurred everywhere, and was indeed the occasion of Luke's writing. It had come to be recognized outside Jewish and Christian circles by local Roman officials like Claudioius Lysias and Felix, Festus - and Theophilus. In the Johannic corpus, least indebted to the Scriptures, the Church had moved furthest from the Synagogue.

(d) Paul

As for the Apostle to the Gentiles, he describes himself as 'circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews, as touching the law a Pharisee.' Of course this meant Pharisaism of the period before Jamnia, and (in spite of Luke's picture of him in Acts) Judaism of the Diaspora in Asia Minor. There the requirements of the law were in many ways more relaxed than in Palestinian Judaism. God-fearers and converts were received on the basis of the Noachian covenant, without the requirement of circumcision and the obligation to keep the whole law. Nevertheless it is, in the judgment of W.D. Davies, very improbable that Paul would have cast off the Judaism in which he had been reared, and very likely that in speaking of faith in Christ he would have done so with a Hebrew accent. However much the controversy with the early gnosticism may have occupied him, especially in Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians, we repeatedly get glimpses of his base in Judaism. His argument is constantly supported by quotations from the law and the Prophets and the Psalms, and this familiarity with the text of Scripture could only have been gained from the synagogue. The involvement of women along with men in the display of pneumatic gifts in worship is opposed by him on the grounds of custom - the custom of the churches derived from the synagogue. The disciplining of a brother guilty of some egregious moral offence is to be settled in the church functioning as a synagogue court.

We have to think therefore of a gradual process in the separation of the church from the synagogue, which became complete at different times and in different places. And if the debate was sharp on the Christian side, it was also sharp on the Jewish side. It was of sufficient gravity to warrant the introduction into the Tefillah of an additional benediction which Christians could not possibly pray, and which therefore finally forced them out of the synagogue. Two régimes resulted, which Ignatius epitomized as living according to Judaism and living according to Christ Jesus.

(e) Conclusion

The Christology of the New Testament therefore, founded on the Scriptures, and nourished by prayer, presupposes the liturgical life of the synagogue. It was incompatible with the Pharisaism of the era following the destruction of the Temple and the reconstruction of Jewish life and prayer at Jamnia. Christian and Pharisees went their separate ways. Church and synagogue developed into separate institutions. Thus it came about, as Danby succinctly expressed the matter in the opening

1 Phil 3:5
3 W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, London 1948, pp.321-324
4 1 Cor 11:1-16; 12-14, passim
5 1 Cor 5-6
6 Ignatius, Mag.8:1,2a
paragraph of the introduction to his edition of the Mishnah, 'that while Judaism and Christianity alike venerate the Old Testament as Canonical Scriptures, the Mishnah marks the passage to Judaism as definitely as the New Testament marks the passage to Christianity.1

(iii) The Scriptural synaxis in the pre-Nicene Church

The foundation of Christology in the Scriptures ensured the continuance of the synagogue liturgy with its Scriptures in the life of the pre-Nicene Church. Developments there were, but not so as to change the perspectives of inherited liturgy. Complete changes of direction in the worship of God were inimical to stability and 'endurance'.2 The Church's position was this, that Christology brought out the true meaning of Scripture. So the Scriptural synaxis was perpetuated in the life of the Church.

(a) Justin

The earliest account of this synaxis in the Catholic church is found in Justin's First Apology. As we have already noticed,3 in the closing stages of this Apology he describes in outline both the liturgy of the Easter Vigil, first, and then the Sunday liturgy. The latter is composed of lessons, a sermon and prayers:

On the so-called day of the Sun there is a meeting of all of us who live in cities or the country, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then when the reader has ceased, the proestos gives by word of mouth his admonition and exhortation to follow these excellent things. Afterwards we all rise at once and offer prayers.4

The synaxis has been transferred from the Sabbath to the first day of the week, for reasons which will be considered in the next chapter. The lessons include both 'the memoirs of the Apostles' and 'the writings of the prophets'. The memoirs of the Apostles in Justin's usage certainly means the Gospels, perhaps by this date in Rome in a four-fold canon. It is less certain what Justin means by the prophets. But since in his Dialogue with Trypho a Jew he draws on the whole range of the Old Testament, it would be an arbitrary distinction to suppose that he meant the prophets as distinct from the law: for the law is equally prophetic of Christ. Thus we should think of the Scriptures inherited from the synagogue liturgy as now supplemented by the Gospel corpus. We should at the same time notice that they are read by a 'reader', that is, not by deacon, presbyter or bishop. These related terms of order develop in connection with the eucharistic liturgy. But the scriptural liturgy retains the practice of the synagogue. The reader is anyone who is of age, and male, who is able to read and read intelligibly, and whose manner of life is consistent with what he reads. Only in later centuries did the reading of the lessons begin to be taken over by those in holy orders. But 'reading' did not mean reading in the natural, spoken voice. The texts

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1 The Mishnah, London 1933, p.xiii
2 Lk 8:15, 21:19; Rom 5:3f; Heb 10:36; Rev 1:9; etc.
3 p.90f above
4 Justin, 1 Apology 67, tr. H.M. Gwatkin

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read were sacred texts, and the mode of reading was determined by their solemn character and by the circumstances of the synaxis. The character of the text called for formal solemn enunciation. Hence they were intoned. The want of punctuation in the manuscripts was supplied by inflection. Hence the origin of lesson tones. Moreover, what was read needed to be heard. In a large room or hall therefore the voice was projected by intonation to secure audibility. When Jesus rose in the synagogue at Nazareth to read from Isaiah 61, he intoned what he read.\(^1\)

The lessons were followed by the sermon. In the synagogue the preaching of the sermon did not necessarily fall to anyone with an official status, but it tended to be undertaken by those with some degree of learning, that is, priests and scholars. The practice is well illustrated by the presence of Paul and Barnabas in the synagogue on arrival at Pisidian Antioch:

\textit{They went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.}\(^2\)

Then, standing up like a Greek orator, Paul delivered an exposition of the Scriptures, drawing on Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and 1 Samuel, with actual quotations from the Psalms.\(^3\) In the church, however, in keeping with the principle of apostolicity, the sermon was reserved, in Justin's term, to the proestos, the one who stands before God for the people. He who had the duty of reciting the Christological prayer \textit{par excellence}, namely the eucharistic prayer, also had the duty of giving the Christological exposition of the Scriptures in the sermon.

In Justin's description of the Sunday liturgy the prayers followed the lessons and sermon. They were recited standing, which was the usual posture for prayer in the synagogue. In following the lessons and sermon they followed the sequence of the synagogue liturgy in so far as the Additional Prayer on the Sabbath followed the lessons and sermon. But, as we have seen in the first section of this chapter,\(^4\) in the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue the prayer was doubled. The \textit{Tefillah} was recited both before and after the lessons and sermon in correspondence with the doubling of the daily burnt offering in the Temple. If we ask why in the Roman liturgy of Justin's time the prayers followed the precedent of the \textit{Additional Tefillah} and not the first, morning \textit{Tefillah}, we may surmise that the lessons and sermon defined the perspectives of the prayers in the name of Christ that followed.

In describing the Sunday liturgy Justin makes no mention of the kiss of peace. He had however already referred to this as a concomitant of the prayers at the Easter Vigil: 'We salute each other with a kiss when our prayers are ended.'\(^5\) In view of the integral relationship of the kiss with prayer, we may assume that it was a regular feature of the Roman liturgy at this stage. It derives ultimately from the priestly benediction in the \textit{Additional Tefillah}.

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2. Ac 13:14-15
3. ib. 17-41
4. p.157 above
5. 1 Apol.65
Liturgy on Sabbath and on Sunday

(b) Tertullian

The sequence of lessons, sermon(s) and prayers is confirmed in Tertullian's De Anima, but now with the addition of psalms. So he spoke of scripturae, psalmi, allocutiones, and petitiones. It is true that this work belongs to Tertullian's Montanist period; but there is no reason to suppose that the Sunday liturgy to which he refers differed from the Catholic liturgy.

Further, in the De Oratione Tertullian also mentions the kiss of peace, which he calls the signaculum orationis, the seal of prayer. He criticises the recent practice of withholding the kiss of peace at a time of fasting. 'What prayer is perfect when severed from the holy kiss?' He adds: 'What sort of sacrifice is that, from which one returneth without peace?' He may be alluding to Matthew 5:23f.: 'First be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' But underlying his question may be the understanding of prayer as a surrogate for sacrifice - a concept inherited by the Church from the Synagogue.

Justin gives us the only account of a Sunday liturgy for the pre-Nicene period. In the light of the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue, it will be seen that the lessons, sermon and prayers constitute a unity. While it is Christologically united to the ensuing eucharistic liturgy, it remains structurally distinct.

(iv) The subsequent development of the Scriptural synaxis

(a) The lessons

The separation of the Church from the synagogue raises the question of the transmission of the Scriptures from the one to the other. For the sake of durability the Hebrew Scriptures were written on scrolls of skin or parchment, and it is in this form that almost all the Biblical documents, belonging to the inter-Testamental period, have been recovered at Qumran. But the practice seems to have been different in regard to the Septuagint. This text did not have the same degree of authority or attract the same kind of veneration as the Hebrew. In consequence it was transmitted, not necessarily on skins, but on papyrus, which was less durable and less resistant to damage. Moreover, the scroll began to be replaced by the codex. The earliest examples of the Greek text of Scripture, written on papyrus codices, date from the second Christian century. From this same period there survive, also on papyrus codices, the earliest witnesses of the text of the Greek New Testament. Thus the Hebrew leather scroll is

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2 De Orat. 18
typical of the life of the Synagogue, and the Greek papyrus codex is typical of the life of the pre-Nicene Church.

In this way the Greek-speaking Church acquired its own Scriptural texts. The papyrus codices of the Greek Old Testament seem to have contained either the law or the Prophets. As for the books of the New Testament, the longest of them, namely Luke and Acts, would each have filled in origin a papyrus scroll of maximum length. But by the middle or latter part of the second century a papyrus codex containing all four Gospels is conceivable,¹ and similarly a papyrus codex containing the Pauline Epistles.² The widespread destruction of the sacred books of Christians followed Diocletian’s edict of 23 February 303. But with the peace of the Church under Constantine ecclesiastical life began to flourish, and the earliest extant codices of this era, now written on parchment and not papyrus, are the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus. Both originally contained the whole of the Old and New Testaments, including the Apocrypha and texts of the Apostolic Fathers. There was not yet a closed canon of the New Testament.

It is improbable that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were pioneering efforts in book production, but are rather the work of scribes and others who by long training knew their business. But neither should we assume that complete Bibles were everywhere to be found. Thus for example in Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century St Cyril in preaching to the photizomenoi during Lent took as his texts short passages from the major Prophets and the Pauline Epistles: to which we should add texts from the Epistles in the Mystagogical Catecheses. No texts are taken from the law or the Gospels. Did he then use separate codices for prophets and epistles? Similarly, in the lectionary of St Ambrose, according to G.G. Willis’s reconstruction, the texts are mostly taken from the Prophets, together with texts from both the Epistles and Gospels. In addition there were texts from the Psalms.³ For St Augustine the evidence is much fuller. His sermons reflect the Gospels and the Psalms, most commonly but also the Epistles. The Prophets are less in evidence, and the law rarely. Augustine’s lectionary is in fact very different from that of Ambrose.⁴ But again it is conceivable that both used texts in which the different sections of Scripture were bound in separate codices.

Belonging to the same period as these Fathers is The Apostolic Constitutions. The Sunday liturgy is described twice, namely in Book II (incorporating the Didascalia Apostolorum) and Book VIII (incorporating the Diataxis or Apostolic Tradition). In both cases there are, exceptionally, five lessons: from the law, the Prophets, Acts and the Epistles, and the Gospels.⁵ Book II also notes the inclusion of Psalmody between ‘the lessons’ (the law and the Prophets) and Acts and the Epistles.

The general practice, however, from the fourth and fifth centuries and later, is to have three lessons, together with psalmody before or after the epistle. This was the case in

1 P⁴⁵, 3rd century, contains parts of all four Gospels and Acts.
2 P⁴⁶, c200.
3 G.G. Willis, St Augustine’s Lectionary, London 1962, ch.1
4 G.G. Willis, op.cit. c.3
5 Ap.Const II 57:5-8, VIII 5:11. The sequence here - law, prophets, psalms, Acts, epistles, gospels - may be a further example of the compiler(s)’ love of rationalization: getting things into the proper order.
Liturgy on Sabbath and on Sunday

Egypt, in East Syria, in the Byzantine rite of the seventh and eighth centuries, in Milan, and in the Mozarabic rite. It was a later tendency to restrict the lessons to the New Testament.

Reviewing these lectionary trends as a whole, the law seems to have gone largely unrepresented, except that Genesis and Exodus were read in connection with Passiontide and Easter, when they were of course of crucial importance. On the other hand, the psalms were introduced, either before or after the epistle. But while the lessons were read by a lector, the psalm was sung by a cantor.

With the appearance of continuous uncial texts of the New Testament in the fourth and following centuries, two principles seem to have been at work in the use made of them. First there was an initial tendency in the direction of lectionary formation in Lent and Eastertide. Those passages in Scripture were chosen which were most appropriate to the fast or feast. The principle is ancient, for it was followed in the synagogue. The oldest lectionary is to be found in the Mishnah tractate Megillah 3:4-6. This provides for the three feasts of obligation, for Purim and Dedication, and for the Sabbath. The Church in due course followed suit. Outside these feasts and seasons, however, a second principle was at work, namely continuity of reading. This again followed synagogue precedent, where, as Danby comments, 'the Pentateuch was divided into weekly portions, to be read in full at each Sabbath morning service'. But it was not until the seventh or eighth centuries that annotations began to be entered into the margins of the texts of Scripture to mark the beginning (arche) and the end (telos) of the lessons. It was from this time too that lectionaries, containing the selected passages for the liturgy, began to make their appearance. 'But', Aland says, 'it is striking that of all the lectionaries which can actually be dated before the eighth century ... there is not one exhibiting a system of pericopes that agrees in the least with that of the normal Greek lectionary, that is, the lectionary as it exists today.

In the synagogue, as we have already noted, the reading of the lessons might be undertaken by anyone who was of age, and a male, who was able to read intelligibly and audibly. These conditions, naturally, could not always be satisfied; and in such a case the duty might fall to the Hazzan, the synagogue 'attendant', as St Luke calls him. He was not 'the ruler of the synagogue', but was regularly in attendance, a paid official, who might even live on the premises. His responsibilities and powers tended to increase and indeed to occasion friction with the rabbis. A similar development took place in the Church. It is not certain whether the 'reader' in Justin's account of the Sunday liturgy was a layman or already belonged to an established

1 Brightman LEW I Ap.J and notes
2 ib. pp.255-261
4 G.G. Willis, St Augustine's Lectionary, pp.14-17, the Lectionary of St Ambrose
5 Férotin, Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum, Paris 1912 cols 691-732
6 e.g. Byz, Rom, Sacr. Bergomense
7 The psalmody between the lessons has a distinctive character, different from the psalms in the processional chants.
8 Danby, The Mishnah, p.205, n.24
9 K. Aland and B. Aland, op.cit.p.163
10 Lk 4:20 RV
11 Mk 5:22;Lk 13:14;Ac 13:15,18:8
12 G.F. Moore, op.cit. I 289
order. But the reader is among the minor orders in the church in *Apostolic Tradition*: he 'is appointed by the bishop's handing to him the book. For he does not have hands laid upon him.' In the Sacramentary of Serapion he is mentioned in the prayer for the bishop and the Church, between the subdeacons and interpreters. It is not always stated in liturgical texts who the readers of the lessons are, as in *Apostolic Constitutions*, the Alexandrian Greek *Mark*, and the Byzantine liturgy of St Basil and St John Chrysostom in the ninth century. But the tendency is to restrict the reader to the Old Testament lesson and the epistle, while the deacon takes over the gospel. In the *Ordo Romanus I*, where there are just the two lessons, the sub-deacon reads the epistle and the deacon the gospel. In the East Syrian *Addai and Mari* the reader reads the Old Testament lesson and the lesson from Acts, the deacon the epistle, and the priest the gospel. Thus there is no clear evidence of the lessons ever having been read by laymen, perhaps because the difficulties of language, scriptural chant, meaning and interpretation, placed the reading of the lessons beyond the capabilities of the untrained layman. Further, there is a strong tendency for those in major orders to take over the reading of the lessons from the lector, starting with the gospel.

(b) *Psalmody*

The rubrics of the psalms in the Old Testament, which are not contemporary with the psalms themselves, contain directions as to the way in which the psalms were to be sung in the Temple in Jerusalem. They presuppose trained singers, and often specify instrumental accompaniment. This whole tradition was lost with the destruction of the Temple in AD 70. It is unclear what place psalmody had in the synagogue in early Christian times.

For the Church, however, the psalms had a special interest. Quotations from the psalms in the New Testament are more frequent than from any other book of the Old Testament. This means that the psalms had a special Christological significance. Accordingly they came to acquire a place in the scheme of lessons, not just by way of filling in the space between the lessons, while one reader stood down and another got up. They had a place in their own right.

The tendency was to introduce the psalm immediately before the gospel, which is an indication of its status in the scheme of lessons. In recognition of its particular genre, it was treated in a distinctive manner. Thus it was sung, not to a chant similar to the lesson tones, but to a melismatic chant, having an extended musical phrase to a single syllable. Unlike the processional chants of the Western rite, the Gloria was never added to it. On the other hand it was frequently coupled with alleluia, an acclamation which acquired a meditative or ecstatic character. Indeed the psalm chant developed into two distinct forms. There was first the psalm text sung by a solo cantor, with an

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1 Apol.67  
2 ed. Dix, xii; Botte.11  
3 para. 25. The presence of interpreters implies of course a bilingual Church.  
4 e.g. the Antiochene/Byzantine liturgy of St James  
5 ed. Andrieu op.cit. t. II. OR I 56,59  
6 Brightman LEW I 255-260  
7 On the complexities of scriptural chant, see E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Part One, chapter 4.  
8 Christological significance is often confined to fragments of psalms, rather than to a psalm in its entirety; and it is these Christological psalm fragments that are drawn out and dwelt on in the melismatic chant.
interpolated congregational response; and secondly there was the psalm verse or verses coupled with alleluia. The former came to precede the epistle, and gave rise to the prokeimenon in the Byzantine rite,¹ a psalm verse or verse from the prophets with a refrain; and to the gradual in the Roman rite,² a verse or verses generally from the psalms, or it might be from the prophets, with a response by the congregation. The alleluia chant, coupled with a psalm verse, underwent extensive development, with the text increasingly overshadowed by the elaboration of the chant.

The use of psalmody, especially in view of its melismatic development, required a trained singer; and so the cantor came to occupy a place beside the lector in the minor orders of the Church.

(c) The sermon

The primary purpose of the sermon, or homily,³ is to elucidate the sacred text of Scripture and to relate it to contemporary life. Its origin may have lain in the interpretation of the sacred text by the learned to the unlearned, or its translation from one language to another. As an early illustration of this process the restoration of the Torah under Ezra the scribe in the restored post-exilic Jerusalem is sometimes cited:⁴ 'And they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly [or: with an interpretation]; and they gave the sense, so that they understood [or: and caused them to understand] the reading.'⁵ Translation, from Hebrew into Aramaic, or Greek, was not invariably distinguishable from exposition. An illustration of the process from New Testament times will readily spring to mind:

\[ \text{he [sc Jesus] stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book [or: roll] of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book [or: roll], and found the place where it was written ...} \]

And there followed the pericope from Isaiah 61 in the Septuagintal translation.

\[ \text{And he closed the book [or: roll], and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down ... And he began to say unto them, Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears.} \]

A similar scene is described by St Luke in Acts 13:14-43 in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. There, after the reading of the law and the prophets, Paul stood up to preach,⁷ and proceeded to deliver a Christological interpretation of Scripture.

From the synagogue the sermon passed into the church. It is already an integral part of the Sunday liturgy in Justin's account in the First Apology.⁸ Moreover, it already falls to the proestos, the bishop, to whom the offering of the eucharistic prayer also belongs. In this regard, however, a distinction between synagogue and church is to be observed. In the synagogue the delivery of the sermon might in theory be entrusted to any competent person, although this would mean in practice a priest or a scribe or

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¹ Prokeimenon means 'that which is placed before', so in this case before the epistle.
² Gradual is derived from gradus, a step, i.e. the step or steps of the ambo (from the Greek anabaino, ascend), or bema, from which the lessons and chants were intoned.
³ Sermo, Latin, meaning 'speaking', 'discourse'. Homilia, Greek, meaning 'association', 'intercourse', 'communication'.
⁴ Neh 8:1-8
⁵ Neh 8:8, RV and mg.
⁶ Lk 4:16-21 RV and mg.
⁷ i.e. like a Greek orator
⁸ 1 Apol. 67
rabbi if he happened to be present. In the church, however, competence invariably implied order. Preaching was reserved primarily to the bishop, and by delegation to the presbyters.

In the first of the liturgies described in the *Apostolic Constitutions* sermons are mentioned in the plural. Thus the lector reads the lessons, the cantor sings the psalmody with the people joining in with the refrain; and a presbyter or deacon reads the gospel. Then the presbyters - 'but not all' - and finally the bishop exhort the people. That this practice does not represent a mere idiosyncrasy on the part of the Compiler(s) is clear from the evidence of Éthérie, for she says that in Jerusalem on Sundays, at the synaxis in the Constantinian basilica, it was customary for those presbyters who so wished to preach, followed by the bishop, on the Scriptures and on the love of God. It represents the corporate liturgy of bishop and the presbyterate in the Scriptural synaxis as in the eucharistic synaxis.

But this was also the age of the greatest of the Church Fathers. John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ephraem the Syrian, Ambrose and Augustine all preached exegetical sermons on the books of Scripture, in both the Old and the New Testaments. While this illustrates the integral relationship of the sermon to the lessons, it would however be interesting to know more exactly how the preaching was done. For this was the age of the great basilicas; and while it was not too difficult to make the lessons and the psalms audible by intonation and chant, the audibility of the spoken word was another matter. The ancient rules of rhetoric may have assisted the projection of the spoken voice, and it seems that John Chrysostom preached not from his cathedra, but from a pulpit in the centre of the first Hagia Sophia in Byzantium. But it must be a question as to how audible St Augustine was with his more intimate style of preaching, himself seated and the congregation standing.

The problem of audibility may indeed have contributed to the eventual demise of preaching at any rate in the large basilicas from which our liturgical evidence generally derives. Thus there is no provision for the sermon in the Byzantine liturgy of the ninth century, the Alexandrian Liturgy of St Mark, or the east Syrian Liturgy of SS Addai and Mari. There is no mention of the sermon in the *Ordo Romanus I* at the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, nor is there in the order for the celebration of Mass placed at the very beginning of the Hadrianum. It is absent from the ordinary of the Mass in the fourteenth century missal of the

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2 Rowland J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, Thames and Hudson 1988, p.135a
4 For a review of the general characteristics of the post-patristic period see e.g. B. Altaner, *Patrology*, part three.
5 Brightman, *LEW* p.314
6 ib.p.119
7 ib. p.261f
8 OR I, p.90
9 Le Sacramentaire Grégorien I, ed. Deshusses, pp.85f
Benedictine monastery of St Peter, Westminster,¹ from the Sacrum Missal of the same period,² and from the first printed edition of the Roman Missal in 1474.³

It was to remedy this state of affairs in the Western Church that the Ordo Praedicatorum (OP) or Dominican Order was founded in the thirteenth century, to be followed in this work of preaching by the Order of Friars Minor or Franciscans. But this revival of preaching was in separation from the liturgy - a fact which is symbolized by the introduction of a pulpit into the nave of the greater Gothic Churches.⁴ Moreover, in this extra-liturgical preaching we can already see steps that led in the end to the emphasis on preaching in the protestant reformation of the sixteenth century that was so disruptive of liturgical life.

(d) The prayers, the salutation of peace, and dismissals

In the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue the prayers followed the lessons and the sermon. The blessing of the priests was introduced at the end, and with the final benediction for peace brought the liturgy to an end. This structure was carried over into the church. It is well illustrated by Justin in his I Apology, supported by evidence from Tertullian, but otherwise thinly represented in the pre-Nicene period. In the post-Nicene Church, however, the evidence is abundant; but it undergoes extensive development both in the East and the West, often in a way that transforms the character of this part of the rite.

Prayers, the pax and dismissals interlock with one another. Underlying their development in different rites three general principles, inherited from the synagogue, are discernible:

(i) the prayers follow the lessons and sermon; (ii) they conclude with a blessing or salutation of peace; and (iii) they are conducted by a deacon, and usually concluded by a priest. In other respects, however, the prayers exhibit a wide variety in regard to both form and content.

In the East

To begin with the question of content, and first with the East: the Sabbath Tefillah, shorn of the usual suffrages,⁵ glorified God: as creator, restorer of the dead, holy, to whom fear and thanks are due, who gives peace.⁶ The idiom is not carried over into the Greek-speaking Church, yet the universality of these benedictions accounts for the universality of the prayer of the Church. The prayer is not limited to offerers, or to the Church itself: it takes into its compass God's creation, i.e. the world. It prays for peace, the stability of the nations, the fruitfulness of the earth.⁷ It is this basic

1  ed. J. Wickham Legg, HBS 3 vols London 1891-3-7
2  ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford 1916
3  ed. R. Lippe (repr) HBS 2 vols. London 1899-1907
4  The sermon has been restored to the liturgy in modern reforms, but usually in the form of a short 'address'. The restoration of the full-length sermon and of exegetical preaching has yet to be accomplished.
5  IV - XVI
6  I - III, XVII - XIX
universality of the prayer, for the world and not only for the Church, which distinguishes it from the intercessions that are embodied in the eucharistic prayer.¹

Increasingly however, from the fourth century onwards civilised society was christianised, and this was reflected in the prayer of the Church. The various orders of the Church, both major and minor, were the subject of the prayer, as well as special categories of the faithful: the sick, travellers, captives, the dead.

The prayer was almost everywhere conducted by the deacon, usually with an invitation to prayer: 'Let us beseech the Lord for ...', or some such formula. It ended with a salutation of peace delivered by the priest. In Apostolic Constitutions it runs: 'And let the bishop greet the church, and let him say, "The peace of God be with you all". And let the people answer, "And with thy spirit". The text continues, 'And let the deacon say to all, "Greet one another with a holy kiss". And let those of the clergy greet the bishop, the lay men the lay men, and the women the women'.² The formulae for the kiss, which stems from the priest and is the climax of the prayer, are so common as not to need repeated illustration. It is indeed in Tertullian's expression the signaculum orationis, the seal of prayer.

Nevertheless, this basic pattern underwent modification everywhere. First, there was the question of who participated in the prayer. In the synagogue, the obligation of reciting the Tefillah rested on all male Israelites who were of full age. In the church, however, from the time of Justin onwards, it was those who were in Christ by baptism who participated in the prayer. Accordingly those who had not undergone baptism and chrismation or the laying on of hands were dismissed before the prayer of the Church. In general this meant the catechumens. But those who were dismissed might indeed fall into one of a number of groups. The fullest list of groups is to be found, as one might expect, in Apostolic Constitutions: hearers and unbelievers, catechumens, energumens, photizomenoi, and penitents.³ A similar list is to be found in St John Chrysostom.⁴ These groups were summoned to prayer, and prayer was offered on their behalf; but they neither prayed with the faithful nor received the kiss of peace. They were dismissed from the church, and the doors were closed against them.⁵ The prayer of the Church followed in the form of the diaconal litany.⁶

The dismissals of those outside the ranks of the faithful tended to distance the prayers from the lessons and sermon. There were however other sequelae. Those who remained after the dismissal were those who were present at the eucharistic oblation that followed. Thus the prayer of the Church with its salutation of peace tended to be seen in relation to the anaphora, rather than to the lessons and sermon. An early example of this drift occurs in the Mystagogical Catecheses of St Cyril (or John) of Jerusalem towards the end of the fourth century. After describing baptism and chrismation, and expounding participation in the body and blood of Christ,⁷ he goes

¹ See ch.9, pp.226f, 232, 244, 248
² Brightman, LEW 13
³ Those possessed by evil spirits
⁴ Those who were being prepared in Lent for the Easter mysteries
⁵ Ap.Const. VIII.6-9; Br.LEW 3-9
⁶ ib. 471f
⁷ Brightman, LEW. 316.7; 375.9f:383.3f:535.28
⁸ This was established before the end of the fourth century.
⁹ Myst.Cat. I-IV.
on to describe the anaphora. First there is the lavabo ministered to the priest (i.e. the celebrant) and the presbyters by the deacon, explained with reference to Ps 26:6, 'I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord.' Next he explains the kiss of peace, with reference to 1 Cor.16:20 and 1 Peter 5:14. But, led on by another text, Matthew 5:23, he gives to the kiss a new meaning. It is no longer the seal of prayer, but 'reconciliation'. Not for the last time in the history of liturgy, an extraneous biblical text is dragged in to disorientate the inner logic of liturgical development.

Cyril/John of Jerusalem thus ruptures the connection of the salutation of peace with the old concept of prayer as a surrogate for sacrifice, and links it up instead with the sursum corda at the beginning of the anaphora. At the same time another dislocating factor has been introduced, namely the offering of the gifts before the salutation of peace. The history of the bringing of gifts by the people to the church at the time of the liturgy, the selection and transference of bread and wine by the deacons from the place of collection to the sanctuary, and the offering of these gifts by the priest at the altar, is of the utmost complexity. The reason for this is that the bringing of gifts and the preparation of the Lord's table were never regulated from the time of origin by established prayer formulae, and so followed local custom. With the peace of the Church, basilicas were built or adapted everywhere for the celebration of the liturgy, and this necessarily led to stylized ceremonial and increasing regulation. It was inevitable that the use of interior space should lead to the enhancement of the procession with the gifts whether from the atrium, within the doors of the basilica, or to the (rare) Byzantine skeuophylakion. It was a solemn ritual act with a double aspect; for while it represented the people's gifts, it was also overshadowed by the consecration that was to ensue. It is no wonder that it tended to predominate over the prayers of the Church, leaving the pax to acquire a different rationale. In the East, then, the prayer of the Church derived ultimately from the additional Tefillah. The question there as to the obligation of reciting the Tefillah generated in due course the question of participation into Church's prayer, and the practice of the dismissal of those not yet in the communion of Christ. These distinctions tended to separate the prayer from the lessons and sermon, and to associate it with the anaphora. The salutation of peace, an integral part of the prayer, came to serve as an introduction to the sursum corda. Meanwhile the procession with the anaphoral gifts, i.e. 'the great entrance', supervened upon the prayers. As it had to do with the gifts, not of catechumens etc, but of the faithful, it tended to assume a dominant position in the prayers of the faithful.

1 Myst. Cat. V.
2 ib. V.2
3 ib. V.5
4 It will not escape notice that the Anglican compilers of the ASB have fallen for this misunderstanding. It has become one of its most popular features.
6 i.e. the separate building for keeping the sacred vessels and for collecting the gifts of the people and the preparation of the bread and chalices. The skeuophylakion at Hagia Sophia in Byzantium stands at the NE corner of the church.
7 The development of a procession should not lead us to assume a tidy process at this point in the liturgy. It inevitably began before the beginning of the liturgy, with much collecting, sorting out, selecting, and getting things ready.
In the West

In the West there is indeed a 'prayer of the faithful' or the prayer of the Church, including the world. But its history does not run in parallel with the history of development in the East. It does not seem to have derived from the synagogue, but seems rather to have been generated in different prayer habits and in a different language of prayer. 'Elle appartient ainsi à un système eucologique différent.'

The place of the prayer was, as in the East, after the gospel. It flourished with the Latinization of the liturgy, but fell into disuse in the course of the sixth century, perhaps with the development of intercessions in the canon of the mass.

The prayer of the Church was extant in two forms, viz. the solemn prayers and the litany. The solemn prayers consisted of an invitation to prayer, followed by silence, followed by a summing-up, collect-type prayer. The invitatory and the prayer are not of the same date. In origin the invitatory may have been the responsibility of the deacon. The prayers were added later, in the fourth century, and the whole was taken over by the priest. The earliest form of the prayers occurs in the Missale Gallicanum Vetus (c.700), and they are perpetuated in both the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, but only on Good Friday, when the lessons, sermon and prayers perpetuate an archaic form of the ancient Scriptural synaxis.

That this liturgical form was not limited to Good Friday is indicated by Ordo Romanus XXIV. There on Wednesday in Holy Week there is an early morning synaxis for the solemn prayers ('sicut in Sacramentorum continetur'), and at the conclusion - 'osculat altare', the vestige of the salutation of peace - the pope departed. Andrieu in a footnote draws attention to the suggestion of Duchesne, namely, that the lessons and chants have been detached from the prayers, and transferred to the evening Mass. Further, there is nothing in the content of these prayers which associates them specially with Holy Week. They are for the ordinary needs of the Church, for the bishop and all the ecclesiastical orders, for the sick, travellers, etc. and (which makes them fitting for 'universal prayer) for heretics and schismatics, Jews and pagans. The scope of those intercessions is the same as that of the Eastern litanies. So Duchesne concludes: 'I am of opinion, therefore that these prayers once formed part of the ordinary Roman Mass and that they were said after the lessons, that is, at the place in which they long continued to be recited on Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week.'
Besides the solemn prayers, a second form of intercession was at one time in use in the Latin rite. This was a litanical prayer, made up of short biddings and conducted by a deacon. Its earliest examples are the *Dicamus omnes*, found after the epistle in the Stowe Missal.\(^1\) The response was *Domine exaudi et miserere*. The second example is the *Divinae pacis*, found after the *ingressa* at the beginning of the Mass in the rite of Milan. The response to the petitions is *Domine miserere*, and the litany ends with a triple *Kyrie eleison*.\(^2\) Both these litanies derive from Eastern models, and in the judgment of De Clerck are an ancient form of the *oratio fidelium*, and originally followed the lessons in the same way as the Eastern litany. A third example of the litanical form of intercession is the *Deprecatio Gelasii*. The verdict of De Clerck here is that it may well have been composed by Gelasius I (492-496) to serve as an alternative to the solemn prayers.\(^3\) It does not, in his opinion, derive directly from eastern models, but is in a litany form better suited to the genius of Latin.\(^4\) The earliest extant texts\(^5\) do not provide it with a liturgical context, that is, its setting in the Mass; but there is no reason to doubt that in origin it was used after the lessons.\(^6\)

The Eastern prayers are associated with the dismissals and the salutation of peace. In the West there is no trace of the dismissals, perhaps because extant manuscripts belong to a time when infant baptism prevailed and the catechumenate had fallen into disuse. As for the salutation of peace, this has no place in either the solemn prayers or the litany forms. However the *incipit* of the Milanese prayer *Divinae pacis* is a prayer for peace.\(^7\)

The Roman tradition associates the salutation of peace with the conclusion of the canon.\(^8\)

The idiom of prayer has changed from the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek of the synagogue, to the Greek and Latin of the Church. But the presence of the intercessions after the lessons and sermon in the Christian liturgy, together with the distinctions among those who participate, and the salutation of peace, is best explained by the additional *Tefillah* in the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue.

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1 ed. G.F. Warner, HBS XXXII, London 1906, pp.7f
2 *Divinae pacis* was in use in the Ambrosian rite after the *ingressa* chant on Lent I,II and III until the revision of 1976.
3 op.cit. p.187
4 ib. p.297
5 ib. pp.168f
6 The *Kyrie eleison* at the beginning of the Roman Mass is, in the judgment of De Clerck, not the relic of a litany, but 'an autonomous chant', op.cit. 293-295.
7 *Divinae pacis et indulgentiae munere supplicantes ex toto corde et ex tota mente/precamur te/ Domine miserere.*
8 The author intended that this be discussed later, but no text seems to survive. In its absence, see *inter alia* Chavasse, *L’Église en Prière*, and Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* (but note that *Ap.Trad.* cannot now be taken as evidence for early Roman use) [ed].
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(i) The post-exilic Jewish renaissance and the age of suffering and martyrdom.

The quartet of fundamental Christological categories, Son of man, Son of God, Christ, and Lord - all have their roots in the Scriptures, in the law and the prophets. But this does not mean that Christians, in order to speak of him who was crucified and who was raised from the dead, peered backwards into the distant centuries, the eighth century and earlier, in the search for suitable categories. The canon of the law and the prophets was formulated only in the Persian period of Israel's subjugation, and perhaps even later. Although these writings were gathered from the past, they were read for their present significance, and were understood as having contemporary meaning. The Scriptures lived in the exegesis of the Fathers.

The canonisation of Scripture was, however, only one element, and not the first, in the post-exilic renaissance of the Jewish state. The king and all the members of the royal house, the nobility and captains of the army, the clergy, landowners and the leaders of trade, were all carried off in chains after the fall of Jerusalem to Babylon, to captivity and exile, together with all the spoils of war. Those left behind as of no consequence were the poor of the land. A further batch of the conquered, including Jeremiah, sought refuge in Egypt. Jerusalem self-rule and the Temple liturgy were at an end.

A change in the fortunes of the Babylonian exiles nevertheless ensued with the fall of the Babylonian empire before the Persian empire under Cyrus II ('the Great'). With the change of empire came a change in policy. Ruthless subjugation, attempted by the Babylonians, works only for a time. But in the vast Persian empire a system of satraps, invested with great authority but subordinated to the centre, was introduced, which left the local populations with room to breathe and not enough to complain about to warrant rebellion. Under this benevolent despotism the exiles were able to return to Jerusalem in dribs and drabs - with the survivors in Jerusalem and Judaea not always too pleased to see them back. First, by the decree of Cyrus the Temple

1 Ending with Alexander's conquests in the East.
2 2 Kg 24:12-16, Jer 52:28-30
3 2 Kg 25:25-26, Jer 43:1-7
was allowed to be restored,\(^1\) and this was carried out in the time of Darius I his successor.\(^2\) Secondly, the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt under Nehemiah in the years following 445 BC.\(^3\) And finally the life of the Temple and of Jerusalem and Judah was re-organised in accordance with the law of Moses, now codified.\(^4\) It was the law in some form, without the prophets; the Jewish state without a king, but with a high priest instead; and the Most Holy Place without the Ark. Nevertheless these developments had all the appearance of a Jewish renaissance.

But if these developments followed a change of empire, another change of empire brought fresh tribulations upon the province of Judah. After Alexander's conquests in the East, his empire was divided between his lieutenants, and Judaea found itself in the battle zone between the Seleucid empire in Syria, Asia Minor and the East, and the Ptolemaic empire in Egypt, and the valley of the Nile, and Cyrenaica. The seizure of Jerusalem and the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes occasioned the Jewish uprising under the Maccabees. 'Pay back the Gentiles in full,' was the injunction of Mattathias on his death bed, 'and heed what the law commands.'\(^5\) The rising was remarkably successful. The independence of Jerusalem was restored, and the Temple was consecrated afresh for the sacrificial liturgy. Judas Maccabeus and his brothers even succeeded in regaining political autonomy for Judaea. But the turbulent rule of the Hasmonaean dynasty, deriving from the Maccabees, was brought to an end by the Roman conquest of the Seleucid empire, and the capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC by Pompey. Church and state were now separated. Judaea was ruled by the Roman generals, governors and Jewish collaborators and the Jerusalem Temple and its liturgy continued with the high priest at its head. The external political events were however accompanied by changes deep down in the soul of Israel. For one thing, since the conquests of Alexander, Greek influence began to pervade culture and religion everywhere. This subtle process of Hellenization affected even the Jewish state. Accommodation with Greek culture and language took place at every level of society, and was paralleled by the existence of Hellenized Jewish populations in Greek and Roman territories - 'the Dispersion among the Greeks.'\(^6\)

But Hellenization provoked in them intense devotion to the law and the traditions of the Fathers. This exclusivism is seen at an early date in the threatened pogrom under Persian rule described in the book of Esther. Similarly III Maccabees recounts how the Jewish population in Egypt was threatened with a pogrom. Again, the stories in the early chapters of Daniel, with their setting in Persia, are a coded exhortation to fidelity in the face of persecution and extinction in the time of the Maccabean rebellion. The vindication, not to say vindictiveness, with which these stories sometimes conclude should not blind us to the depth of suffering endured by the Jewish people. The concept of a martyred people was being formed.

But a martyred people produced its own martyrs. 2 Maccabees goes over much the same ground as 1 Maccabees in recounting the Maccabean uprising. But it devotes

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1 Ezra 6:3-5
2 Ezra 5:6-6:12; Hag 1:1-10, 2:1-9; Zech 1-8
3 Neh 1:1-7:5
4 Neh 8:1-9:38
5 1 Macc 2:68 RSV
6 Jn 7:35
special attention to the martyrdom of Eleazar the scribe,¹ and to the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother,² who accepted horrifying tortures and death, rather than break the food regulations of the law. The final Jewish uprising in AD132-135 was in response to the edicts of the Emperor Hadrian, excluding Jews from Jerusalem, forbidding the circumcision of children and the observance of the Sabbath and festivals, and the possession, study and teaching of the law, all under pain of death. These edicts brought forth many martyrdoms, most notably the martyrdom of Rabbi Akiba, who died with the Shema’ on his lips.³ In the Song of the Three Children, the Benedicite,⁴ the praise of God in the invisible and visible creation reaches a climax in the readiness of Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael to accept martyrdom rather than apostatize.⁵

In consequence of these martyrdoms Judaism underwent an approfondissement. The sacrifices of the Temple liturgy were transcended by the sacrifices of the martyrs in their flesh and blood. If those sacrifices had the power of atonement, how much more these sacrifices of the martyrs, 'I, like my brothers,' said the last of the seven, 'give up body and life for the laws of our fathers, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nation and by afflictions and plagues to make you [the King Antiochus] confess that he alone is God.'⁶ And Eleazar, dying for the sake of the law, prayed: 'You know, O God, that though I might have saved myself, I am in burning torments for the sake of the law. Be merciful to your people, and let our punishment suffice for them. Make my blood their purification, and take my life in exchange for theirs.'⁷

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¹ 2 Macc 6:18-31; 4 Macc 5:1-7:30  
² 2 Macc 7:1-42; 4 Macc 8:1-12:19  
³ Bab. Berakot 61b  
⁴ A Greek (?) addition to the Hebrew text of Dan. at 3:23/24  
⁵ The verse is characteristically omitted in the version of the Benedicite in the ASB.  
⁶ 2 Macc 7:37 RSV  
⁷ 4 Macc 6:27-29 RSV
(ii) **The Shema` and the preceding and following benedictions.**

The martyrdom of Rabbi Akiba is reported in the Babylonian Talmud.\(^1\) ‘The Roman government issued a decree forbidding the Jews to study and practise the Torah.’ R. Akiba ignored the decree, was arrested and thrown into prison.

> When [he] was taken out for execution, it was the hour for the recital of the Shema` and while they combed his flesh with iron combs, he was accepting upon himself the kingship of heaven. His disciples said to him: Our teacher, even to this point? He said to them: All my days I have been troubled by this verse, ‘with all thy soul’, [which I interpret,] ‘even if He takes thy soul.’ I said: When shall I have the opportunity of fulfilling this? Now that I have the opportunity shall I now fulfil it? He prolonged the word ehad [‘One’, in Hear, O Israel, etc.] until he expired while saying it.

The Shema` is thus the supreme confession in the religion of Israel.

It is the very first subject to be discussed in the Mishnah.\(^2\) It already consists at this date of three Scriptural pericopai, cited by the opening words of each: ‘Hear, O Israel’,\(^3\) ‘It shall come to pass if ye shall hearken,’\(^4\) and ‘And the Lord spake unto Moses’.\(^5\) In addition, in the morning two benedictions are said before the Shema`, and one after; and in the evening two benedictions are said before the Shema`, and two after. In the course of the discussions in the Mishnah a dozen rabbinical teachers are named, going back to the School of Hillel and the School of Shammai in the early part of the first Christian century. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the complex structure of the Shema` and its benedictions derive from pre-Christian times.

What is in question is the extent of the Scriptural pericopai and of the benedictions, and also the stages in which these pericopai and benedictions were assembled. In order to clarify the analysis of these texts, a synopsis is provided of the texts for weekdays and Sabbaths as they are in use at the present time.\(^6\) No attempt is made in this synopsis to distinguish between earlier and later material. That distinction will be attempted in the discussion that follows.

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\(^2\) M. Ber.1:1-3:6; also Tam.5:1

\(^3\) Deut 6:4ff

\(^4\) Deut 11:13ff

\(^5\) Num 15:37ff

9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

[The synopsis that follows is laid out across facing pages]
Synopsis: The Shema and the preceding and following benedictions

Morning service on weekdays

Invitation to prayer
Reader
Bless ye the Lord
who is to be blessed.

Cong. and Readers –
Blessed is the Lord
who is to be blessed
for ever and ever.

First benediction
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who formest light and createst darkness,
who makest peace and createst all things.

Who in mercy givest light to the earth
and to them that dwell thereon,
and in thy goodness renewest the creation
every day continually.
How manifold are thy works, O Lord!
In wisdom hast thou made them all:
the earth is full of thy possessions.
O King, who alone wast exalted from aforetime,
praised, glorified and extolled from days of old;
O everlasting God, in thy abundant mercies,
have mercy upon us, Lord of our strength,
Rock of our stronghold, Shield of our salvation,
thou Stronghold of ours!

Evening service on weekdays

and at the termination of the Sabbath

Reader
Bless ye the Lord
who is to be blessed.

Cong. and Reader –
Blessed is the Lord
who is to be blessed
for ever and ever.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who at thy word bringest on the evening twilight
with wisdom openest the gate of the heavens,
and with understanding changest times
and variest the seasons, and arrangest
the stars in their watches in the sky,
according to thy will.
Thou createst day and night;
thou rollest away the light from before
the darkness, and the darkness from
before the light; thou makest the day to pass
and the night to approach,
and dividest the day from the night,
the Lord of hosts is thy name;
a God living and enduring continually,
mayest thou reign over us for ever and ever.
Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who bringest on the evening twilight.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Evening service before Sabbaths and festivals

**Invitation to prayer**

*Reader*

Bless ye the Lord
who is to be blessed.

*Cong. and Reader –*

Blessed is the Lord
who is to be blessed
for ever and ever.

**First benediction**

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who at thy word bringest on the evening twilight,
with wisdom openest the gates of the heavens,
and with understanding changest times
and variest the seasons, and arrangest
the stars in their watches in the sky,
according to thy will.
Thou greatest day and night;
thou rollest away the light from before
the darkness, and the darkness from
before the light; thou makest
the day to pass and the night to approach
and dividest the day from the night,
the Lord of hosts is thy name;
a God living and enduring continually,
mayest thou reign over us for ever and ever.
Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who bringest on the evening twilight.

Morning service for Sabbaths and festivals

*Reader*

Bless ye the Lord
who is to be blessed.

*Cong. and Reader –*

Blessed is the Lord
who is to be blessed
for ever and ever.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who formest light and createst darkness,
who makest peace and createst all things.

All shall thank thee, and all shall praise thee,
and all shall say, There is none holy like the
Lord. All shall extol thee for ever,
thou Creator of all things, O God who
openest every day the doors of the gates of
the East, and cleavest the windows of the skies,
bringing forth the sun from her dwelling,
and the moon giving light to the whole world
and to its inhabitants
whom thou createst by thy attribute of mercy.

In mercy thou givest light to the earth
and to them that dwell thereon,
and in thy goodness renewest the creation
every day continually;

O King, who alone wast exalted from aforetime,
praised, glorified and extolled from days of old.
O everlasting God, in thine abundant mercies,
have mercy upon us, Lord of our strength,
Rock of our stronghold, Shield of our salvation,
thou Stronghold of ours!
There is none to be compared unto thee,
neither is there any beside thee,
there is none but thee:
who is like unto thee?
There is none to be compared unto thee,
O Lord our God, in this world,
neither is there any beside thee, O our King,
for the life of the world to come;
there is none but thee, O our Redeemer,
for the days of the Messiah;
neither is there any like unto thee, O our Saviour,
for the resurrection of the dead.
The blessed God, great in knowledge,

prepared and formed the rays of the sun; it was a boon he produced as a glory to his name: he set the luminaries round about his strength. The chiefs of his hosts are holy beings that exalt the Almighty, and continually declare the glory of God, and his holiness.

Be thou blessed, O Lord our God, for the excellency of thy handiwork, and for the bright luminaries which thou hast made: they shall glorify thee for ever.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve)

God, the Lord over all works, blessed is he,
and ever to be blessed
by the mouth of everything that hath breath.
His greatness and goodness fill the universe;
knowledge and understanding surround him:
he is exalted above the holy Chayoth
and is adorned in glory above the celestial chariot:
purity and rectitude are before his throne,
loving kindness and tender mercy before his glory.

The luminaries are good
which our God hath created: he formed them with
knowledge, understanding and discernment;
he gave them might and power to rule in the
midst of the world.
They are full of lustre, and they radiate brightness:
beautiful is their lustre throughout all the world.
They rejoice in their going forth,
and are glad in their returning;
they perform with awe the will of their Master.
Glory and honour they render unto his name,
exultation and rejoicing at the remembrance of
his sovereignty.
He called unto the sun,
and it shone forth in light:
he looked, and ordained the figure of the moon.
All the hosts on high render praise unto him,
the Seraphim, the Ophanim and the holy Chayoth
ascribing glory and greatness –

To the God who rested from all his works,
and on the seventh day exalted himself
and sat upon the throne of his glory;
who robed himself in glory on the day of rest,
and called the Sabbath day a delight.
This is the praise of the Sabbath day,
that God rested thereon from all his work,
when the Sabbath day itself offered praise and said
"A Psalm, a song of the Sabbath day,
It is good to give thanks unto the Lord."
Therefore let all his creatures glorify
and bless God; let them render praise,
honour and greatness to the God and King who is
Creator of all things, and who, in his holiness,
giveth an inheritance of rest to his people Israel
on the holy Sabbath day.
Thy name, O Lord our God, shall be hallowed,
and thy remembrance, O our King shall be
glorified in heaven above and on the earth beneath.

Be thou blessed, O our Saviour,
for the excellency of thy handiwork,
and for the bright luminaries
which thou hast made:
they shall glorify thee for ever.
Be thou blessed, O our Rock,
our King and Redeemer, Creator of holy beings,
praised be thy name for ever, O our King;
Creator of ministering spirits,
all of whom stand in the heights of the universe,
and proclaim with awe in unison aloud
the words of the living God and everlasting King.
All of them are beloved, pure and mighty;
and all of them
in dread and awe do the will of their Master;
and all of them open their mouths
in holiness and purity, with song and psalm,
while they bless and praise, glorify and reverence,
sanctify and ascribe sovereignty to –

The name of the Divine King,
the great, mighty and dreaded One, holy is he;
and they all take upon themselves
the yoke of the kingdom of heaven
one from the other,
and give sanction to one another
to hallow their Creator:
in tranquil joy of spirit,
with pure speech and holy melody
they all respond in unison, and exclaim with awe:

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts:
the whole earth is full of his glory.

And the Ophanim and the holy Chayoth
with a noise of great rushing,
upraising themselves towards the Seraphim,
thus over against them offer praise and say:

Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place.

To the blessed God they offer pleasant melodies;
to the King, the living and ever-enduring God,
they utter hymns and make their praises heard;
for he alone performeth mighty deeds,
and maketh new things;
he is the Lord of battles;
he soweth righteousness,
causeth salvation to spring forth,
createth remedies, and is revered in praises.
He is the Lord of wonders,
who in his goodness
reneweth the creation every day continually;
as it is said,
(O give thanks) to him that maketh great lights,
for his lovingkindness endureth for ever.
O cause a new light to shine upon Zion,
and may we all be worthy soon
to enjoy its brightness.
Blessed art thou, O Lord,
Creator of the luminaries.
9  

Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve) Be thou blessed, O our Rock, our King and Redeemer, Creator of holy beings, praised be thy name for ever, O our King; Creator of ministering spirits, all of whom stand in the heights of the universe, and proclaim with awe in unison aloud the words of the living God and everlasting King. All of them are beloved, pure and mighty, and all of them in dread and awe do the will of their Master; and all of them open their mouths in holiness and purity, with song and psalm, while they bless and praise, glorify and reverence, sanctify and ascribe sovereignty to – The name of the Divine King, the great, mighty and feared One, holy is he; and they all take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven one from the other, and give sanction to one another to hallow their Creator: in tranquil joy of spirit, with pure speech and holy melody they all respond in unison, and exclaim with awe:

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.

And the Ophanim and the holy Chayoth with a noise of great rushing, upraising themselves towards the Seraphim, thus over against them offer praise and say:

Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place.

To the blessed God they offer pleasant melodies; to the King, the living and ever-enduring God, they utter hymns and make their praises heard; for he alone performeth mighty deeds, and maketh new things; he is the Lord of battles; he soweth righteousness, causeth salvation to spring forth, createth remedies, and is revered in praises. He is the Lord of wonders, who in his goodness reneweth the creation every day continually; as it is said, (O give thanks) to him that maketh great lights, for his lovingkindness endureth for ever. O cause a new light to shine upon Zion, and may we all be worthy soon to enjoy its brightness. Blessed art thou, O Lord, Creator of the luminaries.

(Sabbath morning)
(Weekday morning)

Second benediction

With abounding love hast thou loved us,
O Lord our God,
with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us.
O our Father, our King,
for our fathers' sake,
who trusted in thee,
and whom thou didst teach the statutes of life,
be also gracious unto us and teach us.
O our Father, merciful Father,
ever compassionate, have mercy upon us;
O put it into our hearts to understand
and to discern, to mark, learn and teach,
to heed, to do and to fulfil in love
all the words of instruction in thy Law.
Enlighten our eyes in thy Law,
and let our hearts cleave
to thy commandments,
and unite our hearts
to love and fear thy name,
so that we be never put to shame.
Because we have trusted
in thy holy, great and revered name,
we shall rejoice and be glad in thy salvation.
O bring us in peace
from the four corners of the earth,
and make us go upright to our land;
for thou art a God who worketh salvation.
Thou hast chosen us
from all peoples and tongues,
and hast brought us near unto thy great name
for ever in faithfulness,
that we might in love give thanks unto thee
and proclaim thy unity.

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who hast chosen thy people Israel in love.

(Weekday evening)

With everlasting love thou hast loved
the house of Israel, thy people;
a Law and commandments,
statutes and judgments hast thou taught us.

Therefore, O Lord our God,
when we lie down and when we rise up
we will meditate on thy statutes:
yea, we will rejoice
in the words of thy Law
and in thy commandments for ever;
for they are our life
and the length of our days,
and we will meditate on them
day and night.

And mayest thou never take away
thy love from us.

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who lovest thy people Israel.
9 \textit{Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy}

\textbf{(Sabbath eve)}

\textbf{Second benediction}

With everlasting love thou hast loved the house of Israel, thy people; a Law and commandments, statutes and judgments hast thou taught us.

Therefore, O Lord our God, when we lie down and when we rise up we will meditate on thy statutes: yea, we will rejoice in the words of thy Law and in thy commandments for ever; for they are our life and the length of our days, and we will meditate on them day and night.

And mayest thou never take away thy love from us.

\textbf{(Sabbath morning)}

With abounding love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God, with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us. O our Father, our King, for our fathers' sake, who trusted in thee, and whom thou didst teach the statutes of life, be also gracious unto us and teach us.

O our Father, merciful Father, ever compassionate, have mercy upon us; O put it into our hearts to understand and to discern, to mark, learn and teach, to heed, to do and to fulfil in love all the words of instruction in thy Law. Enlighten our eyes in thy Law, and let our hearts cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and fear thy name, so that we be never put to shame.

Because we have trusted in thy holy, great and revered name, we shall rejoice and be glad in thy salvation. O bring us in peace from the four corners of the earth, and make us go upright to our land; for thou art a God who worketh salvation. Thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues, and hast brought us near unto thy great name for ever in faithfulness, that we might in love give thanks unto thee and proclaim thy unity.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest thy people Israel.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love.
Deuteronomy 6: 4-9
Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One.
Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever.
And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.
And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

Deuteronomy 11: 13-21
And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be satisfied. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit, and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth.
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve)

Deuteronomy 6: 4-9
Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

Deuteronomy 11: 13-21
And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be satisfied. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit, and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth.

(Sabbath morning)
Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be satisfied. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit, and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth.
**Weekday morning**

*Numbers 15:37-41*

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 
Speak unto the children of Israel, 
and bid them that they make them a fringe upon the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each corner a cord of blue; 
and it shall be unto you for a fringe, 
that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; 
and that ye go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go astray; that ye may remember and do all my commandments and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God.

**Weekday evening**

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 
Speak unto the children of Israel, 
and bid them that they make them a fringe upon the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each corner a cord of blue; 
and it shall be unto you for a fringe, 
that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; 
and that ye go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go astray; that ye may remember and do all my commandments and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God.

**Third benediction**

True and firm, established and enduring, 
right and faithful, beloved and precious, 
desirable and pleasant, revered and mighty, 
well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful 
is this thy word unto us for ever and ever. 
It is true, the God of the universe is our King, 
the Rock of Jacob, the Shield of our salvation: 
throughout all generations he endureth 
and his name endureth; 
his throne is established, 
and his kingdom and 
his faithfulness endure for ever. 
His words also live and endure; they are faithful 
and desirable for ever and to all eternity, 
as for our fathers so also for us, our children, 
our generations, and for all the generations 
of the seed of Israel his servants. 
For the first and for the last ages thy word is good and endureth for ever and ever; 
it is true and trustworthy, 
a statute which shall not pass away. True it is that thou art indeed the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, our King, our fathers' King, 
our Redeemer, the Redeemer of our fathers, 
our Maker, the Rock of our salvation; 
our Deliverer and Rescuer from everlasting, 
such is thy name; there is no God beside thee.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve)

Numbers 15:37-41
And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them a fringe upon the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each corner a cord of blue; and it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go astray; that ye may remember and do all my commandments and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God.

(Sabbath morning)

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them a fringe upon the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each corner a cord of blue; and it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go astray; that ye may remember and do all my commandments and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God.

Third benediction

True and firm, established and enduring, right and faithful, beloved and precious, desirable and pleasant, revered and mighty, well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful is this thy word unto us for ever and ever. It is true, the God of the universe is our King, the Rock of Jacob, the Shield of our salvation: throughout all generations he endureth and his name endureth; his throne is established, and his kingdom and his faithfulness endure for ever. His words also live and endure; they are faithful and desirable for ever and to all eternity, as for our fathers so also for us, our children, our generations, and for all generations of the seed of Israel his servants. For the first and for the last ages thy word is good and endureth for ever and ever; it is true and trustworthy, a statute which shall not pass away. True it is that thou art indeed the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, our King, our fathers' King, our Redeemer, the Redeemer of our fathers, our Maker, the Rock of our salvation; our Deliverer and Rescuer from everlasting, such is thy name; there is no God beside thee.
**(Weekday morning)**

Thou hast been the help of our fathers from of old, a Shield and Saviour to their children after them in every generation: in the heights of the universe is thy habitation, and thy judgments and thy righteousness reach to the furthest ends of the earth. Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments, and layeth up thy Law and thy word in his heart. True it is that thou art indeed the Lord of thy people, and a mighty King to plead their cause.

True it is that thou art indeed the first and the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer and Saviour.

From Egypt thou didst redeem us, O Lord our God, and from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their firstborn thou didst slay, but thy firstborn thou didst redeem; thou didst divide the Red Sea, and drown the proud; but thou madest the beloved to pass through, while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of whom was left. Wherefore the beloved praised and extolled God, and offered hymns, songs, praises, blessings and thanksgivings to the King and God, who liveth and endureth; who is high and exalted, great and revered; who bringeth low the haughty, and raiseth up the lowly, leadeth forth the prisoners, delivereth the meek, helpeth the poor, and answereth his people when they cry unto him even praises to the Most High God, blessed is he, and ever to be blessed.

**(Weekday evening)**

True and trustworthy is all this, and it is established with us that he is the Lord our God, and there is none beside him, and that we, Israel, are his people.

It is he who redeemed us from the hand of kings, even our King, who delivered us from the grasp of all the terrible ones; the God, who on our behalf dealt out punishment to our adversaries, and requited all the enemies of our soul; who doeth great things past finding out, yea, and wonders without number; who holdeth our soul in life, and hath not suffered our feet to be moved who made us tread upon the high places of our enemies, and exalted our horn over all them that hated us; who wrought for us miracles and vengeance upon Pharoah, signs and wonders in the land of the children of Ham; who in his wrath smote all the first-born of Egypt, and brought forth his people Israel from among them to everlasting freedom; who made his children pass between the divisions of the Red Sea, but sank their pursuers and their enemies in the depths.

Then his children beheld his might; they praised and gave thanks unto his name, and willingly accepted his sovereignty.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve)

Thou hast been the help of our fathers from of old, a Shield and Saviour to their children after them in every generation: in the heights of the universe is thy habitation, and thy judgments and thy righteousness reach to the furthest ends of the earth.

Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments, and layeth up thy Law and thy word in his heart. True it is that thou art indeed the Lord of thy people, and a mighty King to plead their cause.

True and trustworthy is all this, and it is established with us that he is the Lord our God, and there is none beside him, and that we, Israel, are his people.

It is he who redeemed us from the hand of kings, even our King, who delivered us from the grasp of all the terrible ones; the God, who on our behalf dealt out punishment to our adversaries, and requited all the enemies of our soul;

who doeth great things past finding out, yea, and wonders without number; who holdeth our soul in life, and hath not suffered our feet to be moved who made us tread upon the high places of our enemies, and exalted our horn over all them that hated us;

who wrought for us miracles and vengeance upon Pharoah, signs and wonders in the land of the children of Ham; who in his wrath smote all the first-born of Egypt, and brought forth his people Israel from among them to everlasting freedom; who made his children pass between the divisions of the Red Sea, but sank their pursuers and their enemies in the depths.

Then his children beheld his might; they praised and gave thanks unto his name, and willingly accepted his sovereignty.

(Sabbath morning)

From Egypt thou didst redeem us, O Lord our God, and from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their firstborn thou didst slay, but thy firstborn thou didst redeem; thou didst divide the Red Sea, and drown the proud; but thou madest the beloved to pass through, while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of whom was left. Wherefore the beloved praised and extolled God, and offered hymns, songs, praises, blessings and thanksgivings to the King and God, who liveth and endureth; who is high and exalted, great and revered; who bringeth low the haughty, and raiseth up the lowly, leadeth forth the prisoners, delivereth the meek, helpeth the poor, and answereth his people when they cry unto him even praises to the Most High God, blessed is he, and ever to be blessed.

True it is that thou art indeed the first and the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer and Saviour.
(Weekday morning)

Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying, all of them, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the mighty ones? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, revered in praises, doing marvels?

With a new song the redeemed people offered praise unto thy name at the sea shore: they all gave thanks in unison, and proclaimed thy sovereignty, and said, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

O Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Israel, and deliver, according to thy promise, Judah and Israel. Our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is his name, the Holy One of Israel.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel.

(Weekday evening)

Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying, all of them, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the mighty ones? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, revered in praises, doing wonders?

Thy children beheld thy sovereign power, as thou didst divide the sea before Moses: they exclaimed, This is my God! and said, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

And it is said, For the Lord hath delivered Jacob, and redeemed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel.

Fourth benediction

Cause us, O Lord our God, to lie down in peace, and raise us up, O our King, unto life. Spread over us the tabernacle of thy peace; direct us aright through thine own good counsel; save us for thy name's sake; be thou a shield about us; remove from us every enemy, pestilence, sword, famine and sorrow; remove also the adversary from before us and from behind us. O shelter us beneath the shadow of thy wings; for thou, O God, art our Guardian and our Deliverer; yea, thou, O God, art a gracious and merciful King; and guard our going out and our coming in unto life and unto peace from this time forth and for evermore.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who guardest thy people Israel for ever.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

(Sabbath eve)
Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying,
all of them,
Who is like unto thee,
O Lord, among the mighty ones?
Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness,
revered in praises, doing wonders?

Thy children beheld thy sovereign power,
as thou didst divide the sea
before Moses: thy exclaimed,
This is my God! and said,
The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

And it is said, For the Lord hath delivered Jacob, and redeemed him from the hand of him
that was stronger than he.

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who hast redeemed Israel.

(Sabbath morning)
Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying,
all of them,
Who is like unto thee,
O Lord, among the mighty ones?
Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness,
revered in praises, doing marvels?

With a new song the redeemed people
offered praise unto thy name at the sea shore:
they all gave thanks in unison,
and proclaimed thy sovereignty, and said,
The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

O Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Israel,
and deliver, according to thy promise,
Judah and Israel.
Our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is his name,
the Holy One of Israel.

Blessed art thou O Lord,
who hast redeemed Israel.

Fourth benediction

Cause us, O Lord our God, to lie down in peace,
and raise us up, O our King, unto life.
Spread over us the tabernacle of thy peace;
direct us aright through thine own good counsel;
save us for thy name's sake;
be thou a shield about us;
remove from us every enemy, pestilence,
sword, famine and sorrow;
remove also the adversary from before us
and from behind us. O shelter us beneath
the shadow of thy wings; for thou, O God,
art our Guardian and our Deliverer;
yea, thou, O God, art a gracious and merciful King;
and guard our going out and our coming in unto life
and unto peace from this time forth
and for evermore.

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who spreadest the tabernacle of peace
over us
and over all thy people Israel,
and over Jerusalem.
The point of origin seems to have been the confession of the one-ness of God (Deuteronomy 6:4), together with the commandment to love God (verse 5). The purpose of this confession was to uphold the faith of Israel in the face of the plural theism of both the Persian and the Greek empires. These verses were extended, either in origin or subsequently, to include the teaching of the commandments and the use of phylacteries containing the sacred text (verses 6-9).

The second scriptural pericope (Deuteronomy 11:13-21) links obedience to the commandments with the gift of the early and later rains 'that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil' (verses 13-17). This pericope certainly has in view the post-exilic restoration in the land of Judah, 'the good land which the Lord gives you' (verse 17). And again the use of phylacteries and the duty of instruction are enjoined (verse 18-21).

The third pericope (Numbers 15:37-41) prescribes the wearing of tassels on the borders of the garment (verses 37-40), that the people may 'remember all the commandments of the Lord' and 'be holy to your God'. The final verse (41) commemorated the redemption from Egypt.

These confessional pericopai are set in the framework of benedictions, which are acts of prayer. They are linked together, not in the form of one benediction introducing each pericope, but in the form of two benedictions preceding all three pericopai, and of one benediction (in the evening two) following them. Not only does this sequence call for explanation, but the texts themselves require critical scrutiny. For while the text of the Scriptural pericopai remains stable, the text of the benedictions, with the exception of the second, shows considerable variation from weekdays to Sabbaths and festivals, and from morning to evening.

In the analysis of these texts the starting point should be the second, immediately preceding the Shema, the point of origin of the whole complex. Although the present text is invariable, it shows signs of development. It may have consisted in origin of the concluding benediction formula, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love'. The subject and object of the verb to love in the Shema are inverted in this benediction. Thus while the Shema commands the love of God, the accompanying benediction shows that this reciprocates the love that God has for Israel. This benediction is however the source of the whole paragraph, beginning 'With abounding love hast thou loved me, O Lord our God'. The paragraph is built up on the Shema: 'Enlighten our eyes in thy law, and let our hearts cleave to thy commandments'. But these are indicative that the present text has been extended to include a reference to the later dispersal of the nation, and the petition for yet a further return to the land: 'O bring us in peace from the four corners of the earth, and make us go upright to our land'.

If the theme of the second benediction, closely linked with the Shema, is God's unity and love manifested in the Torah, the theme of the first benediction is quite different, namely creation. But while the text of the second benediction is stable, the text of the

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first is the most variable of all. It varies from weekday to Sabbath, and from morning to evening.

The weekday and Sabbath morning Shema` begin with the same text: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who formest light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createth all things.' They also share a common text, at the end of the third paragraph both in the weekday Shema` and the Sabbath morning Shema`: 'Be thou blessed, O Lord our God for the bright luminaries which thou hast made'. It seems likely that these two texts constituted the earliest form of the benediction, into which the weekday and Sabbath Shema` have interpolated different formulae. Moreover, the whole benediction in both the weekday and Sabbath Shema` concludes with a repetition of the second text: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, Creator of the luminaries,' thus giving unity to the benediction in spite of its very considerable expansions. As for the theme of creation itself, it may owe its place to the influence of the formation of the canon of the books of the law, which was the work of the priestly school in the fifth century. The commemoration of creation is thus made to precede the commemoration of the giving of the law.

The next question to be considered is the chorus of angels which stands between the benediction formula at the end of paragraph three and its repetition at the conclusion of the benediction as a whole. The thought moves on from the luminaries to the angelic powers that are set over them. The development of angelology in this way belongs to the period from Daniel onwards, including apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings, and the books of the New Testament. Orders of angels appear - archangels, dominions, powers and so forth; together with proper names - Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and others. The seraphim in this benediction derive of course from Isaiah 6; and the ophanim ('wheels?') and chayoth ('living creatures') from Ezekiel 3. The quotation from Isaiah 6:3 is the hymn of the seraphim in the Temple in ceaseless adoration of God; and the enigmatic 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place' is founded on Ezekiel 3:12: 'Then the Spirit lifted me up, and as the glory of the Lord arose from its place, I heard behind me the sound of a great earthquake'. Since this vision marks a stage in the removal of the divine presence from the Temple, perhaps it is conceivable that this whole interpolation belongs to the time of crisis for the Temple from 170BC to AD70.

Finally in regard to the first benediction for the morning Shema` the first three paragraphs in the form for the Sabbath, 'All shall thank thee,' 'God the Lord over all works', and 'To the God who rested from all his works', are expansions of the weekday text made in the post-Talmudic period, perhaps as late as the eighth or ninth century.

The first benediction for the evening Shema` on weekdays, before the Sabbath and festivals, and at the conclusion of the Sabbath, consists of a single paragraph corresponding to the first paragraph in the first benediction before the morning Shema`. It is clearly dependent on the morning benediction; yet, lacking the extensive internal development of the morning benediction, it remains closer to the earliest form of the first benediction. Even so, it has been expanded from the

1 1 Enoch 75,80; 2 (4) Esdras 6:3
2 passim
3 Ezek 11
opening and closing words: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who bringest in the evening twilight'. The core of the prayer between these benedictions is probably the sentence: 'Thou createst day and night; thou rollest away the light from before the darkness, and the darkness from before the light'. For in the Babylonian Talmud \(^1\) it is treated as counter-balancing the words in the morning Benediction, 'who forrest light and greatest darkness'.

Turning now to the benedictions that follow the Shema`, the first of them 'True and firm' is closely related to the third of the Scriptural pericopai, Numbers 15:37-41. But it is found in two versions, (i) for the weekday morning service and the Sabbath morning service, and (ii) for the weekday evening service, the evening service before Sabbath and festivals, and the service for the conclusion of a Sabbath. To take the former version first, it deals first (in the first three paragraphs) with the commandments of the preceding Scriptural pericope. What is 'true and firm' is God's word, his commandments and statutes. But with the fourth paragraph the subject changes to redemption: 'From Egypt thou didst redeem us.'; and the whole benediction ends, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel'. This final benediction formula takes up the last sentence of the Scriptural pericope: 'I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God'.

The second version of 'True and firm', for use on weekday evenings, the eves of Sabbath and festivals, and the conclusion of the Sabbath, deals with a single subject, namely redemption. What is 'true and firm' is 'that he is the Lord our God, and there is none beside him, and that we, Israel, are his people'. There is no mention of commandments, but only of deliverance from tyrants, from Pharaoh, and deliverance to everlasting freedom. And thus this version ends like the other: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel'.

The second of the benedictions that follow the Shema` occurs only in the evening service, not in the morning service: 'Cause us, O Lord our God, to lie down in peace, and raise us up, O our King, unto life'. It is not related to the Scriptural pericopai of the Shema`, but consists of a string of short petitions for peace and protection. The great themes of the Shema` and its benedictions - creation, Torah, redemption, love, commandments, remembrance - are all absent from this benediction. It is essentially a night-time prayer, and probably not of the same antiquity as the rest.

It only remains in this analysis of the Shema` to notice that the whole is introduced by a solemn invitation to prayer by the reader, to which the congregation responds: 'Blessed is the Lord who is to be blessed for ever and ever'. It is peculiar to the Shema`, and common to all forms of the Shema`. The Tefillah has its own introduction: Psalm 51:17 - familiar in the life of the Church as the introduction to the daily office as a whole. The invocation at the beginning of the Shema` has, however, a different genealogy, as we shall see.

While the Tefillah was prayed three times a day, the Shema` was recited twice. The Mishnah and subsequently the Talmud devote much attention to the question of the time and circumstances of a valid recitation. But underlying this discussion is the fact that in the Temple the twice daily sacrifice of the whole burnt offering was concluded with the recitation of the Shema`\(^2\). It was this fact that determined its

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1 b.T. Ber.11a,12ab
2 M. Tam.4:3 - 5:1
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twice daily recitation outside the Temple. The Shema` was the surrogate for sacrifice in the life of the synagogue and of the devout Israelite.

Moreover, because of its widespread use, as extensive as the extent of Israel, and because of its profound importance, it could be recited in any language.¹

¹ M. Sot.7:1
The Sabbath meal and the Church's supper.

The crucifixion of Christ is - inevitably to use a play on words which is significantly apposite - the crucial event in the work of salvation. It does not of course stand alone, as though it were one more martyrdom in Israel, but it issues in the resurrection. They are inseparable, and were at an early date observed in the unified celebration of the Easter Vigil. Equally, the question of who it was who died on the cross, whom God raised from the dead, at once disclosed another trans-historical aspect of his death, namely his being sent forth or becoming or self-emptying. The world is one plane of existence in God's realm.

It is impossible to separate what is historical here from what is trans-historical. No degree of scholarly finesse can delineate the 'Jesus of history', for absolutely everything about him is mediated through disciples or 'sources' or apostles or evangelists or 'editors' for whom his death and resurrection changed unalterably the perspectives of memory and understanding.

It was possible to have an external view of the cross, 'seeing' the crucifixion as those who passed by saw it, or as the centurion reported the death to Pilate. But the external view of the cross is distant from the way of understanding. And the resurrection was, and remains, knowable only interiorly, that is to say to those who entered into communion with him in the life that was past, or who enter into communion with him, who is risen from the dead, throughout the ages in the prayer of the Church.

Yet the fact of the cross could have meaning even to those who were disciples or 'sources' or apostles or evangelists or editors only because of its setting in the age of Jewish suffering and martyrdom. From the first the death of Christ was vicarious, 'for us',¹ and expiatory, 'for our sins'.² From the first it is spoken of in terms of sacrifice - sacrifice not like that of animal victims in the Temple liturgy, but sacrifice in terms of man, in the lacerated flesh and the shedding of blood of the martyr. 'The Son of man came ... to give his life as a ransom for many'.³ Such language is the language of men who were deeply imbued with the religious climate of suffering and martyrdom, and stands in contrast with the chief Christological titles, Son of God, Christ, and Lord, which primarily bear testimony to the exaltation of Christ.⁴

The sacrificial interpretation of his death is powerfully re-inforced by reference to the calendar. Chronologically the association of the death of Jesus at Passover time with the Lord's supper is first encountered in Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians.⁵ It is however supported in all three Synoptic Gospels.⁶ Under this note of time Luke includes a double tradition of the supper.⁷ John varies the tradition by associating the crucifixion of Jesus with the time for the slaying of the Passover victims in the Temple.⁸ Furthermore, although the eucharistic tradition is absent from the last

¹ Rom 5:8; I Thess 5:10
² Gal 1:4; I Cor 15:3
³ Mk 10:45
⁴ Paradoxically the centurion's confession in Mk 15:39 arises from the death of Jesus.
⁵ 1 Cor 5:7b-8; 11:23-26 ('in the night in which he was betrayed').
⁶ Mk 14:12; Mt 26:17; Lk 22:7
⁷ Lk 22:15-18,19-22
⁸ Jn 6:4, 51b-57
supper in John, it is introduced as a supplement to the multiplication of the loaves and fishes for the five thousand at Passover time in Chapter 6. There is no reason to be sceptical about the underlying historical traditions of Christ's death at Passover time; nevertheless the sacrificial interpretation of the death of Jesus is given a different context in Hebrews, namely the Day of Atonement. In spite of this typological variation in Hebrews, the New Testament is unanimous in ascribing atoning power to the death of Christ; and this unanimity is best explained if it is traced back to Christ's self-revelation.

While, however, the passion of Christ is in the providence of God made understandable by the experience of suffering and martyrdom in pre-Christian Judaism, it is not a matter for the intelligence alone. Christ in calling disciples attracted them into communion with himself, and this communion was expressed in part in the observance of the Sabbath. It was a day of rest, as God rested from his work of creation, and a day for remembering that God brought Israel out of Egypt 'by a mighty hand and a stretched out arm'. It was a day of rejoicing, of eating and drinking. Luke in particular mentions the participation of Jesus in the Sabbath meal. 'He went into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees on a Sabbath to eat bread'. It is perhaps just such a similar occasion that is referred to in the story of the sinful woman: 'And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he entered into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat'. For the Greek has 'he reclined to eat' - which is necessary to the sense since the woman stood 'behind at his feet' and reclining to eat implied a special occasion, conceivably at this date the Sabbath. Jesus' own practice is reported in Mark: 'And it came to pass, that he was sitting at meat in his house, and many publicans and sinners sat down with Jesus and his disciples'. Again, the Greek word for 'sitting at meat' means reclining. The scribes of the Pharisees (sic) reproached him for eating and drinking in such company - an offence made worse if it was indeed the solemn Sabbath meal. Similarly at the last supper, which the Synoptics treat as the Passover meal, Mark and Matthew use one word for Jesus 'reclining' with the twelve, and Luke another. Reclining did not necessarily imply couches, but probably rugs or fleeces, as distinct from squatting or sitting cross-legged on ordinary occasions. While indeed the Passover was obviously a special occasion, commemorating redemption from slavery to freedom, redemption was also commemorated at the Sabbath meal. It may therefore be safely deduced from this fragmentary evidence that Jesus and his disciples participated in the Sabbath meal, and that the Evangelists' contemporaries were no stranger to this practice. The Sabbath meal like the Synagogue liturgy was carried forward in the life of the apostolic Church.

2 This experience is vividly summarized in Heb 11:36-38, which is itself linked with the sacrifice of Christ in 8:1-10:18.
3 Gen 2:3
4 Deut 5:15
5 Jubilees 2:17-33
6 Lk 14:1
7 Lk 7:36-38,49
8 C.F. Evans, Luke, 5:29 ad loc., suggests that it was Jesus' house in Capernaum (see Mk 9:33).
10 Isa 21:5 (RV mg. and RSV), Jdt 12:15.
The Sabbath meal, inaugurating the Sabbath, began with a 'Sanctification' (Kiddush), declaring the holiness of the day. The head of the household took a cup of wine, and recited the benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who createst the fruit of the vine', followed by a benediction upon the day: 'Blessed art thou ... who hallowest the Sabbath'.\(^1\) This in turn was followed, as at all meals, by a benediction before the breaking of the bread: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth'.\(^2\) The Sabbath commemorated, as we have already noted, both creation and redemption: God's rest from the work of creation, and redemption from the unremitting servitude in Egypt. A Christological interpretation of these benedictions, in the same order, is given by Paul in 1 Corinthians: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?\(^3\) The Sabbath meal is clearly presupposed.

After the meal, a sustained thanksgiving in three (later four) paragraphs was said. The first was a thanksgiving for food, the second for the land, and the third a prayer for Israel, Jerusalem, and the Temple. The triadic form - blessing, thanksgiving, petition for mercy - is found in Jubilees,\(^4\) and is therefore pre-Christian.

Now the whole of the setting for the Sabbath meal, both the benedictions beforehand and those in the concluding grace, have their counterpart, again in a Christological reformulation, in the Didache, chapters 9 and 10.\(^5\) In the following synopsis the text of the concluding grace is Louis Finkelstein's reconstruction from widely scattered evidence, and traced back by him to about 120BC.\(^6\)

What emerges from this comparison of texts is the tradition of prayer habits from Judaism to Christianity. The way in which men had thought and prayed in the past was not abandoned, nor were new liturgical forms invented. The old forms were developed and transformed by the incorporation of the Church's Christology. The Vine of David bears Christ. Bread from the wheat harvested on the hills becomes the symbol of the Church. Food for the body becomes the food of immortality. Israel's hope for the nation is transcended by the eschatological hope in the Church.

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1. The Authorized Daily Prayer Book, op.cit. p.169f
2. ib. p.171
3. 1 Cor 10:16 RV mg. and RSV
5. For a review of the interpretation of these chapters, see W. Rordorf and A. Tuillier, La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres, pp.38-48.
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Synopsis: The Sabbath meal and the church’s supper

Kiddush for Sabbath Evening
The Sabbath meal

Benediction over the cup
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who createst the fruit of the vine,

Did. 9:2
We give thee thanks, O our Father,
for the holy vine of thy son David,
which thou madest known unto us
through thy Son Jesus.
Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

Benediction upon the day
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
[who hast given us thy holy Sabbath,
a memorial of creation,
in remembrance of the departure from Egypt.]
Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who hallowest the Sabbath.

Benediction over the bread
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
King of the universe,
who bringest forth bread from the earth.

Did. 9:3-4
We give thee thanks, O our Father,
for the life and knowledge
which thou hast made known unto us
through thy Son Jesus.
Thine is the glory for ever and ever.
As this broken bread was scattered
upon the mountains
and being gathered together became one,
so may thy Church be gathered together
from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom.
For thine is the glory and the power
through Jesus Christ for ever and ever.
Grace after the Meal

1: Food
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who feedest the whole world with goodness, with grace and with mercy.

2: The Land
We thank thee, O Lord our God, that thou hast caused us to inherit a goodly and pleasant land.

3: Israel
Have mercy, O Lord our God, on Israel, thy people, and on Jerusalem, thy city, and upon Zion, the dwelling place of thy glory, and upon thy altar and upon thy temple. Blessed art thou, O Lord, thou who buildest Jerusalem.

Thanksgiving after the Meal

Did. 10:1-2
We give thee thanks, holy Father, for thy holy Name, which thou has made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou has made known unto us through thy Son Jesus. Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

Did. 10:3-4
Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for that they might render thanks to thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy Son. Before all things we give thee thanks that thou art mighty. Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

Did. 10:5-6
Remember, Lord, thy Church to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in thy love; and gather it together from the four winds, even the Church which thou hast sanctified, into thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it. For thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.

May grace come and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. Maran atha. Amen.
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It is also clear that the Sabbath no longer has the dominant position in the Church that it had in Israel. Gone is the benediction upon the Sabbath day. Indeed, since the Jewish fasting days of Monday and Thursday have been replaced by Wednesday and Friday,¹ it is tempting to hypothesize that the Church’s supper has been transferred from Friday evening to Saturday evening, the eve of the Lord’s Day.²

Not the least important conclusion to be drawn from this synopsis is that grace at meals cannot be the source of the eucharistic prayer. One incontrovertible fact here is that the grace or thanksgiving follows the meal, whereas the eucharistic prayer invariably is followed by the distribution of the eucharistized gifts. Again, the content of the grace is quite different from that of the eucharistic prayer.³ There is in the grace no mention of the sacrifice of Christ, which is the crux of the eucharistic prayer, nor equally is there any relating of the bread and cup to the body and blood of Christ. It is necessary therefore to look elsewhere for the origin of the eucharistic prayer.

¹ Did 8:1
² Did 14:1. The name for the seventh day of the week passed into the Christian calendar: sabbaton (Greek), sabbatum or sabbata (Latin). Furthermore, just as the Sabbath eve (Friday evening) belonged to the Sabbath in Judaism, so in the Church Saturday evening was assimilated in various ways, as we shall see, to the Lord’s Day. The Church’s supper, or agape, distinct from the eucharist, survived for some centuries, but with little co-ordination between churches, with changes in character and purpose, and never central to ecclesiastical life.
³ It is true that the idiomatic expressions of praise, thanksgiving and petition for mercy occur in this order in the anaphoral prayer of the Liturgy of SS Addai and Mari; but the content of the paragraphs is entirely different. See Brightman, LEW pp.283-285, Hänggi and Pahl, PE pp.376-378.
(iv) The Jewish and Christian community of prayer in the Shema`.

The controversy between Christianity and Pharisaism has its roots in the controversy of Jesus with the Pharisees, over rules of cleanliness, tithing, precedence, and so forth.¹ The antinomy between Pharisaism and the kerygma of Christ was acutely felt by Paul:

> If any other man thinketh to have confidence in the flesh, I yet more: circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews [i.e. parents]; as touching the law, a Pharisee; as touching zeal, persecuting the church; as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless. Howbeit what things were gain to me, these have I counted loss for Christ. Yea verily, and I count all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord ... that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, becoming conformed into his death; if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead.²

In the Synoptic Gospels the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees is extensively developed in the Galilean part of the Gospels, especially in connection with the synagogue, reflecting the disputes of the church with the Pharisaic synagogue after AD70. In John the Pharisees have become the rulers of the Jews.³

There is however one very striking exception in this controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees, and it is the pericope about the first or great commandment of the law. There is the same basic material in all three Synoptic Gospels, but it is adjusted to the perspectives of each.⁴ In Mark one of the scribes approached Jesus, in Matthew one of the Pharisees, a lawyer, in Luke a lawyer. In Mark and Matthew the question is, which commandment is first of all (Mark), or which is the great commandment in the law (Matthew). Mark gives the answer of Jesus, beginning where the Shema` begins. 'Hear, O Israel'; and both Mark and Matthew quote the rest of Deuteronomy 6:4-5, and add a second commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself', i.e. Leviticus 19:18. In Luke the lawyer's question is, 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' - a concept commoner in 'the Dispersion among the Greeks' than in the provenance of Mark and Q. In Luke too the lawyer is led into answering his own question, though running the two texts into one. The sequel is different in each Gospel. In Mark the scribe approves Jesus's answer by repeating it, adding that such love of God and of one's neighbour is 'much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices'. Matthew substitutes a favourite formula of his: 'On these two commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets'.

In view of the fact that at this date the Shema` was fully organized, the answer to the lawyer's question in the first place may be held to invoke the Shema` as a whole. But, secondly, love of one's neighbour was regarded as a summary of the moral demands of the Decalogue, indeed of the law in its entirety.⁵ Love of God and love of one's neighbour are, fundamentally, common to Judaism and Christianity. They may

¹ e.g. Lk 11:37-52, and Matthaean parallels. See the discussion in C. F. Evans, op.cit. pp.500ff.
² Phil 3:4-11 RV
³ A sure sign of the relatively late date of John.
⁴ Mk 12:28-34, Mt 22:34-40, Lk 10:25-28
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be epitomized in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 'Love the Lord through all your life, and one another with a true heart' (Daniel 5:3),\(^1\) and the opening sentences of the Didache, 'The way of life is this, First of all, thou shalt love the Lord thy God that made thee; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself' (1:2). Jesus and the Pharisees are therefore here at one. There is no controversy at this point. The prayer 'of Israel in the Shema` is the source of the prayer of the Church in the eucharist. The complex form of the Shema` in the time of Jesus explains the complex form of the eucharistic prayer from its earliest exemplars. The structure does not change. But the content undergoes Christological transformation. The prayer habits inherited from the past persist. But the prayer develops within the new perspecions of redemption by Christ.

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5 For Jewish sources see G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, ii 83-88; on the Christian side, see the illustrations of parallel texts (for example) in Aland, SQE,\(^3\) *ad loc.* (p.387).
1 R.H. Charles, op.cit. II.334; J.H. Charlesworth, op.cit. I. 809
Our thesis is that the complex character of the anaphoral prayer, which we encounter in the very earliest texts, is to be explained by the complex character of the Shema` and its benedictions. For the sake of clarity, let us venture to summarize the Shema` in the following way:

First benediction: the praise of God as Creator, coupled with the praises of the angelic orders.

Second benediction: the praise of God as law-giver.

Shema`:

Deuteronomy 6:4-9: the one-ness of God, love of God and his commandments, phylacteries.

Deuteronomy 11:13-21: laying up the words of God in the heart and the soul, phylacteries.

Numbers 15:37-41: memorial fringes to remember the commandments of the Lord, God the Redeemer.

Third benediction: God the Redeemer.

In the case of the anaphoral prayer regional variations make such a summary more difficult; but making due mental allowances for these, it is possible to recognize a basic pattern in the anaphoral prayer on these lines:

First section: the praise of God [as Trinity] in creation, leading up to the praises of the angelic orders.

Second section: a Christological summary.

The dominical institution: the bread and cup as the body and blood of Christ, the sacrifice of the new covenant.

Third section: anamnesis of the kerygma and the offering to the Father of the eucharistic oblation.

This parallelism of structure we shall examine on the basis of the regional groupings of liturgy.

An important principle of exposition, however, needs to be mentioned first. This is that parallelism is frequently varied with antithetical parallelism. The use of parallelism and antithetical parallelism is very common in the Psalms and in the Wisdom books of the Old Testament, and also in the Gospels in the teaching of Christ. Thus Psalm 1 begins with a threefold statement in parallel:

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

Immediately juxtaposed with this is an antithetical statement:

But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and night.

Of course, the Psalms are full of such parallel statements and antithetical statements, and a wide range of subtle literary contrasts. The same is true of the Wisdom books:
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A wise son maketh a glad father:
But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.¹

But it is unnecessary to multiply examples.

In the case of the Gospels it has been said that antithetical parallelism 'characterises our Lord's teaching in all the Gospel-sources'.² A full list of such antitheses is given in Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*.³ For example:

*All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and the blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.*⁴

Jeremias counts 138 similar instances.

Paul also makes use of antithetical parallelism:

*If we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him.*⁵

Here he is contrasting death and resurrection. But in the following example he characteristically opposes Christ and law:

*What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh,*

*God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh,*

*and as an offering for sin, condemned sin in the flesh.*⁶

This brings us to the fundamental antithesis of the law and Christ. It soon entered into Christian thought, and we suggest that it was from this root that the antithetical parallelism grew between the Shema` and the anaphoral prayer. In this case, however, the antithetical parallelism is not between sentences, but between whole sections.

Now, in examining the relationship of the Shema` and the anaphoral prayer, with their parallelism and antithetical parallelism, we shall distinguish three principal regional groupings of the anaphoral prayer: first, closest to the Shema`, the 'Syrian' group, i.e. Jerusalem, Antioch, Byzantium and East Syria; secondly, the Egyptian group; and thirdly, least conscious of derivation from the Shema`, the Western group, i.e. Milan and Rome. In order to illustrate this, the synoptic comparison of texts is indispensable; but here we meet with a difficulty. The larger the number of witnesses, and the ampler the text, the more difficult it is, physically, to set out a comparison verbatim. We have therefore, with reluctance, adopted a compromise: we have summarized the texts, with as much brevity as is consistent with accuracy.

**(a) The ‘Syrian’ group of texts (Jerusalem, Antioch, Byzantium, East Syria).**

The earliest witness here is the Mystagogical Catecheses attributed either to St Cyril of Jerusalem (bishop c.350-387) or to his successor John (bishop 387-417). The text consists of transcribed sermons in which the underlying liturgical text is sometimes quoted verbatim, or loosely, or by allusion. The instruction on the dominical words

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¹ Prov 10:1  
³ pp.14-20  
⁴ Mk 3:28,29  
⁵ Rom 6:8  
⁶ Rom 8:3
moreover, precedes the exposition of the prayer as a whole.\footnote{Myst. Cat. IV and V. The same method is adopted by St Ambrose, De Mysteriis IV, iv and v.} Next, Apostolic Constitutions, so often regarded as a theoretical text rather than a text in actual use, remains an indispensable witness. The compiler, undeniably, has a penchant for tidying up and systematic presentation. It was written in Antioch, about the time of the Council of Council of Constantinople.\footnote{M. Metzger, Les Constitutions Apostoliques, SC 320, vol.I pp.54ff.} St John Chrysostom and St Basil of Caesarea, Byzantine texts in use today and of unsurpassed authority, have their roots in the age of the Oecumenical Councils. All these texts are in Greek. Syriac texts, recovered since the last century in relatively late manuscripts, have a value comparable to that of the Syriac texts of the New Testament.

**Exordium**

The source of the exordium is the summons of the reader in the synagogue to prayer, and the response of the congregation: 'Bless ye the Lord'. The Hebrew idiom of blessing was regarded in the earliest Greek texts in the church as synonymous with thanksgiving. Thus Mark/Matthew have: 'he took the bread, blessed, broke' etc, and 'he took the cup, gave thanks' etc. The Greek liturgies uniformly have at the exordium: 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord.' The Syriac Addai and Mari, however, sensing that what supremely gives praise to God is nothing else than Christ's sacrifice, has: 'The oblation is being offered to God the Lord of all'.

This basic line in the exordium is preceded in the anaphoral prayer by a summons to interior contemplation. It is not enough to lift up the hands in prayer. The outward gesture must express the attitude of the heart and mind. Thus 'Lift up your hearts' is universal in the exordium to the anaphoral prayer.

But the Christian exordium gave a further step beyond the Jewish. The 'Syrian' text without exception has the epitome of the economy of salvation: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all'. John Chrysostom and Basil have identical texts. Apostolic Constitutions recognises the text in the traditional trinitarian sequence. In spite, however, of variant readings, the shared text points to antiquity of origin. It is not dependent on the version quoted by St Paul in 2 Corinthians 13:13, and must antedate the appearance of the Pauline corpus in the second century.

**Praise**

The first benediction in the Shema’, Yotzer, is an act of praise of God as creator. As we have seen, it is not related to the scriptural pericopai of the Shema’, but probably owes its existence to the settlement of the canon of the law by the priestly school, in which the P account of creation is placed first. The trisagion and benedictus, if indeed it is second stratum material, presupposes the existence of the Temple in pre-Christian times.

Cyril of Jerusalem begins his explanation of the anaphoral prayer, as in the Yotzer prayer, with the works of God in creation. He extends Yotzer’s ‘ministering spirits’ with a list of the angelic orders. The angelology here is typical of the intertestamental literature and of the New Testament, and so is later than Yotzer. But as in
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Yotzer the trisagion is introduced by the seraphim. The benediction is not mentioned, perhaps in consequence of the fact, which every preacher knows, that in a sermon you cannot say everything.

The scheme here is, broadly, common to the first paragraph of the anaphoral prayer in the 'Syrian' tradition. Constants are the mention of creation, the angelology, and the appending to the sanctus of the benedictus. Variables include first the trinitarian confession of the Godhead; and so the Father is named together with the only-Begotten Son and the Holy Spirit. Cyril says nothing of its theological refinement. *Apostolic Constitutions* mentions both the Father and the Son, but, in spite of the amplitude of the writing, not the Holy Spirit. But with John Chrysostom and Basil the full trinitarian formula appears, and this remains for the future the norm. It also appears in Addai and Mari, where in spite of some critical misgivings as to its authenticity it is well supported in the earliest manuscripts.

The mention of Christ, furthermore, attracts into this creation paragraph the fall of man, and with his fall the hope or fact of his redemption. *Apostolic Constitutions* packs into this paragraph not only man's fall but the history of Israel right up to the embryonic restoration of man under the first Jesus. In John Chrysostom the fall and restoration of man, his destiny in heaven and the grace of the kingdom, are seen in the single spectrum of creation, without going at this stage into the way of redemption by Christ. Basil expands, not the idea of creation, but the properties of the three Persons of the Trinity. Addai and Mari conform in principle to John Chrysostom.

A third variable, at least at an early stage, concerns the benedictus. In the Shema`, once again, this is based on Ezekiel 3:12: 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place'. In the Shema` this meant the Temple. In the nature of the case this could not survive in the Christian re-formation of the Shema`. *Apostolic Constitutions*, therefore, for once in a while, abbreviates: 'Blessed be he *for ever*'. But at the conclusion of the anaphoral prayer, after the elevation by the bishop of the eucharistic gifts with the words 'The holy things for the holy ones', the people respond:

One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ,
in the glory of God the Father.
Blessed is he *for ever*. Amen.
Glory to God in the highest,
and on earth peace, divine favour among men.
Hosanna to the Son of David.
Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
The Lord is God, and hath appeared to us.
Hosanna in the highest.  

This catena of acclamations is based on the text of the Gospels. This in turn is based on Psalm 118:25-27:  

Save now, we beseech thee, O Lord:
O Lord, we beseech thee, send now prosperity.

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1 i.e. Joshua.
3 Mk 11:9-10, par.
4 Hosanna
Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord:
We have blessed you out of the house of the Lord.
The Lord is God, and he hath given us light:
Bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar.

It proved to be but a step to transpose the Messianic acclamation 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord', together with its antiphon 'Hosanna in the highest', from the sequel to the anaphoral prayer in *Apostolic Constitutions* to the sequel to the sanctus, to replace the benedictus verse from Ezekiel after the trisagion. This is what happened in John Chrysostom, Basil, and Addai and Mari. In Addai and Mari, however, the present tense 'cometh' is coupled with the eschatological future 'and is to come'. Moreover, the yoking of the Messianic acclamation with the sanctus resulted in an alteration to the sanctus itself, from 'The whole earth is full of thy glory' to 'Heaven and earth are full of thy glory', that is through Christ. At the same time it also marked the transition from the creation paragraph in the anaphoral prayer, to the following Christological paragraph. And to this we now turn.

The economy\(^3\) of salvation

The second benediction that immediately precedes the Shema\(^2\) is epitomized in its last line: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love', or 'who lovest thy people Israel'. This love is enshrined in the law, in commandments, statutes and judgments.

The second paragraph in the anaphoral prayer stands in antithetical parallelism with this. The work of Christ is placed over against the law. On this the 'Syrian' group of liturgies are unanimous. On the other hand there is no textual conformity. The most succinct Christological statement is in John Chrysostom. Its keynote as in the corresponding benediction in the Shema\(^1\) is love - love not of Israel alone, but of the world:

\[
\begin{align*}
thou & [i.e. the Father] who didst so love thy world \\
that thou gavest thine only-begotten Son, \\
that whoso believeth in him should not perish \\
but have everlasting life.\textsuperscript{4}
\end{align*}
\]

It is of course a quotation from John 3:16, that is to say, the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus 'a ruler of the Jews'. What is in view in this quotation is both the incarnation and the crucifixion. This was 'the fulfilment of the whole economy for us'.\textsuperscript{5} The same basic concepts appear in Addai and Mari:

\[
\text{Thou hast indeed put on our humanity, that thou mightest quicken us by thy divinity. Thou hast exalted our low estate; thou hast restored our fall; thou hast raised our mortality; thou hast forgiven our sins; thou}
\]

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1. The catalyst for change was perhaps the second half of the verse in Ps 118 26b, *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord:*
   
   *We have blessed you out of the house of the Lord.*

   Cp. the benedictus verse in the Shema\(^1\) (Ezek.3:12):

   *Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place.*


9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

hast justified our sinfulness; thou hast enlightened our understanding;\(^1\) and thou hast overcome, O our Lord, and our God, our enemies; and thou hast granted victory to the weakness of our frail nature through the abundant mercies of thy grace.\(^2\)

Both Apostolic Constitutions and Basil by contrast, in their different ways, review the old dispensation of the law before outlining Christology on the credal framework of incarnation, death, resurrection, and heavenly session.\(^3\) But whether at length, as in these texts, or with the utmost conciseness, as in John Chrysostom, a complete Christology is set in antithetical contrast with the second benediction in the Shema’.

Commandment and remembrance

Form is essential to what we have to 'say'. In writing grammar and syntax are necessary to the expression of content. In music form shapes the message, which is not communicable in any other way. So antithetical parallelism is not merely a literary device. It is used to go to the heart of the matter. Nowhere is this more true than with the scripture pericopai of the Shema` and the supper tradition in the anaphoral prayer. The words of YHWH and the words of Christ are the relative poles of the Shema` as a whole and of the anaphoral prayer.

Both are heavily weighted with commandment and remembrance. 'Thou shalt' and 'ye shall' are repeatedly used in the first two scripture pericopai of the Shema`, together with the phrase 'which I command unto thee this day'. The phylacteries, containing Exodus 13:1-10 (the exodus from Egypt), 11-16 (the redemption of the first born), and Deuteronomy 6:4-9, 11:13-21 (reward and punishment), are a reminder of redemption, and the memorial fringes or tassels a reminder of all the commandments of the Lord. The tassels with the cord of blue are in order 'that ye may remember [mnesthete] and do [poiesete] all my commandments'.\(^4\)

In the case of the supper tradition, the accounts in Mark and Matthew are primarily angled upon the crucifixion which is about to follow, and interpret the meaning of Christ's death. Since however the context is the supper, whether this is perceived as the Passover meal or in relation to the Sabbath meal, repetition is implicit, with the consequent remembrance of Christ's death. But in 1 Corinthians Paul is writing primarily with reference to the Lord's supper and therefore the remembrance of Christ's death is strictly enjoined in connection with both the bread and the cup:

_This is my body, which is for you: this do [poieite] in remembrance of me [eis ten emen anamnesin] ... This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do [poieite], as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me [eis ten emen anamnesin].\(^5\)_

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1. Cp. the similar clause in the second benediction in the Shema`.
5. 1 Cor 11:23-26. Luke attaches the command to 'do this' only in connection with the bread, 22:19c. The longer text, including 19c-20, was omitted on textual grounds from GNT\(^1\) and the first edition of the RSV, but has since been restored on the revision of the textual grounds in GNT\(^3\) and the revised edition (1971) of the RSV. RV printed the longer text, with the shorter text in a footnote.
The command to 'do this in remembrance' passed generally speaking into the liturgies. Although it is not mentioned by Cyril or included in John Chrysostom, it is found in *Apostolic Constitutions* and Basil - in each case with Paul's admonition, 'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come', transposed to the dominical words as the words of Christ. Addai and Mari, while not quoting the text, alludes to it in this way:

*We also, O Lord, thy humble servants, frail and miserable, who are gathered together and stand before thee at this time, receive by tradition the design that comes from thee ...*  

It should be noticed, let us add, that while in the Shema the command to remember referred to the words of the law, in the anaphoral prayer it referred to the rite. And while in the Shema it is redemption from Egypt that is remembered - 'I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God' - in the anaphoral prayer it is redemption by the death of Christ that is remembered. Phylacteries and tassels are, with all their symbolism, characteristic of the Synagogue; the bread and the cup, with all the connotation of sacrifice, of the Church.

One further point deserves consideration in weighing the antithetical parallelism between the scriptural pericopai of the Shema and the supper tradition in the anaphoral prayer. The monumental pericopai of the Shema are self-justifying. They are complete in themselves. The benedictions serve in a supplementary albeit enriching way. With the dominical words in the anaphoral prayer, however, the case is different. They are certainly essential in authenticating the rite. But they depend for their full apprehension on the kerygma in the Christological sections of the prayer. Moreover the text of the dominical words is not completely stabilized like the text of the pericopai in the Shema. It varies between simplicity and rhetorical fullness and parallelism, and it is co-ordinated with its context in different ways. Thus *Apostolic Constitutions* forms it into a separate paragraph:

*Having in remembrance, therefore, the things which he endured for us, we give thanks to thee, almighty God, not as we ought but as we are able, and we fulfil his commandment. For in the night in which he was betrayed, taking bread into his holy and blameless hands, and looking up to thee, his God and Father, he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant, take of it, eat: this is my body which is broken for many for the remission of sins.*  

Basil has a similar paragraph:

*And he left us these memorials of his saving passion which we have offered according to his commandments; for when he was about to go forth to his voluntary and adorable and life-giving death, in the night in*
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

which he delivered himself up for the life of the world he took bread into his holy and spotless hands, lifted them up to thee, his God and Father, gave thanks, blessed, consecrated, broke, and gave to his holy disciples and apostles, saying: Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins.¹

John Chrysostom by contrast introduces the dominical words in a relative clause: who having come and having fulfilled the whole dispensation ['economy'] for us, in the night in which he delivered himself up, taking bread into his holy and spotless and blameless hands, having given thanks and blessed he broke it and gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying: Take, eat: this is my body which is for you.

Addai and Mari, as we have already seen, in the text in which we have it, simply alludes to the 'tradition received from thee,' placing it however in the context of the kerygma of the 'great and tremendous mystery of the passion, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.'² Whether in the East Syrian rite the dominical words were prayed, but not pronounced as being ineffable, remains an unresolved question.

The holy words of YHWH and the holy words of Christ stand in antithetical parallelism. But whereas the words of YHWH are autonomous and independent, the words of Christ are integrated with the rest of the anaphoral prayer.

The sacrifice of redemption.

The third benediction, following the recitation of the scriptural pericopai of the Shema’, is in two forms, morning and evening. Common to both forms, however, is deliverance from Egypt. Both include excerpts from the song of Moses in Exodus 15 (1,11,18), and both conclude with the benediction: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel'.³

The antithetical parallel to this benediction is that part of the anaphoral prayer made up of the anamnesis, oblation, and epiclesis.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in the fifth of the Mystagogical Catecheses, passes directly from the creation paragraph (para.6) to the epiclesis (para.7):

Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the [gifts] lying before him, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ: for whatsoever the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed.

The use of the term ta prokeimena [dora], 'the [gifts] lying before thee' suggests that the gifts have been offered by the oblation formula that precedes the epiclesis. There is, however, no indication of an anamnesis formula. But the full weight of this exposition falls upon the epiclesis, the prayer for the illapse of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts. It is an early instance, if not the earliest, of the characteristic form of the 'Syrian' epiclesis. Epiclesis texts, like the text of the dominical words and the anamnesis, display a variety of forms;⁴ but in principle they express a prayer for the

¹ Brightman, LEW, 327:19-328:7; Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 234,236
² Brightman, LEW, 287:22-26; Hänggi and Pahl, PE 380
³ See above, pp.192-197
⁴ See J.H. McKenna, Eucharist and Holy Spirit, Great Wakering, 1975
illapse of the Holy Spirit primarily and invariably upon the gifts, and secondarily but not invariably upon those who offer the gifts, namely the clergy and the people at the liturgy. As for the source of the epiclesis, there can be no question of trying to identify a single point of origin; but rather there is a wealth of texts and theological ideas from which the epiclesis derives.

By way of illustration we should start from the third benediction in the Shemaa'. Common to its different forms is the reference to the Song of Moses in Exodus 15. This song celebrated the redemption from Egypt and the passage through the sea. The people were overshadowed by the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night:

*And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light, that they might go by day and by night: the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, departed not from before the people.*

For 'the Lord' the Targum reads 'the Word of the Lord', where Word, like Spirit, is a circumlocution for the Tetragrammaton. Arguing from this passage Paul in 1 Corinthians 10 first relates the cloud and sea to the double aspect of the baptismal liturgy, anointing and cleansing; and then goes on to allude to the eucharist:

> [they] did all eat the same spiritual meat;  
> and did all drink the same spiritual drink;  
> for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them;  
> and the rock was Christ.

Not only are spirit and word, breath and utterance, closely related, but the illapse of the Holy Spirit upon the bread and cup is parallel with the utterance of the dominical words.

*Apostolic Constitutions*, contemporary with Cyril, has a fully developed anamnesis-oblation-epiclesis section. As is generally the case, there are two main verbs here, offer and send; while the anamnesis clauses in a participial construction provide the context for the offering of the bread and cup:

(a) Having in remembrance, therefore, his passion and death and resurrection from the dead and return to heaven and his future second coming [parousia], in which he cometh with glory and power to judge the living and the dead, and to render to each according to his works,  
(b) We offer unto thee, O King and God, according to his commandment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee through him because thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before thee and serve thee as priests.  
(c) And we pray thee to look graciously upon these gifts lying before thee, thou who art God in need of nought, and to be pleased with them to the honour of thy Christ, and to send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may show forth this bread as the body of thy Christ, and this cup as the blood of thy Christ.

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1. Exod 13:21-22 RV
2. Cp. Ps 51:11Cast me not away from thy presence [Shekinah]:And take not thy holy spirit from me.
3. 1 Cor 10:3-4 RV


9  Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Basil has a similarly full text (a) for the anamnesis, but a markedly different text (b) for the oblation and (c) for the epiclesis:

(a) Having in remembrance therefore, O Master, his saving passion, life-giving cross, the three days in the tomb, the resurrection from the dead, the ascension into heaven, the session at thy right hand, O God and Father, and his glorious and fearful second coming [parousia].
(b) offering unto thee thine own [gifts] of thine own [creatures], in relation to all [things] and through all [things]. The people: We hymn thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and we pray to thee, O our God.
(c) Wherefore, O Master all holy, we also thy sinful and unworthy servants, who have been accounted worthy to celebrate this liturgy at thine holy altar, ... with boldness we draw near to thine holy altar and presenting the antitypes of the holy body and blood of thy Christ, we pray and beseech thee, O Holy of Holies, in the good pleasure of thy goodness that thine all-holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts lying before thee, and bless and consecrate and make this bread the very, the precious, body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen. And this cup the very, the precious, blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen, which is poured out for the life of the world. Amen.

In this prayer the offering formula is participial, but is co-ordinated with the acclamation of the people, thereby making it clear that the eucharistic sacrifice is offered by the whole church. This was so in the text of the Barberini MS of the eighth or ninth centuries. In later centuries, and in the present time, the participle was changed into the indicative 'we offer'. 'Thine own of thine own' is a formula which, as we shall see, occurs also in the canon of the mass in the Roman rite. The phrase kata panta kai dia panta is enigmatic. Kata with the accusative means 'according to', etc, and dia with the accusative 'because of' etc. The object of the prepositions is not supplied; but since panta is a neuter plural, it must refer to things or events. The nearest reference is the death and resurrection of Christ, and the sense therefore appears to be that the offering is made with the works of redemption in view. As for the epiclesis, it differs from the epiclesis in Apostolic Constitutions principally by referring the illapse of the Holy Spirit to those who offer as well as to what is offered.

In John Chrysostom the content, though not the language, of the anamnesis is the same as in Basil. There is a shared text for the oblation, while the epiclesis is essentially the same, though without the rhetorical fullness of Basil:

(a) Having in remembrance therefore this command of the Saviour, and of all that has been done for us, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection after three days, the ascension into heaven, the session at the right hand, and the second and glorious coming [parousia],
(b) offering unto thee thine own [gifts] of thine own [creatures], in relation to all [things] and through all [things]. The people: We hymn

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1 Brightman, LEW, 328:27-330:11; Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 236
2 See C. Kucharek, The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Allendale NJ, 1971, 609-611
thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and we pray to thee, O our God.

(c) Further, we offer to thee this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice, and we ask and beseech and pray: Send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying before thee, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, changing it by thy Holy Spirit. Amen. And that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing it by thy Holy Spirit. Amen.¹

The differences in language between John Chrysostom, Basil and Apostolic Constitutions indicate different lines of tradition; but their congruence in content indicates derivation from liturgical sources, developed in antithetical parallelism with the Shema’, from those Greek speaking churches that separated from the Greek speaking synagogues of the Diaspora in Syria and Asia Minor.

Finally, the East Syrian liturgy, represented here by Addai and Mari, though very different in character, embodies the same themes of redemption. By comparison with the Greek texts, however, the Syriac texts are marked by allusiveness and reticence, although they have an underlying similarity of structure. The anamnesis, nevertheless, is fused with the allusion to the dominical institution, and the epiclesis fused with the offering:

And we also, O Lord, thy humble servants, frail and miserable, who are gathered together and stand before thee at this time, receive by tradition the design that comes from thee,
(a) rejoicing, glorifying, exalting, commemorating and praising and celebrating this great and tremendous mystery of the passion, death, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Deacon: Be silent.

(c) And may there come. O Lord, thy Holy Spirit
(b) and rest upon this oblation.²

There follows the prayer for the fruits of communion similar to that in Apostolic Constitutions, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom and Basil.

Redemption then is the common theme of the third benediction of the Shema’ and the anamnesis-oblation-epiclesis section of the anaphoral prayer. But it is presented antithetically. The third benediction looks back to redemption from Egypt; and its enduring consequences for Israel are realized in the keeping of the commandments, epitomized in phylacteries and fringes. The anamnesis-oblation-epiclesis section of the anaphoral prayer, by contrast, recalls the redemptive acts of Christ in the past, but his sacrifice is made present in the rite in which the gifts of bread and cup are offered, which by the illapse of the Holy Spirit upon them are made his body and blood.

¹ Brightman, LEW, 329-330; Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 226
² Cp. Brightman, LEW, 287; Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 380
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

[The synopsis that follows is laid out across facing pages]
**Synopsis: The 'Syrian' anaphoral prayer - Summary of Contents**

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**Exordium**

Grace of allmighty God  
love of Our Lord Jesus Christ  
communion of the Holy Spirit  
And with thy Spirit

Lift up your hearts  
We lift them up unto the Lord

Lift up your hearts  
We have them with the Lord

**Bless ye the Lord**

Let us give thanks to the Lord

Let me give thanks to the Lord

**Blessed is the Lord ...**

It is meet and right

Meet and right

**Praise for creation**

Praise of God  
creation  
through the only begotten Son

Blessed art thou

who fornest light  
and greatest darkness  
... and all things  
Who givest light to the earth  
and renewest creation.

We make mention

of heaven and earth and sea  
sun and moon,  
stars and all creation

Heaven and earth  
light and darkness  
stars and terrestrial creation

man and the fall  
Abel etc. Enoch  
Noah and flood  
Abraham and Moses  
Egypt exodus under Moses  
Entry into Canaan under Jesus

rational - irrational  
visible - invisible

Creator of ministering spirits

 angels  
archangels  
virtues  
dominions  
principalities  
powers  
thrones  
cherubim  
seraphim

angels - archangels  
thrones  
dominions  
principalities  
powers  
virtues, hosts,  
cherubim  
seraphim

Holy holy holy  
is the Lord of hosts  
the whole earth  
is full of his glory  
ophanim and chayoth

Holy holy holy  
Lord of hosts

Holy holy holy  
Lord of hosts  
Heaven and earth  
are full of his glory

Blessed art thou,  
creator of the luminaries

Blessed be he for ever
### 9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

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Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ  
love of God the Father  
communion of Holy Spirit  
And with thy Spirit

Lift up your hearts  
We have them with the Lord  
Let us give thanks to the Lord  
Meet and right  
Praise, give thanks to,  
worship God  
thine only-begotten Son  
and Holy Spirit

in all places of thy dominion  
Creation  
who created the world

from nothingness into being  
compassion  
fall - restoration

heaven, kingdom to come

archangels and angels  
angels and archangels  
a thousand thousands of

thrones  
dominions  
principalities  
authorities  
powers  
cherubim  
seraphim  
Holy, holy, holy  
Lord of hosts  
Heaven and earth  
are full of thy glory  
Hosanna in the highest  
Blessed is he that cometh  
in the name of the Lord  
Hosanna in the highest

supernatural beings  
myriad myriads of angels  
hosts of spiritual beings  
ministers of fire and spirit  
cherubim  
and seraphim  
Holy, holy, holy  
God almighty  
Heaven and earth  
are filled with his praises  
Hosanna in the highest  
Blessed is he who comes  
and who is to come  
in the name of the Lord  
Hosanna to the Son of David
Shema'  Cyril/John of Jerusalem  Apostolic Constitutions

**Economy of Salvation: Law/Christ**

With abounding love
hast thou loved us,
O Lord our God

Enlighten our eyes in thy law

Holy indeed art thou ...
Holy also thine only begotten Son
our Lord and God Jesus Christ
the Creator became man,
the law gives subject to law
the High Priest became sacrifice
the Shepherd a sheep ...
reconciling and delivering

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
who hast chosen thy people Israel
in love

incarnation

the immortal died
the life-giver buried
third day rose again from the dead
session at God's right hand

**Commandment/Remembrance**

**Deut 6:**
these words I command thee
to be in your heart
a sign upon your hand,
and frontlets between your eyes

The same night
in which he was betrayed,
he took bread, and said,
Take, eat,
this is my body

Lay up my words
in your heart and soul.

And having taken the cup,
he said, Take drink,
this is my blood.

**Deut 11:**
I will give the rain ...
that you may gather in
your corn and wine and oil.

Bread;
the mystery of the new covenant

**Num 15:**
tassels, that you may remember
all the commandments of the Lord
I am the Lord your God
who brought you out of Egypt

Having in remembrance
we give thanks
and fulfil his commandment

Do this in remembrance of me
You proclaim the Lord's death
until he come
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

St John Chrysostom

Holy art thou
and thine only-begotten Son
and Holy Spirit
thou who didst
so love the world
that thou gavest
thine only-begotten Son
that everyone
that believeth in him
should not perish
but have eternal life

incarnation
fulfilling the economy ...

St Basil

Holy art thou ...
Creator of man,
fall, and death
prophets
law

because
thou hast put on our humanity
restored our fall
raised our mortality

incarnation
- to make us 'a peculiar people,
a royal priesthood a holy nation'

crucifixion

resurrection the third day

session at the right hand of God.

Addai and Mari

With these heavenly hosts
we give thanks to thee

He left us the reminder
of his saving passion,
which we have offered
according to his commandments.

In the night
in which he was betrayed,
he took bread, saying
Take, eat,
This is my body for you.

Likewise the cup, saying,
Drink ye all of it,
this is my blood
of the new covenant
for the remission of sins.

Do this in remembrance of me.
You proclaim my death
you confess my resurrection.

We stand before thee at this time

and have received the example
which is from thee
delivered unto us ...

Session at the right hand of God.

[Intercessions]
The Sacrifice of Redemption

Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before him, that he may make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ.

True it is that thou art the first and the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer and Saviour.

From Egypt thou didst redeem us, O Lord God, from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their first born thou didst slay, but thy first born thou didst redeem.

Having in remembrance his passion and death and resurrection we offer unto thee, King and God, according to his command, this bread and this cup.

Then after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected, the bloodless worship, on that altar of propitiation, we implore thee to look upon these gifts lying before thee and to send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit and show forth this bread as the Body of thy Christ, and this cup as the Blood of thy Christ.

Blessed art thou O Lord who hast redeemed Israel we implore God for the common peace of the Church ...

[Evening petitions] [Intercessions] [Intercessions]
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

St John Chrysostom  St Basil  Addai and Mari

Remembering this saving commandment, the cross, grave, resurrection, ...
Remembering his saving passion, cross, burial, resurrection, ascension ...
Commemorating and celebrating the mystery of the passion, death, and resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ

thine own of thine own we offer unto thee
thine own of thine own offering to thee

We ask and pray, Send down upon us and upon these gifts thy Holy Spirit
we pray and implore thee that thy Holy Spirit come upon us and upon these gifts
may there come thy Holy Spirit and rest upon the oblation, bless it and sanctify it for the remission of sins and resurrection from the dead and new life in the Kingdom of heaven.

and make this bread the Body of Christ, and declare this bread the Body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ
and what is in the cup the blood of thy Christ and this cup the Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ

We offer to thee this spiritual worship for those ...
Commemoration of the Saints the Church etc.

[Intercessions]  [Intercessions]
(b) The Egyptian group of texts (Greek, Coptic).

The 'Egyptian' group of texts, which includes the liturgies of the churches in the region of the Nile, fall into two main types. First there are (1) those represented by Apostolic Tradition and Serapion, and then (2) those represented eventually by Mark (the Coptic St Cyril). They differ in structure from each other, and both from the 'Syrian' group of texts. Their relationship to the Shema` is in consequence less strict. But it still remains the case that the structure of the Shema` explains the structure of the anaphoral prayer in the Egyptian liturgies.

The basic difference between the two main types of the Egyptian liturgies is that one type (1) lacks the creation section, and the other (2) lacks the Christology or economy of salvation section.

We will begin with Apostolic Tradition and Serapion.

(1) Apostolic Tradition and Serapion.

In making use of these texts we need to bear in mind, once again, that they are not firm texts. They derive from sources that are no longer extant. In regard to Apostolic Tradition, and the anaphoral prayer in particular, the Latin version although the earliest witness is not earlier than the fifth century. The only parallel texts, deriving from different lines of descent, and manifesting extensive amplification, are in an Ethiopic version, and the Syriac text of the Testamentum Domini which is full of idiosyncrasies.¹

Serapion, in turn, is a unicum, known from an eleventh century manuscript, originating in the fourth century (if the attribution to Serapion at two points in the text is correct), but interpolated with later material.

With unavoidable mental reservations we nevertheless attempt the following structural analysis.

Exordium

The 'Syrian' counterpart to the synagogue summons to prayer is found in a similar form in Apostolic Tradition. But the 'Syrian' opening versicle, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all' occurs in Apostolic Tradition in an abbreviated form, 'The Lord be with you'. This proves to be an Egyptian characteristic. 'The Lord' however can scarcely be an abbreviation of '[the] Lord Jesus Christ', since the anaphoral prayer is addressed to the Father. As for Serapion, the exordium though absent is to be presupposed, since the opening line of the anaphoral prayer is 'It is meet and right to praise thee', arising, that is to say, from the last line of the exordium.

9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Praise/creation

The first benediction in the Shema`, and also the parallel opening paragraph in the 'Syrian' anaphoral prayer, are devoted to creation, and come to a climax in the hymn of the angelic orders, in which the Church joins. There is however no counterpart to this in Apostolic Tradition: neither the praise of God in or for creation, nor the sanctus. Certainly, a pre-sanctus paragraph and the Sanctus in the characteristic Egyptian form, that is, without the benedictus, do occur after the praise and petition at the beginning of the extant anaphoral prayer in Serapion. They are almost identical in language with the pre-sanctus and sanctus in the Liturgy of St Mark. But whereas in St Mark they are an integral part of the context, in Serapion there is pronounced discontinuity with what precedes, together with an unmistakable difference in literary style. They are an interpolation.¹

The economy of salvation: Law/Christ.

The second benediction of the Shema` expresses God's choice of Israel in the bequeathing to them of the law. The 'Syrian' anaphoral prayers, by contrast, in antithetical parallelism, introduce a Christological paragraph, either compressed as in John Chrysostom, or extended as in Basil.

Apostolic Tradition passes at once (iam) from the exordium to the Christological section. It is in the form of a thanksgiving addressed to the Father, not for 'thy beloved child [puerum] Jesus Christ' but through. The Christological credenda then follow in a series of relative clauses. In the first two paragraphs these are virtually a catena of scriptural words, phrases and allusions: puer (pais), Acts 4:27-30 (also Didache 9:2f, 10:2f; 1 Clement 59:2-4; M. Pol. 14:3); the 'last times', Hebrews 1:2 (novissime diebus istis); 'messenger of thy counsel', Isaiah 9:5; 'thine inseparable Word', John 1:1, 10:30; 'in whom thou wast well pleased', Mark 1:11; whom thou didst send from heaven born of Holy Spirit and a virgin, Luke 1:26-38; a holy people, 1 Peter 2:9; extending his hands, (Exodus 17:12?), Isaiah 65:2. The beginning of the next paragraph is by contrast, made up of non-scriptural expressions: 'delivered up to voluntary suffering', 'abolish death', 'break the bonds of the devil', 'tread down hell', 'enlighten the righteous', 'fix the boundary' (between heaven and hell?),'manifest the resurrection'. These Christological credenda, it should be noticed, unlike the fourth century creeds and anaphoral prayers, do not go beyond the resurrection, no mention being made of the ascension, heavenly session, and future parousia. This lack of development may be an indication of antiquity.

The corresponding section in Serapion is entirely different in character. Its fundamental idea is of the mutual knowledge of the Father spoken of in apophatic terms - uncreated, unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible - and the only begotten Son, the sending of the Son, the interpretation of these mysteries to man, in and through whom the Lord Jesus, and Holy Spirit, speak. Serapion, like the Fourth Gospel, uses the verb form 'to know', but never the substantive 'gnosis'. He represents a Christian gnosticism, as in Clement of Alexandria, that does not stray from the apostolic and catholic tradition. It forms a total contrast with the devotion to the Torah in the second benediction of the Shema`.

¹ Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, regarded it as a 'secondary formulation' (p.153).
Commandment/remembrance

The words of the Torah in the scriptural pericopai of the Shema’ have their counterpart in the words of Christ in the tradition of the eucharist. They are incorporated into the text of the anaphoral prayer, however, in *Apostolic Tradition* and Serapion in different ways.

In *Apostolic Tradition* they form the conclusion to the relative clauses which define who Christ is through whom thanksgiving is offered to God: ‘We render thanks unto thee, O God, through thy beloved child Jesus Christ ... who rendering thanks to thee said, Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you. Likewise also the cup, saying, This is my blood which is shed for you ...’ Thus the dominical institution of the eucharist is assimilated to the Christology which is the means of the Church's thanksgiving.

In Serapion, on the other hand, the dominical institution is assimilated not to the Church's thanksgiving, but to the Church's oblation. But of course the Church's oblation is the act of praise of ‘living men', 'the Lord Jesus, and Holy Spirit, speaking in them', ‘telling forth and enunciating unspeakable mysteries'.

To thee we have offered this living sacrifice,
this bloodless oblation.
To thee we have offered this bread, the likeness
of the body of the only-begotten,
because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed,
took bread, and broke, and gave to his disciples, saying,
Take ye and eat, this is my body which is being broken for you for the remission of sins.
Wherefore we also celebrating the likeness of the death have offered the bread.
We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood,
because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper
said to his own disciples,
Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant,
which is my blood, which is being poured out
for the remission of sins.
Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting
the likeness of the blood.¹

In this unique combination of the oblation with the dominical words, it will be noticed that the perfect tense 'we have offered' (representing the Greek aorist) is used. 'We have offered' means in short ‘We have offered at the offertory', the bread and the cup of ‘this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation' being the likeness (*homoiooma*) of the body and blood of Christ. It is an Egyptian characteristic to regard the offertory as the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice.

The sacrifice of redemption.

This offering of the likeness of the body and blood of Christ is immediately followed by the 'Logos-epiclesis':

¹ Hänggi and Paul, PE, 130, 2:11-3:14
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup, that the cup may become blood of the truth.¹

Then attached to the epiclesis is the petition, found in all prayers, for the fruits of communion: ‘a medicine of life’, and so forth.²

Apostolic Tradition has co-ordinated anamnesis, oblation and epiclesis formulae of the basic Eastern type:

Having in remembrance therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee in the priestly service. And we pray thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the Holy Church.

Prayer for the fruits of communion follows, and then the doxology.

Redemption from Egypt in the third scriptural pericopi of the Shema` thus has its counterpart and fulfilment in redemption through the body and blood of Christ.

(2) The anaphoral prayer of St Mark and its antecedents.

The second type of anaphoral prayer in the Egyptian liturgies is evidenced chiefly by the Greek Alexandrian liturgy of St Mark. The earliest surviving manuscript is of the twelfth century. But it receives support from a number of Greek and Coptic fragments from the fourth/fifth to the eighth centuries.³ Collating the evidence from these sources, we will attempt to analyze it under the sectional headings used hitherto.

Exordium

St Mark⁴ closely follows the versicles and responses already found in Apostolic Tradition, which as we have seen are a development from the summons to prayer at the beginning of the Shema`. To the versicles assigned to the priest, however, St Mark adds the deacon's summons, 'Extend [your hands to pray].'

Praise/creation

The basic scheme here accords with the structure of the first benediction preceding the Shema`; that is to say, it starts with the praise of God for his creation, and concludes with the praise of the angelic orders in the sanctus, in which the Church joins. But the scheme is complicated first by the insertion of the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, and secondly by the inclusion of intercessions. How is this development to be explained?

1 Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 130, 4:15
2 The intercessions follow, preceding the doxology, Brightman regarded them, JTS I 95f (1899-1900), (mistakenly?) as original
4 The Strasbourg Papyrus, gr.254 (fourth/fifth century) (Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 116-119); John Rylands Library papyrus 465 (sixth century) (Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 120-123); the Der-Balizeh papyrus (sixth/seventh century) (Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 124-127); the Louvain Coptic fragment (sixth century) (Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 140); the British Museum Coptic ostracon (sixth/eighth century) (Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 141).
The Church's act of praise is addressed to the Father in a series of synonyms: 'to praise thee, to hymn thee, to give thanks to thee, to confess thee' - followed by a series of negatives: 'with unceasing mouth, unsilenced lips and unstilled heart'. Thus the Church emulates the ceaseless praises of the angelic orders. The works of creation are mentioned up to and including the creation of man 'after thy own image and likeness'. Praise of the Father is then given trinitarian expression by mention of the Son with the Holy Spirit.

With the mention of the Son, the act of thanksgiving receives renewed expression in the offering of the liturgical sacrifice. So the Strasbourg papyrus:

*through whom ... giving thanks to thee we offer this spiritual sacrifice, this bloodless worship, which all nations offer thee, from the rising of the sun until its going down, from the north to the south, because thy name is great among all the nations, and in every place incense is offered to thy holy name, and a pure sacrifice*, oblation and offering.

St Mark has an identical text. The text from Malachi 1:11 which is quoted here has a primary reference to non-sacrificial worship. But the context in both Strasbourg and St Mark, 'this spiritual worship in which there is no shedding of blood ... oblation and offering', must refer to the eucharistic oblation, so that Malachi is now understood in this sense. In view of Serapion's use of the aorist in his oblation paragraph, combined with the dominical words, and referring back to the offertory, it is evident that we have here a distinctive Egyptian characteristic.

Now the eucharistic oblation, thus embodied in the opening act of praise, is coupled with intercessions. The coupling of oblation and intercessions, the prayer of offering with prayers for the offerers, is found everywhere. The prayers for the offerers, however, are everywhere expounded to include not only a local church but the Church as a whole, Christian lands and rulers, the fruits of the earth, the sick, and the dead. In Strasbourg and St Mark the typical formulae are used, 'We pray and beseech thee' and 'Remember'. The Der-Balizeh fragment begins with the tail end of these intercessions.

After the intercessions there is a return to the act of praise with which the whole section began. Thus the pre-sanctus paragraph is introduced, in Der-Balizeh and St Mark: 'For thou art above all rule and authority ...' This culminates in the sanctus. The sanctus, however, lacks the benedictus with its hosanna antiphon - another Egyptian characteristic. The benedictus in the 'Syrian' family of texts is the Messianic acclamation that leads on to the Christological section. The want of the benedictus in the Egyptian family of texts is nevertheless supplied in another way. In both the Greek St Mark and the Coptic St Cyril the deacon towards the end of the intercessions summons the people: 'Ye that are sitting, stand up'; and then immediately afterwards, before the pre-sanctus, he adds: 'Look to the east'. In the orientated churches of the east, this was a summons to look towards the altar, in expectation of the consummation of the eucharistic sacrifice, and therein the presence of Christ.

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1 Greek Mark; similarly Coptic Cyril.
2 Strasbourg pap., British Museum Coptic ostracon, Greek Mark.
3 Strasbourg pap. gr. 254.
4 The British Museum Coptic ostracon, after speaking of the creation of man through Christ, and his inheritance through Christ's sacrifice, passes directly to the pre-sanctus.
9  Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Economy of salvation: Law/Christ

The second paragraph that precedes the Shema` (to repeat) has as its subject matter God's choice of Israel through the delivery to them of the law. At this point the 'Syrian' texts in antithetical parallelism have a Christological paragraph with a varying degree of fulness. In the corresponding paragraph in the Egyptian anaphoral prayer, the antithesis is not only between the law and Christ, but between the law and the Holy Spirit.

It derives from the sanctus, and has a double content. Starting from the second clause of the sanctus, 'Full is the heaven and the earth of thy holy glory', the Egyptian post-sanctus takes up this point, and further defines it with reference to Christ. John Rylands has, 'Full indeed is the heaven and the earth of thy holy glory through our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.' St Mark has, '... through the epiphany of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.' The Louvain Coptic fragment rephrases this: 'Full is heaven and earth of that glory with which thou hast glorified us through thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ.' This is the whole content of the Egyptian Christology.

But, secondly, there follows the first epiclesis. John Rylands and St Mark take up the word 'full', but this time in the verb form. John Rylands: 'Fill also this sacrifice with thy blessing through the Holy Spirit,' St Mark: '... through the descent of thine All-Holy Spirit'. Der-Balizeh and the Louvain Coptic fragment have a different formula; and in Der-Balizeh this runs: 'Send thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures, and make the bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the cup the blood of the new covenant of him our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ'. This first epiclesis is, again, an Egyptian characteristic.

It remains true, as we ventured to assert in a generalization at the beginning of this section on the Egyptian anaphoral prayer, that the St Mark type of prayer lacks a fully developed Christological paragraph. Yet the post-sanctus sentence, 'Full indeed is the heaven and earth of thy holy glory through our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.'\(^1\) condenses the whole of Christology under these titles. Furthermore, the epiclesis petition that follows is for the encapsulation of this Christology in the rite. The ritual sacrifice, actualising the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, gives glory to God, and glorifies those who offer and receive.

Commandment/remembrance.

The elements of commandment and remembrance, which in the scriptural pericopai of the Shema` are associated with the words of the law, phylacteries and tassels, are strongly pronounced in the Egyptian anaphoral prayers in connection with the dominical institution of the eucharist.

The tradition of the institution is developed of course in independence of the different accounts in the New Testament. There is amplification at every step, almost as much in the sixth century John Rylands papyrus as in the twelfth century Vatican text of St Mark. To generalize, the full Christological titles are introduced at the beginning - 'our Lord and God and Saviour and King Jesus Christ' (John Rylands). He delivered himself up for our sins - was not simply betrayed. He took bread into his holy and

\(^1\)  John Rylands papyrus 465.
undefiled and blameless hands. He looked up to heaven to his Father, our God. He gave thanks, blessed and consecrated. He gave to his disciples and apostles, saying, This is my body which is given for you for the remission of sins. Similarly with the cup, saying, This is my blood which is poured out for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this in remembrance of me. In addition the Pauline addendum, 'For as often as ye eat the bread and drink this cup', is treated as the saying of Christ, with the conclusion 'Ye proclaim my death, and confess my resurrection'.

Thus the Egyptian texts enrich the tradition, but subtly alter the perspectives by underlining the rite itself as the medium of redemption. And to that redemption we now turn.

**The sacrifice of redemption.**

In the third paragraph of the Shema` God is himself the King, Saviour and Redeemer who delivered the firstborn in Egypt, and a whole people from servitude. The church subtracts nothing from that tradition. But it writes over it, as in a palimpsest, the redemption of the 'many' by Christ.

The John Rylands papyrus is complete to the doxology at the end; and as it is our earliest manuscript let us follow it first. The sequence is, once again: anamnesis, offering, epiclesis, and the fruits of communion.

*Proclaiming, O God, the Father, almighty,*
*the death of thine only-begotten Son,*
*Lord and God and Saviour,*
*his resurrection and ascension into heaven,*
*his session at thy right hand,*
*and awaiting his glorious and second parousia*
*in which he will come to judge the world in righteousness,*
*and to render to each according to his works,*
*whether good or bad,*

*we have offered to thee of thine own gifts in thy sight*

*and we pray and beseech thee,*
*Send forth thy Holy Spirit*
*upon these gifts in thy sight [?],*
*upon this bread and this cup,*
*and make this bread the body of Jesus Christ,*
*and the cup his blood of the new covenant*
*of our Lord and God and Saviour and King Jesus Christ,*
*Amen.*

*that they may become for all of us who partake*
*for faith, for sobriety, for healing, for gladness,*
*for sanctification, for restoration of soul and body and spirit,*
*for communion in life eternal, for wisdom, for immortality,*

1 Der-Balizeh has remembrance (anamnesis) by mistake for resurrection (anastasin).
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

for ...

that in this as in all things thy name may be glorified and praised and sanctified and honoured and ...

for the remission of sins ...

This text is reproduced substantially, though with amplifications, in St Mark.¹

There is therefore here a closely-knit theological scheme. It goes back in principle to Apostolic Tradition, and is recognizable in the idiosyncratic text of Serapion. Indeed, Serapion’s use of the aorist in the oblation paragraph, referring back to the offertory, is retained in John Rylands and in St Mark, and helps to give unity to the whole anaphoral prayer. The underlying scheme of the Shema` is not abandoned, but is transformed by Christology.

¹ Der-Balizeh is defective at this point.
**Synopsis: The Egyptian anaphoral prayer - Summary of Contents**

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<tr>
<th>Shema`¹</th>
<th>Apostolic Tradition</th>
<th>Serapion</th>
<th>Strasbourg pap.gr.254</th>
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<td><strong>Exordium</strong></td>
<td>The Lord be with you&lt;br&gt;And with thy spirit&lt;br&gt;Lift up your hearts&lt;br&gt;We have them with the Lord</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praise ye the Lord...</td>
<td>Let us give thanks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praise ye the Lord...</td>
<td>unto the Lord</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blessed is the Lord...</td>
<td>Meet and right.</td>
<td>[See below]</td>
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</table>

**Praise for creation**

Blessed art thou<br>who formest light<br>and createst darkness<br>... and all things<br>who givest light<br>to the earth<br>renewest creation

Creator<br>of ministering spirits

[Oblation]<br>through whom<br>with the Holy Spirit<br>we give thee thanks<br>and we offer<br>this spiritual sacrifice<br>this bloodless worship ...

[Intercessions]<br>Remember/

¹ The texts in these four columns from (1) The Authorised Daily Prayer Book; and from Hänggi and Pahl PE, (2) 80-81, (3) 128-133, (4) 116-119
9  Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

John Rylands p.465  Der-Balizeh  St Mark  BM Coptic stracon

The Lord be with you all
And with thy Spirit,
Let us lift up our hearts
We have them
with the Lord
Let us give thanks
unto the Lord
Meet - right
Spread out [your hands]

[Praise]  [Praise]
praise, hymn,
give thanks, confess
night and day
who hast made all things
who createst
heaven/earth/seas/man
through his precious

[blood]

fall: law, prophets,
this mystery,
all these things
thou hast done
through our Lord and God
and Saviour Jesus Christ

[oblation]
by whom
with the Holy Spirit
giving thanks to thee
we offer to thee
this spiritual
and bloodless sacrifice

We give thanks to thee
who hast brought us
into existence
through thine
only begotten Son
who came into the world
for the salvation
of mankind

[Intercessions]  [Intercessions]
Bless thy people... /
And we pray and beseech thee
Raise up the fathers
Stand up. Look to the East
Restore those in error etc.

1  The texts in these four columns from Hänggi and Pahl PE, (1) 120-123, (2) 124-127, (3) 101-115, (4) 140 (Louvain), 141 (BM Ostracon)
seraphim

Holy holy holy
is the Lord of hosts
the whole earth
is full of his glory
ophonim and chayoth
Blessed be
the glory of the Lord
from his place

Blessed art thou
creator of the luminaries

**Economy of salvation: Law/Christ**

| With abounding love hast thou loved us | We render thanks unto thee O God through thy beloved child Jesus Christ, Saviour, Redeemer, angel, Word, through whom thou madest all things with whom wast well-pleased |
| O Lord our God | Meet and right to praise, hymn, glorify thee uncreated Father of only begotten Jesus Christ |
| Enlighten our eyes in thy law | Sent from heaven into Virgin's womb conceived, made flesh born of Holy Spirit and the Virgin and revealing to the saints his glories Fount of life, light, grace, truth |
| Make us living men, that we may know thee Jesus Christ | Give us Holy Spirit that we may tell forth thy unspeakable mysteries May the Lord Jesus speak in us, and Holy Spirit, and hymn thee through us. |

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For thou art above all rule etc. Before thee stand thrones and dominions principalities virtues power angels etc. angels archangels cherubim/seraphim cherubim/seraphim hosts of angels etc. cherubim/seraphim with theirs receive our praise Holy holy holy Lord of Sabaoth Heaven and earth are full of thy glory Holy holy holy Lord of Sabaoth Heaven and earth are full of thy glory Holy holy holy is the Lord God, the almighty who wast and art and wilt be Full indeed is the heaven and the earth of thy holy glory Fill us with the glory that comes from thee Full indeed is the heaven and earth of thy holy glory through the epiphany of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Full is heaven and earth of that glory with which thou hast glorified us ... through Christ ... whose death we Fill also, O God, this sacrifice with thy blessing through thy Holy Spirit Send thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures Fill also this sacrifice by the descent upon it of Holy Spirit Send thy Holy Spirit the Paraclete and make the bread the body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the cup the blood of the new covenant of him our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ on the bread the body of Christ Christ's blood of the new covenant

Louvain fragment
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<th>Apostolic Tradition</th>
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<td>Deut 6:</td>
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<td>Who</td>
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<td>these words</td>
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<td>when he was betrayed</td>
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<td>I command thee</td>
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<td>to voluntary suffering</td>
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<td>to be in your heart,</td>
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<td>to abolish death</td>
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<td>a sign upon your hand,</td>
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<td>rend the bonds</td>
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<td>tread down hell</td>
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<td>enlighten the righteous</td>
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<td>fix the boundary</td>
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<td>We have offered thee</td>
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<td>this living sacrifice,</td>
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<td>this bloodless oblation</td>
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<td>We have offered this bread</td>
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<td>the Lord</td>
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<td>Jesus Christ</td>
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<td>in which he was betrayed</td>
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<td>Deut 11:</td>
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<td>took bread:</td>
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<td>I will give the rain ...</td>
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<td>This is my body</td>
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<td>that you may gather in</td>
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<td>likewise also the cup:</td>
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<td>your corn and wine</td>
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<td>This is my blood</td>
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<td>and oil.</td>
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<td>We have offered the cup</td>
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<td>because the Lord</td>
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<td>Jesus Christ etc.</td>
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<td>Lay up my words</td>
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<td>took bread etc.</td>
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<td>in your heart and soul,</td>
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<td>Num 15:</td>
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<td>tassels, that you may</td>
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<td>remember all the</td>
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<td>As often as ye do this</td>
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<td>commandments</td>
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<td>do it in remembrance</td>
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<td>I am the Lord your God</td>
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<td>who brought you</td>
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<td>out of Egypt</td>
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</table>
Because our Lord and God and Saviour and King Jesus Christ in the night in which he delivered himself up for our sins ... 

Because our Lord God and King Jesus Christ in the night in which he surrendered himself ... 

Thus the Lord himself when he was about to be delivered up ... 

Taking bread etc. took bread etc. took bread etc. 

Likewise after supper taking the cup etc. Likewise the cup etc. ... 

Taking the cup etc. Likewise the cup etc. Likewise ... he also took the cup consecrated, and filled with Holy Spirit 

For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim my death, ye confess my resurrection 

For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim my death, ye make my anamnesis. 

As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim my death and confess my resurrection and ascension until I come.
### The Sacrifice of Redemption

**Shema’**

True it is that thou art the first and the last and beside thee we have no King Redeemer and Saviour thou didst redeem us—

From Egypt O Lord our God—

**Apostolic Tradition**

Remembering therefore his death and resurrection

we offer to thee the bread and the cup giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee

**Serapion**

O Lord our God from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their first born thou didst slay but thy first-born thou didst redeem. We pray thee Send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of thy holy Church grant to thy saints, united with thee, to be filled with Holy Spirit

Let thy holy Word come upon this bread that it may become the body of the Word this cup that it may become blood of the truth Make all who communicate receive a medicine of life etc.

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**Blessed art thou O Lord**

that we may praise and glorify thee through Jesus Christ .. with thy holy Spirit .. in thy holy Church Amen

**We have invoked thee**

the Uncreated through the Only-begotten in Holy Spirit

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**[Evening Petitions]**

[**[Intercessions]**](#)

as it was and shall be to ages of ages Amen.
Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Proclaiming O God
Father almighty the
deaht and resurrection,
ascension, session,
second coming
of thy only begotten
Son ...

we have offered
before thee
of thine own gifts

And we pray
and beseech thee
Send forth
thy Holy Spirit
upon these gifts
...
make the bread
the body of Christ
and this cup
the blood
of the new covenant
of Our Lord God
and Saviour and King
Jesus Christ ...

that in this
and everything
thy holy and venerable
name may be glorified,
praised and sanctified

Through our Lord
Jesus Christ
with whom glory be
to the Father
with the Holy Spirit
for ever
Amen.

Thy death
we proclaim,
thy resurrection
we confess

Proclaiming O Lord
almighty - heavenly King
the death of thine
Only-begotten Son
and Lord God Saviour
Jesus Christ
and confessing his resurrection,
ascension, session, parousia,

we have offered in thy sight
thine own
of thine own gifts.

And we pray
and beseech thee
Send down
the Paraclete, ...
the Holy Spirit of truth ...

<see above>
Look upon us,
and send forth
thy Holy Spirit
upon these loaves
and upon these cups
that he may make this bread

the body
...grant to us
thy servants
unto
virtue of Holy Spirit,
confirmation and
increase of faith
and hope
of future eternal life

and the cup
the blood
of the new covenant
of our Lord and God
and Saviour and King
Jesus Christ

that in this
as in all things
thy Name may be praised ...
with Jesus Christ
and the Holy Spirit
to ages and ages. Amen.
(c) The Western texts

(1) The Roman canon (Milan and Rome).

The Church spread rapidly from the Greek-speaking East to the Latin-speaking West. It was however a Greek language Christianity that was established in the Latin-speaking West. It was the Greek of the Greek-speaking synagogues and churches of the Greek polis that spread into the Roman empire. There Latin was the language of administration, civilization and culture; and needless to say a Latin literature flourished. How far the Latin of the Roman plebs differed from all that it is difficult to estimate. For all that, it was a Greek-language Christianity that was introduced in Rome.

It is diverting to speculate in what language Paul and the brethren at Puteoli conversed, or the brethren from Rome greeted him at The Market of Appius and The Three Taverns. But these are probably idealized scenes. The account of Paul's subsequent stay in Rome presupposes no knowledge of Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and indeed Acts never betrays any knowledge of Paul's Epistles. It remains uncertain whether the address of the Epistle to the Romans is authentic, or is the work of the editor of the Pauline corpus who sought to give universality to Paul's gospel by the widespread destinations of his epistles. Certainly the subject matter of the Epistle to the Romans is of universal interest and is not limited to Rome. However this may be, the first literary evidence from the Roman Church is in Greek: 'The church of God sojourning in Rome to the church of God sojourning in Corinth ...: grace to you and peace from God Pantocrator through Jesus Christ be multiplied'. This Epistle of St Clement quotes freely from the Greek Scriptures, and includes towards the end a lengthy and rambling (and interpolated?) prayer in Greek of thanksgiving and praise, intercession and petition.

The first account of the liturgy in Rome is of course in Justin's First Apology, where he outlines the Easter Vigil and the Sunday Mass. He writes in Greek. And in saying that the proestos offers up prayers and thanksgivings, according to his powers, he may reasonably be supposed to be referring to a Greek anaphoral prayer. It was at this time, according to Eusebius, that Polycarp of Smyrna visited Anicetus in Rome in an attempt to settle the disagreement over the date of Easter; and although they had to agree to differ, they remained in communion with one another. Eusebius adds that 'in the church Anicetus yielded [the celebration of] the eucharist to Polycarp'. If this means what it appears to mean, namely taking part in the actual celebration of the eucharist, we may think of a liturgy in Greek of a recognizable and accepted structure. Further, still in the realm of a Greek liturgy in Rome, there is nothing improbable in principle in the pre-Hanssens thesis of a Greek text of Apostolic Tradition in use early in the third century. Hippolytus, with whom this text is so often associated, and who was the most considerable theologian in Rome in the third century, wrote in Greek.

1 Acts 28:13-15
2 Lk-Ac was written at the end of the first century or early in the second.
3 For the relationship of 15:14-33 and 16 to the rest of Romans, see e.g. E. Käsemann, Commentary on Romans, ET London 1980. 15:14-53 he calls an 'epilogue', and 16 an 'appendix'.
4 1 Clement: introductory address.
5 Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History V xxv 17
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

In the transition from Greek to Latin Roman Africa seems to have played a special part. The first Latin speaking Pope, Victor I (189-198), came from Africa: and the use of Latin in official correspondence dates from his time. But Tertullian (fl. 195-220) and Cyprian (m.258), both of Carthage, wrote in Latin. And the earliest Latin texts of the New Testament (of the fourth/fifth centuries) seem to have been derived from African type manuscripts of the period before Cyprian. Reference may be made here to the Muratorian Canon as a Latin text of Roman origin in the latter part of the second century. This is an incomplete catalogue of the books of the New Testament received, it seems, in the Roman church. But there is a growing suspicion that it is a translation 'in barbarous Latin' from the early fifth century of a Greek original. On a more popular level there is the evidence of the graffiti. The earliest graffiti in the vicinity of the tomb of St Peter, in the middle of the second century, in common with the earliest Christian inscriptions, are in Greek. But in the latter part of the third century and the early part of the fourth, the buttress wall (Wall M), adjacent to the tomb, is covered with a wealth of Greek and Latin symbols, and Latin names, abbreviations and phrases. In this same period, the east wall of the triclia beneath the Basilica of the Apostles (St Sebastian from the eighth century) was covered with hundreds of simple inscriptions in Latin.

Thus, with Latin-speaking popes and people, with Latin Scriptures and conventional prayer formulae in Latin graffiti, the way was prepared for the Latinization of the anaphoral prayer.

The first substantial evidence for the anaphoral prayer in Latin is to be found in the De Sacramentis of St Ambrose - in the sermons, that is to say, addressed to the newly baptized in the Easter octave in Milan about 390. Ambrose, who was ordained to the episcopate in 374, succeeded to a line of Greek bishops since the peace of the Church. His immediate predecessor was Auxentius, who was ordained in Alexandria (c.343), a stout Arian, and the founder of the great basilicas in Milan of St Lorenzo (fr.370), with evidence of Eastern architectural influence and Sta Tecla (its medieval dedication) (from the third quarter of the fourth century), the cathedral church of Milan, with an Eastern type of solea and ambo. The Holy Apostles (later St Nazaro) (fr.382), was a copy of the Constanian Apostoleion in Byzantium. In common with the educated ranks of society, Ambrose spoke Greek as well as Latin. These considerations suggest that Ambrose inherited a Greek rite on becoming bishop of Milan. It is, moreover, reasonable to think that it was a Greek rite having organic affinities with the rites of the great ecclesiastical centres in the East, Antioch and Alexandria, with which Milan and the whole of the valley of the Po, stretching down to its outlet in the Adriatic near Ravenna, had long and close relationships.

Ambrose, then, in the De Sacramentis, provides the first extensive evidence of the use of a Latin eucharistic prayer. He acknowledges his dependence here on Rome:

1 K. Aland and B. Aland, op.cit. pp.182-188
5 On the authenticity of these sermons see, for example, B. Botte, Ambroise de Milan. Des Sacrements, SC 25, Paris 1961, pp.12-21
6 See R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, Harmondsworth 1965, pp.55-60

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'her example and rite we follow in all respects'.  

'I desire' he says, 'in all respects to follow the Roman Church'.  

In Rome itself in this century the process of Latinization was gradually carried through. All around were the evidences of its classical and pagan past: 'the temples, theatres, and circuses, the thermae, the hundreds of statues in bronze and marble, crumbling or not, testify to that greatness'.  

The works of Cicero, Plato, Horace, Virgil, and Ulpian were part and parcel of the thinking and speech of [] Christian leaders'.  

After Constantine, however, no Emperor resided permanently in Rome; but in his place status and influence passed increasingly to the bishops of Rome. By the third quarter of the century the population was for the most part Christian. 'The martyrs whose graves encircle Rome replaced the heroes of pagan antiquity, as her patrons Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, replaced Romulus and Remus as the new founders of the city, a Christian Rome'.  

A completely Latinized liturgy stood in the logic of this rebirth of Rome, and Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* may be regarded as its earliest witness.  

The Latin eucharistic prayer, the *Canon Romanus*, is not a translation of any Greek anaphoral prayer. And whereas Greek rites were formulated under the strict inheritance from the Greek-speaking synagogue, the synagogue was no longer the immediate context in the formation of Latin rites. In seeking to understand how the Roman Canon came to be generated in the Latin Church, we need to see Ambrose's canon in relation to the later evidence for the Roman canon, and the Roman canon in relation to the Greek tradition of the anaphoral prayer. For the sake of the comparison, the text of the Roman canon in the old Gelasian Sacramentary (Vat. Reg. 316) has been adopted, as this is the earliest of the Roman sacramentaries, a presbyteral mass book, subsequently Gallicanized. But indeed the text is identical with that in the Hadrianum (Cambrai 164), and except for the addition of the Memento etiam paragraph (Bobbio, Missale Francorum, Stowe, Rheinau 30, etc.) virtually identical with that in the first printed edition of Missale Romanum in 1474.  

It will be seen that Ambrose quotes and expounds the central paragraphs of the Roman canon. These include (i) the first invocatio or epiclesis paragraph (Fac nobis hanc oblationem = Quam oblationem ... facere digneris); (ii) the traditio of the eucharist, or account of the institution, with the dominical words (Qui pridie); (iii) the anamnesis and oblatio paragraph (Ergo memores ... offerimus tibi = unde et memores sumus ... offerimus praeclare maiestati tuae); and (iv) the second invocatio or epiclesis paragraph, with its double content (in reverse order in the Roman canon) of the heavenly altar and the typical sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek. Except for the consecration of the bread in the traditio paragraph, the Roman canon is fuller than *De Sacramentis*, being half as long again; but two thirds of the words used in *De Sacramentis* occur again in the Roman canon.  

These paragraphs reflect a certain diversity of character and history. Thus (i) the adjectives qualifying oblationem, include a legal term in scriptam; while rationabilem is the equivalent of the Greek logiken, meaning spiritual.  

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1  *De Sacr.*. III.5: 'cuius typum in omnibus sequimur et formam'.  
2  ib.  
4  R. Krautheimer, op.cit. p.40a  
5  ib. p.416
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figura derives from an older Christian vocabulary which, like homoiooma in Serapian, proved insufficiently precise for the future; and is replaced by 'ut nobis ... fiat' in the Roman canon (ii) The traditio paragraph is enriched by the conflation of the New Testament vocabulary and the development of parallelism, in order to express the decisive importance of the dominical words in the consecration of the bread and the cup. (iii) The anamnesis-oblation paragraph follows Greek models in yoking to the kerygmatic events of Christ's death, resurrection and ascension the offering to the Father of the eucharistic oblation. The oblation is, at one and the same time, both the hostia and the bread and cup. Hostia is a ritual sacrifice. This sacrifice De Sacramentis defines as rationabilis, meaning 'spiritual', and incruenta meaning 'without the shedding of blood' - both rendering Greek terms. But the rite of the sacrifice is in terms of bread and cup - the means, in the Roman canon, of eternal life and everlasting salvation. The eucharistic oblation therefore has a double source, in the cross and in the last supper. But, to make it clear that all is of divine institution, the Roman canon adds from Eastern sources 'we offer ... de tuis donis ac datis'. (iv) The second invocatio or epiclesis has, as we have already noted, a double aspect, namely the heavenly altar and the typical pre-Levitical sacrifices of Israel. Ambrose has, first, the prayer that the Father receive the oblation in sublime altare tuum by the hands of the holy angels. The closest parallel to this concept is in the Egyptian tradition. In the diptychs for the departed, preceding the sanctus, St Mark has: The sacrifices of those who offer, the oblations, the thank offerings do thou, O God, receive upon the holy and heavenly and spiritual altar in the heights of the heaven through the archangelical liturgy. Similarly the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobitus has: 'The sacrifices, the oblations, the thank offerings of them that offer honour and glory to thine holy name, receive upon thy spiritual altar in heaven for a sweet smelling savour into thy vastnesses in heaven, through the ministry of thine holy angels and archangels'. Congruity between Greek and Coptic rites in Egypt points to antiquity. It seems likely therefore that Ambrose is dependent here on this source. The Roman canon differs from Ambrose in that it has 'by the hand of thy holy angel' in the singular. But again, if we are on the right lines in tracing Apostolic Tradition to Egypt, there is an Egyptian source for this as well, since the Christological section in Apostolic Tradition speaks of Jesus Christ as angelum voluntatis tuae. At this point therefore the Roman canon preserves a reading of greater antiquity than De Sacramentis. Finally in this paragraph God is asked to receive the Church's oblation as he received the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchizideck of old. These typical sacrifices formed part of the interpretation of Christ's death on the cross from New Testament times onwards: but again both Abel and Abraham are mentioned in the Egyptian anaphoral prayer.

It will be seen therefore that the central paragraphs of the Roman canon, first evidenced in De Sacramentis, are diverse in character, and were probably formulated

6 See M.P. Ellebracht, Remarks on the Vocabulary of the Ancient Orations in the Missale Romanum, Nijmegen 1966, s.v. adscriptus, p.152
1 Hänggi and Pahl, PE, op.cit. p.130, 3:12
2 St John Chrysostom, Hänggi and Pahl, PE, 226; St Basil, ib. 236; John Rylands pap.465, ib. 122; St Mark, ib. 114
3 Brightman, LEW, 129:20-23
4 ib. 170:37-171:3
5 On the basis of the LXX and Old Latin of Isa 9:5
6 Brightman, LEW, 129:25-28, 171:3-4
at different dates. In some respects their detail reveals Eastern influence, and in particular Egyptian. They are brought together, however, in a Latin text of the fourth century, as the core of the eucharistic mystery. But we should notice that the way in which the paragraphs are assembled discloses Egyptian influence. Thus there is first an _invocatio_ or _epiclesis_, then the _traditio_ of the institution of the eucharistic oblation, then the compound anamnesis-oblation paragraph, followed by the second, double _invocatio_ or _epiclesis_. This arrangement corresponds exactly to the first _epiclesis_, the tradition of the institution, the anamnesis-oblation paragraph, and the second _epiclesis_ of the Egyptian anaphoral prayer, which in turn derived ultimately, as we have already seen, from the Shema`. Thus although the formation of the Latin canon was not directly influenced by the synagogue, it was basically determined by the same theological and liturgical concepts which had characterized the habits of worship of the Greek-speaking Church of the East and the West.

It is possible that Ambrose gives us a hint of a little more of the Roman canon. He distinguishes in expounding the eucharistic mystery between the words of Christ and the words of the priest. The words of Christ effect the consecration. But up to that point all that is said is in the words of the priest: 'Praise [ _laus_ ] is offered to God, prayer [ _oratio_ ] is addressed to him, petition requested [ _petitur_ ] for the people, for kings, for others'.¹ Praise must refer to the opening paragraph of the eucharistic prayer, following the sursum corda, in which the Church prays that its voice may be united with the praises of the angelic orders.² _Oratio_ is the Roman term for prayer in general. Thus it is used for the collect and the super oblata in the Hadrianum.³ In the _Ordo Romanus Primus_ the collect is called _oratio prima_, and the post communion _oratio ad complendum_.⁴ Thus Ambrose's use of _oratio_ would entirely fit the prayer of the Church in offering the oblation to God, as in the corresponding _Te igitur_ of the Roman canon. As for _petitur_, this suggests intercession such as in the diptychs, containing the names of the living and the dead for whom the sacrifice is offered, found in Eastern rites either in association with the offertory,⁵ or after the _epiclesis_.⁶

There is one further detail in _De Sacramentis_ which should not be overlooked, and that is the reference to the angels looking down upon the baptized as they entered the basilica from the baptistry to take part for the first time in the eucharistic oblation: 'After that, you have approached the altar. You began to come; the angels watched; they saw you approaching. And that human condition which formerly was vile with the dark filth of sin they saw suddenly resplendent'.⁷ While this passage tells us nothing about the text of the anaphoral prayer, the idea it embodies may be best explained by the pre-sanctus paragraph of the Greek anaphoral prayer hitherto in use in the Church of Milan.

Turning now from the core of the Latin canon in _De Sacramentis_ to its expansion in the Roman canon, the _igitur_ of the _Te igitur_ implies that something preceded this

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¹ _De Sacr._ 4:14  
² Vat.Reg.lat.316, 1243; Cambrai 164 Deshusses, ed. 1:3  
³ Cambrai 164, ed. Deshusses 1:1 (see app.crit.)  
⁴ ed. Andrieu II: 84,107 (OR I 53,123)  
⁵ Before the offertory: Theodore of Mopsuestia, _Hom. Cat._ p.527; Lit. of St Mark, Brightman, _LEW_, 124:20; Lit. of St John Chrysostom, ib. 378:44  
⁶ In the Byzantine rite, Lit. of St James, Brightman, _LEW_, 56, 250; Lit. of St Basil, Brightman, _LEW_, 336, Hanggi and Pahl, PE 238.  
⁷ _De Sacr._ 4:5
paragraph, to which the offering of the *dona, munera, and sancta sacrificia inlibata* is the proper and consequential response. The Church's sacrifice, at once the bread and cup and the *hostia* of Calvary, forms and constitutes the Church. The worship at the temporal altar is the counterpart in the economy of salvation to the ceaseless praises of the heavenly orders. The text of the paragraph shows signs of development. It perhaps originally ended with *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro*, when *papa* (Greek *papas*) was in general use as a title of respect for the bishop. The addition of *et antistite nostro* and *et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholici fide cultoribus*, implies the distinction after the sixth century between the bishop of Rome, the bishop of the local diocese, and the episcopate in general.

The development of the canon by paragraphs continued from the fifth to the eighth centuries. The *communicantes* paragraph is grammatically dependent on *offerimus* in the *Te igitur*. It contains a list of apostles and martyrs, all with local observance in Rome. It is headed by Mary ever-Virgin, *Genetrix Dei*, which perhaps reflects the Theotokos doctrine of the Council of Ephesus in 431. *Nobis quoque* contains a further list of martyrs, both male and female, and is probably later than *Communicantes*. Those at the head of this list, John the Baptist and Stephen, are named with the Theotokos in the commemoration of saints in the anaphoral prayer of the Coptic Jacobites. *Hanc igitur oblationem* appears in several different versions, in the Veronense as well as later sacramentaries, its purpose being to relate the oblation to baptism, marriage, the consecration of a bishop, the dead. The two *Memento* paragraphs for the living and the dead are the latest additions. The term *memento* is itself the Latin equivalent of the Greek formula *mnestheti*, meaning 'remember', and may indicate that they were introduced in the late seventh and early eighth centuries when Eastern influence was strong in Rome. They may have originated as diaconal intercessions on the basis of the diptychs, and indeed *memento etiam* is headed *super dipticia* and *item post lectionem* (after the reading of the names) in the mass for a departed bishop in the Hadrianum. Both were eventually transferred from the deacon to the priest, although *memento etiam* for the departed was not finally stabilized in the canon until the eighth and ninth centuries. Finally, the *Per quem haec omnia* was introduced before the doxology, before Gregory the Great, for the occasional blessing of the fruits of the earth other than bread and wine - oil, milk and honey, and the first-ripe grape.

Thus, to recapitulate, the core of the Roman canon was formed from somewhat diverse prayer formulae of varying dates in order to express the fundamental concepts of the anaphoral prayer, already familiar from Greek exemplars, and perhaps especially from the Egyptian. These concepts were *traditio, oblatio* (plus anamnesis), and *invocatio*. Indeed the emphasis on *oblatio* in the Roman canon - in the *Te igitur, Memento, Hanc igitur oblationem, Quam oblationem, Unde et*
memores, Supra quae and Supplices - transfers to the Latin prayer the Egyptian characteristic of there being an offering to be offered from the offertory onwards. In the course of the next five centuries as many more paragraphs or additions came to be incorporated in the canon, but strictly within its established theological perspectives. The early Roman canon was authoritative for Milan. In what was virtually its final form round about 800 it became authoritative for the whole of the Latin speaking Church. It thus secured for the West the essential doctrine, already enshrined in the anaphoral prayers of the East, of the sacrifice of Christ, ritually commemorated, whereby mankind passes into the glory of the resurrection and eternal life.
9 Origin and Development of the Anaphoral Liturgy

Synopsis: The Western anaphoral prayer - Milan and Rome

Ambrose De Sacr. iv
Hänggi and Pahl, PE 421-422

Fac nobis
hanc oblationem
scriptam, rationabilem,
acceptabilem,
quod est figura corporis et sanguinis

Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur
in sanctis manibus suis
acceptit panem,
respexit ad caelum,
ad te, sancte Pater
omnipotens aetere Deus,
gratias agens benedixit,
fregit, fractumque
apostolis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens:
Accipite et edite
ex hoc omnes;
hoc est enim corpus meum,
quod pro multis confringetur.

Similiter etiam calicum,
postquam cenatum est,
pridie quam pateretur,
acceptit,
respexit ad caelum,
ad te, sancte Pater
omnipotens aetere Deus,
gratias agens benedixit,
apostolis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens:
Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes;
hic est enim sanguis meus.

Quotienscumque hoc feceritis,
totiens commemorationem mei
facietis,
donec iterum adveniam.

Canon Romanus (Vat.Reg.316)
Hänggi and Pahl, PE 426-438

Quam oblationem tu, deus,
in omnibus, quasesimus, benedictam
ascriptam ratam rationabilem
acceptabilemque facere digneris,
ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat
dilectissimi filii tui
domini dei nostri Iesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur
acceptit panem
in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas
eleuatis oculis in caelum
ad et deum patrem suum
omnipotentem,
tibi gratias agens benedixit
fregit dedit
discipulis suis dicens:
Accipite et manducate
ex hoc omnes,
hoc est enim corpus meum.

Semile modo
posteaquam caenatum est
accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicum
in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas,
item tibi gratias agens benedixit
dedit discipulis suis dicens:
Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes,
hic est enim calix sanguinis mei
noui et aeterni testamenti
mysterium fidei
qui pro uobis et pro multus effundetur
in remissione peccatorum.
Haec quotienscumque feceretis,
in mei memoriam
faciatis.

1 in Ambrose De Sacramentis iv and the Gelasianum Vat Reg 316
Ergo memores

Unde et memores sumus, domine, nos tui serui sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae passionis

et ab inferis resurrectionis set et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis: offerimus praecclare maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis

hostiam, hostiam sanctam,

hostiam immaculatam,

hostiam puram,

et calicem vitae aeternae.

et calicem salutis perpetuae.

Et petimus et precamus, uti hanc oblationem suscipias in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum,

[vide infra]

sicut suscipere dignatus es sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae sanctum sacrificium, nostri Abrahae, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, inmaculatam hostiam, 

[vide supra]

Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpseremus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur: per Christum dominum nostrum.
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(2) The orationes and vere dignum

The Roman canon, then, embodies the Church's oblation. Unlike the Greek anaphoral prayers it is, to a limited extent, a variable prayer - that is, with two of its paragraphs varying with the season and occasion, Communicantes and Hanc igitur oblationem. Its setting in the mass, furthermore, is quite unlike the setting of the anaphoral prayer in the Greek liturgies.

Before embarking upon the examination of this aspect of the Western eucharistic prayer, however, we need to clarify the use of the term 'canon'. Hitherto we have used it of those paragraphs in the Roman rite which correspond to the paragraphs quoted in De Sacramentis, together with those additional paragraphs from Te igitur to the doxology. It means a 'rule' of prayer. This represents the usage first evidenced in the Bobbio Missal with 'Canon actionis' and the Stowe Missal with 'Canon dominicus pape gilasi', placed at the head of Te igitur. But a different usage is to be found in the Gelasianum (Vat. Reg. 316) and the Missale Francorum (Vat. Reg. 257) where the title 'Incipit canon accionis' precedes the sursum corda. Accordingly the entire prayer, from the sursum corda to the doxology, is conceived as a unity. The opening paragraph takes its cue from the last line of the sursum corda, 'Dignum et iustum est', and begins 'Vere dignum'. These first words, moreover, are used throughout the Veronense, the oldest Roman mass book, in reference to the opening paragraph of the canon. Later, for example, in the Hadrianum, the paragraph was denoted by a different name, namely praefatio, preface. This term, however, in origin, like the term canon, referred to the prayer as a whole. It had a local rather than a temporal sense. It referred to a ritual act that was done before God, and not to something that served as an introduction to something else. There are traces of this older usage in the Hadrianum, where praefatio is used once of the Hanc igitur oblationem paragraph; once of the conclusion of the Nobis quoque paragraph, to introduce a proper Per quem; and once, in one MS, of the Communicantes paragraph. But otherwise in the Hadrianum, and subsequently, praefatio is used of the vere dignum paragraph. Gradually therefore 'the preface' = vere dignum came to be distinguished from 'the canon', thought of as beginning with Te igitur.

Apart from those teasing ambiguities, the vere dignum has proved to be in the past, and remains, the most problematic part of the canon. It is an essentially variable part of the canon, varying with the season, the feast, and the rite. It varies indeed in the same way as the other orationes - the collect, super oblatione and post-communion, and so forth - which form so characteristic a feature of the Western rite. These prayers are to be found first in the process of collection in the Veronense.

The Veronense is itself a unicum, copied from an original of the time of Pope Vigilius (537-555). It was probably compiled in the Lateran, and consists of an incomplete

1 ed. E.A. Lowe, HBS London 1920, p.10
3 ed. L.C. Mohlberg, RED, Roma 1960, p.183
4 ed. L.C. Mohlberg, RED, Roma 1957, p.31
5 Actio means a ritual act with an inherent and invisible potency. See M.P. Ellebracht, op.cit. pp.91ff
6 2:9, ed. Lietzmann, p.6; ed. Deshusses, p.94
7 138:3f, ed. Lietzmann, p.84; ed. Deshusses, p.255
8 77:3, ed. Lietzmann, p.164, app.crit 12; 77:330 ed. Deshusses, p.172, app.crit. 1

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collection of mass *libelli* from April 15 to the end of the civil year. The Epiphany, Lent and Easter, and the early part of Eastertide are missing. It includes however the other dominical feasts, a couple of dozen feasts of martyrs, a collection of commons of martyrs, ritual masses (ordination, marriage, etc.), and a considerable number of diurnal or quotient masses. These collections of mass prayers were in origin independent *libelli* for different days, for example, six for the Ascension, several for the vigil and feast of Pentecost, nine for the Nativity; five for St John the Baptist, eight for SS John and Paul, twenty-eight for SS Peter and Paul, fourteen for St Laurence; and so forth.

In its fullest development the mass set includes two collects, corresponding to two lessons before the gospel; the *super sindonem* after the gospel; the *super oblata* and *vere dignum*; the post communion and the *super populum*. But this is rare. In the course of time the second collect disappeared with the limitation of the lessons to epistle and gospel. The *super sindonem* also disappeared, although it survived, and survives still, in the Ambrosian rite. The *super populum*, the invocation of God's blessing upon the people, also disappeared except in the ferial masses of Lent. The most common element in these mass sets is the *vere dignum* (267 in all), followed by the *super oblata* (c.210), followed by the post communion. It varies with every mass with the rest of the *orationes*, and shares their interest.

There is then a single theme for the day, it may be in the *temporale* one of the mysteries of Christ, such as his nativity, or in the *sanctorale* the passion of one of the martyrs. The theme runs through the *orationes* and the *vere dignum* alike. Both *temporale* and *sanctorale* in the Veronense are instructive in regard to the role of the *vere dignum*. Its *sanctorale* is a local calendar, made up of those martyrs whose participation in the passion of Christ has made fertile the life of the Roman church. The sacrifice of Christ lies at the heart of the Roman canon. The liturgical offering of the *hostia* is the work of the Church, and ipso facto it includes the offering of the Church for whom Christ offered himself - that is to say, of those who are in him by baptism. The passion of the martyrs gives further expression to the passion of Christ, and thus the commemoration of the martyr in the *vere dignum* constitutes an extension of the Christology of the canon.

In the *sanctorale* of the Veronense different layers may be distinguished. There are first of all the martyrs associated with the primitive house churches: the Quattuor Coronati, Cecilia, Clement, Chrysogonus (all in November), and Anastasia (Christmas day). Then there is the most numerous group of martyrs, associated with the cemeteries near the Lateran but outside the city walls. These martyrs are commemorated in July and August. Then too the founding of the great basilicas of the Lateran and St Peter in Vaticano had an impact on the calendar, but in a special way. The Lateran was known from the first as the *basilica Constantiniana* or the *basilica Salvatoris*. Only in the seventh century is there evidence for coupling it with the name of John the Baptist: 'Basilica Constantiniana quae et Salvatoris ipse quoque

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1 e.g. XXXII, in time of drought. On the whole subject see A. Chavasse, *Le Sacrementaire Gélasien*, Tournai 1957, pp.185ff. Note that in the Veronense there are no generic titles for the prayers, with the exception of *vere dignum* or the initials VD.

2 A group of *super populum* prayers has been restored to the 1970 Roman Missal, appended to the *Ordo missae*.

3 See R. Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome Chrétienne*, Macon 1941
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et sci. Johannis dicitur'. However, since the basilica was the cathedral church of Rome, with the baptistery existing alongside it from the first, the patrocinium of St John the Baptist may have been taken for granted at a much earlier date; and of this the Veronense is a witness. As for the Constantinian basilica of St Peter on the Vatican hill, the existence of the aediculum of St Peter on the site from the latter part of the second century is certain; yet a joint feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul is known from the year 258, and it is this feast for which the Veronense supplies no fewer than 28 mass texts. In these, veneration of the Apostles, the founders of the Church - 'O felix Romana' - forms the content of the thanksgiving, which leads to the offering of the Church's sacrifice.

Since the Veronense is incomplete, lacking the first part of the civil year until mid-April, the paschal and nativity cycles of dominical feasts are only partially represented. There are six mass sets for the Ascension, three for the eve of Pentecost and three for the day, and nine for the Nativity. These however are sufficient to illustrate the principle that the vere dignum enshrines a single mystery. This then serves as a theological reflection, in the light of which the Church's oblation is offered.

Thus neither the sanctoral nor the temporal vere dignum constitutes a thanksgiving in virtual independence of the oblation. It needs to be seen in a double frame of reference. In the first place it belongs to the set of orationes celebrating the day. In the second place it belongs to the canon, relating the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice to the day. It is therefore quite different in character from the Christological paragraph in the anaphoral prayer in the liturgy of St Basil or in The Apostolic Tradition. It does not duplicate the anamnesis of Christ's death and resurrection which is coupled to the oblation formula at the heart of the canon. The medieval practice of collecting the vere dignum paragraphs and embodying them in the ordo missae betrays a misunderstanding of their relationship to the propria. The further development in contemporary liturgical revision of expanding the vere dignum into a list of thanksgivings carries the misunderstanding further. It treats the thanksgivings as autonomous, separate from the sacrifice. Moreover it misunderstands the meaning of 'eucharist'. For eucharistein is fundamentally a synonym for eulogein; and what gives praise to God is the performance of the sacrifice by which man is redeemed.

In addition to the temporal and sanctoral mass sets in the Veronense, there is a group of common masses of martyrs and a group of diurnal masses. The confession and passion of the martyrs relate these masses to the passion of Christ. But the diurnal masses have as their subject matter categories and virtues of religion, which are expressed by means of hendiadys and antithesis. In these masses the vere dignum is

4 Two of them lack the vere dignum.
5 ed. Mohlberg, mg.ref. 361
6 VIII vi-xlili. Three individual martyrs are mentioned: Tiburtius, Laurence, Gregory; a dedication mass of the basilica of St Peter; and there is one Easter mass.
7 XVIII, i-xliv
closely related to the *orationes*, but is weakly related to the great Christological themes of the canon.

The further development of the *vere dignum*, beyond the *Veronense*, lay broadly in two directions, namely Roman and Gallican. The *Gelasianum* (Vat.Reg.316), is in origin Roman. It shows an increase in the number of temporal *vere dignums* and a reduction in the number of sanctoral *vere dignums*. Vigils and octaves in the *temporale*, together with the Sundays of Eastertide, raise the number of temporal *vere dignums* to 54. By contrast the number of sanctoral *vere dignums* is reduced to the vigils and feasts of Peter and Paul, Laurence, and Andrew.

In Padua D47 the number of temporal *vere dignum* paragraphs is reduced to 22, the sanctoral to 16, and the Common to 10. There is a further reduction in the *Hadrianum*: temporal to 10, sanctoral to 6. Finally, in this direction, the Missal of 1474 has only 6 temporal prefaces (Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost), 3 sanctoral prefaces (BVM, Holy Cross, and in this context Holy Trinity), and one common (apostles and evangelists).

Development in the Gallican direction shows a great increase in the number of *vere dignum* paragraphs. Thus St Gall 348 has 93 in the temporal masses, by providing them for all the Sundays of the year, the ferias of the first week in Lent, the Easter octave, and some other occasions. In the sanctoral masses there are 79, including proper and common. The *Supplementum Anianense* added to the *Hadrianum* has 221 prefaces in all, including provision for all the ferias in Lent and the octave of Pentecost. Among later sacramentaries, the *LeoFr* Missal for example provides prefaces for every mass with few exceptions. Such a generous provision of *vere dignum* paragraphs inevitably attenuates their kerygmatic nature.

The problem of austerity in the later Roman development and of attenuation in the Gallican development has been resolved in the Roman Missal of 1970. The number of prefaces for the dominical feasts and seasons has been increased to 35, together with 8 for Sundays *per annum*. There are a couple of dozen for the Common of Saints, ferias, and the dead; and 9 proper prefaces in the *Sanctorale*. Nowhere is the kerygma lost to sight.

Finally, the opening words of the *vere dignum* paragraph presuppose the solemn exordium to the prayer. The simple *oremus* is not enough to signal the gravity of the prayer, and so a sustained dialogue of great antiquity serves, as we have seen in the East, to engage the people in the prayer of our redemption. In the earliest extant manuscripts this dialogue begins with *sursum corda*, and is followed by *gratias agamus*, leading into the *vere dignum* paragraph. In the Gregorian sacramentaries, however, *sursum corda* is preceded by *Dominus vobiscum*, i.e. the simple form of the

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1  Book I
2  Book II
3  In the Alternative Service Book (1980) of the Church of England, the *traditio*, *oblatio* and *invocatio* of the Greek and Latin liturgies are differently conceived; and in consequence the preface has become an independent, organically unrelated unit in the eucharistic prayer.
4  The *traditio*, *oblatio* and *invocatio* of the Greek and Latin liturgies are differently conceived in the Alternative Service Book (1960) in the Church of England; and in consequence the preface has become an independent, organically unrelated unit in the eucharistic prayer.
5  Stowe, Missale Francorum, the old Gelasian Vat.Reg.316
6  Hadrianum, Cambrai 164; Padua, D47, etc
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salutation characteristic of Alexandrian texts, and not the full Byzantine 'grace'. This form of the exordium has remained in turn characteristic of the Roman rite.
The setting of the anaphoral prayer

(a) Offertory

The Shema` defines the vocation of Israel, the relationship of Israel to God, and the separation of Israel from the nations. The anaphoral prayer, related to the Shema` by parallelism and antithetical parallelism, defines the work of Christ, and in him the relationship of the Church to God and of God to the world.

While the Shema` has its place in the liturgy of the synagogue, alongside the lessons and sermon, it is nevertheless an autonomous prayer, self-sufficient, which is indeed required to be recited outside the liturgy twice daily. The anaphoral prayer similarly has its place in the liturgy, following the lessons and sermon; but unlike the Shema` it cannot be recited on its own, for it is part of a ritual act that requires both offertory and communion. This threefold ritual act - offertory, anaphoral prayer, and communion - results from its double source in the cross and the supper. The Church's sacrifice is embodied in the Church's supper. After considering, therefore, the origin and development of the anaphoral prayer, it is now necessary to consider its ritual setting.

The anaphoral prayer in East and West alike displays a basic community of structure and of theological concepts. By contrast both offertory and communion exhibit a wide diversity of practice. Indeed the greatest diversity between Eastern and Western rites is to be found in the offertory, and we propose to explore this first.

(1) Offertory gifts

The term itself raises a problem of nomenclature. So far as the East is concerned, the term has to be stretched to include not only the great entrance, but also the rite of the prothesis before the beginning of the liturgy. So far as the West is concerned, it is rather content that is in question. For the true offering, it is objected, is properly speaking not in the offertory, but in the eucharistic prayer. Accordingly, in the Missale Romanum of 1970 the term occurs only in the expression cantus ad offertorium in the order cum populo, while it is omitted altogether in the order sine populo. Nevertheless there is an offering of some kind in the placing of the gifts of bread and wine on the altar.

The collection of the gifts of the people has its origin in Judaism. Public and private almsgiving is enjoined in all parts of the Old Testament and in non-canonical writings. In the second century of the common era at least, every community had its poor fund. Two collectors made the rounds of the market, shops and houses before the beginning of the Sabbath to make a collection for the benefit of the poor. Almsgiving was indeed associated with prayer. 'Prayer is good when accompanied by fasting, almsgiving, and righteousness'. This discipline passed over into the Church, as may be seen for example in the Sermon on the Mount. Of the centurion Cornelius it was said, 'Your prayers and your alms have ascended as a memorial

1 M. Peah 8:7
2 Tob 8:12 RSV
3 Mt 6:1-18 RV
before God'. Again, there was at the last supper the common purse for the expenses of the feast and the relief of the poor. It was the breach of such a community rule that led to the selfish and scandalous behaviour of participants in the Lord's supper at Corinth; but then contrariwise the extension of this rule was made in the collection in Corinth for Christians in Jerusalem every Lord's day. Just outside the period of the New Testament, and roughly contemporary with the Jewish source in the Mishnah to which reference has just been made, is the evidence of Justin. Not only does he give us the first outline of the Sunday liturgy; he is also specific about the collection of the people's gifts before the liturgy: 'Those who are wealthy help all that are in want'; and 'of those that are well to do and willing every one gives what he will, and the collection is deposited with the proestos, and he it is that succours orphans and widows, and those that are in want through sickness or any other cause, and those that are in bonds, and the strangers that are sojourning, and in short he has the care of all that are in need'. The principle, inherited from Judaism, is thus clear. The collection of the gifts of the people is associated with the public prayer of the Church. But it is not part of the liturgy.

Both architectural and documentary evidence bear out this fact. With the peace of the Church a great impetus was given to church building. The basic architectural form adopted everywhere was the basilica, consisting of nave, flanking aisles, and projecting apse, although it was subject to remarkable variations of plan and scale. It had for centuries been a familiar feature in the civic scene in the Roman world, where it lent itself to a variety of purposes, legal, military, commercial, and social. The Christian basilica was distinguished generally by orientation, with the apse toward the east on the short side of the oblong building, and by the creation of a courtyard or atrium at the opposite end of the building on the E-W axis. The atrium was usually similar in area to the basilica, and was the place of assembly from which bishop, clergy and people made their entrance into the house of God in a corporate ritual act for the performance of the liturgy.

The place for the collection of the people's gifts, a function separate from the eucharistic liturgy, was, like the baptistery, separate from the basilica. In Constantinople a separate building, the skeuophylakion, still survives at the NE corner of Hagia Sophia. Here the sacred vessels for the liturgy were kept, the people's gifts were collected, and from them a selection was made for the eucharistic oblation. This was carried in procession by the deacons, via a door on the north side of the basilica, to the altar in the apse, at the great entrance. The foundations of a similar skeuophylakion at the NE corner of Hagia Eirene, neighbour to Hagia Sophia, have also been uncovered. Another skeuophylakion once existed at Hagios

1 Ac 10:4 RSV
2 Jn 13:29
3 1 Cor 11:17-22
4 1 Cor 16:1-4
5 1 Apol.67. The collection expressed the community of the church of the Gentiles with the Church in Jerusalem, and was of fundamental importance theologically to St Paul.
7 The synagogues of this period likewise are basilical in form, with a flanking courtyard.
8 Brightman, LEW, p.312
9 On the whole subject see Thomas F. Mathews, The early churches of Constantinople, Pennsylvania 1976, especially ch.7
Theodorus Sphorakios. The skeuophylakion at Hagia Sophia is older than the present church, and seems to have survived the destruction by fire of the first and second churches in 404 and 532.1

The skeuophylakion as a separate building seems not to have survived, if indeed it existed, elsewhere than in Constantinople. In other developments of the basilica, the purposes of the skeuophylakion were met by the creation of two flanking apses at the eastern termination of the aisles. These are mentioned as early as Apostolic Constitutions, Book II: 'In the first place let the house be long, aligned towards the east, with pastophoria on each side at the east end'.2 This meagre account of the building may be supplemented by the account of the liturgy in Book VIII. There the ordination of the bishop precedes the Sunday liturgy. After the ordination prayer, which is quoted at length, there follows an obscure statement: 'After the prayer, let one of the (ordaining) bishops bring the offering [thusia] that is in the hands of the (newly) ordained'.3 It is not clear where the offering is taken, but there is no mention of the altar at this point. Instead, the enthronement of the bishop takes place.4 Then follows the liturgy of the word, with its lessons and sermon, prayers and dismissals, and the pax.5 After this the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar.6 Again, it is not said where they are brought from. But a distinction is implied between the collection of gifts and the bringing to the altar at the offertory of what is necessary for the eucharistic sacrifice. The pastophoria of Book II fit the situation. It is there that the people's gifts are collected, and there that the gifts for consecration in the eucharist are selected, before the liturgy begins.

There is a similar interval in Apostolic Tradition at the Easter Vigil between the bringing of the eucharistic oblation (and nothing else), by those who are to be baptized, and the bringing of the oblation by the deacons to the bishop at the offertory before the beginning of the eucharistic prayer. In the interval, at cockcrow, the baptismal liturgy took place.7 No indication is given as to the place in which the offerings of the baptizands are deposited, or from which the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop; except that Testamentum Domini, in describing the lay-out of the church, envisages a diaconicum in the atrium near the entrance to the church.8

The collection of the people's gifts was a para-liturgical act, but the bringing of the eucharistic gifts to the altar by the deacons marked the beginning of the eucharistic liturgy. In the earliest stage the preparation of the gifts by the deacons immediately preceded the bringing of the gifts by the deacons to the altar.9 But at a later stage a rite of the prothesis developed at the beginning of the liturgy for the collection and preparation of the gifts. In the Byzantine Liturgy of the ninth century this rite included a single prayer; it is, however, said by the priest:

1 See Rowland J. Mainstone, Hagia Sophia, London 1988, especially ch.5
2 Ap. Const. II. 57.3
3 Ap. Const. VIII. 5.9
4 Ap. Const. 5.10
5 Ap. Const. 5.11-11.9
6 Ap. Const. VIII.12.3
7 Dix, xx.10, xiii.1; Botte, 20 (p.44), 21 (p.54); Hanssens, DE, pp.108-111, pp.114-115
8 Test. Dom. I. 19
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Bless this offering [prothesis], and receive it upon thy heavenly altar.¹
In thy goodness and mercy remember those who have offered it, and those for whom it has been offered.²

Subsequently the rite of the preparation of the eucharistic gifts has been enormously expanded to include the preparation and vesting of the priest. Consistently with this development the deacons’ procession at the great entrance, bringing the gifts to the priest at the altar, has become a procession of both the priest and the deacons to the altar.³ Thus the diaconal procession at the offertory before the anaphoral prayer has itself been transformed into a sacerdotal act. This has resulted from the attraction of the language of sacrifice into the rite of the prothesis. In the context of the liturgy the term prospohra, the people’s gifts, has various shades of meaning; and the prothesis of the bread and cup is already illumined by the aura of the offering of the body and blood of Christ, central to the anaphoral prayer. The East, however, is not alone in admitting such a conceptual change in the offertory.

In the West, nevertheless, the development of the offertory is on different lines. The same basic distinction between the collection of the people’s gifts and the presentation of the eucharistic gifts is indeed still to be made. But in Rome, and elsewhere, provision for the poor was already institutionalised, for the church in Rome inherited from imperial times an organisation for the sustentation of the poor and the sick. This was developed by the time of Gregory the Great - to cite the earliest examples - in the diaconiae near the Tiber between the Capitol and the Palatine, namely St Maria in Cosmedin, St George in Velabro, St Theodore and St Maria Antiqua. Such diaconiae or welfare centres already existed in Naples, Ravenna and Pesaro. In Rome their number increased until the ninth century.⁴ In the stational mass described in Ordo Romanus I, the pater diaconiae was among the officials who received the pope, if a diaconia was attached to the church.⁵ Provision for the poor and the sick (and pilgrims) was thus organized separately from the liturgy of the mass.

The different treatment of the offertory in the West, compared with the East, may be further illustrated from the architectural setting of the liturgy. The standard plan of the basilica in the Latin West consisted of the nave with its functionally eastern apse, flanking aisles with a square ending in line with the chord of the apse, all preceded by narthex and atrium. Leaving aside questions of style, the plan of the Western basilica differed from that of the Eastern in that it lacked the apsidal endings of the aisles, flanking the principal apse. It lacked, that is to say, the prothesis and the diaconicon. This fact signals the different organisation of the offertory in the West.

It is true that there are exceptions in Ravenna. But Ravenna occupied a special position in the Empire. It became in the fifth century the seat of the Western emperor, but the whole of the region of the Po was open to Eastern influence. This was intensified under the emperor Theodoric (493-526), who had been brought up in

1 Cp. Supplices in the Roman Canon.
2 Brightman, LEW, pp.309-310. This development of a rite of the prothesis may be related to the appearance of prothesis and diaconicon in the later churches of Constantinople, See T.F. Mathews op.cit.
5 OR I, 26 (end of 7th century)
Constantinople, and after the Byzantine reconquest (540), in the time of the emperor Justinian I. Thus while S. Apollinare Nuovo (500-504) is in plan, though not in some aspects of style, a Roman basilica, with blank east ends to the aisles, both the octagonal S. Vitale (cons. 546) and the basilical S. Apollinare in Classe (cons. 549) have flanking prothesis and diaconicon chapels, in the manner of the Eastern basilica.\(^1\) It was not, however, until the eighth and ninth centuries that the triple apsidal east end, of Eastern origin, spread in Northern Italy.\(^2\) But it was unrelated to liturgical practice, for by this time the Western offertory had long been established.

The organisation of the offertory, the way in which the eucharistic bread and wine reached the mensa of the altar, depended on custom, local needs and circumstances and occasion in the liturgical year. The earliest systematic account of the offertory is in *Ordo Romanus I*, approximately at the end of the seventh century.\(^3\) But here too custom, locality and occasion must be borne in mind. It describes the papal stational mass at Easter and other solemnities. It does not lay down prescriptions for the basilicas, the tituli, and the parochial and cemetery churches at those or other times. But the pope's mass had far-reaching influence, and the way in which the pope celebrated mass was integrally related to the spread of the text of the Roman rite in France in the Carolingian revival in the eighth century.

After the spreading of the corporal (no.67), i.e. the altar cloth, by the deacon, the offertory is in two stages. First, the pope receives the loaves (*oblationes*) from the members of the senate, and these are placed in the sindon (a large cotton sheet). The archdeacon similarly collects the flasks of wine, pouring the wine into the great chalice, which is then poured into the scyphus (a large bowl). The pope next receives the loaves of the clergy, before returning to his chair, where he washes his hands.\(^4\) The offerings so far appear to be a token offering for all those present in the basilica. Secondly, there is the preparation of the altar, and the presentation of the gifts. After washing his hands, the archdeacon goes to the altar. The chalice is first prepared, with the assistance of the sub-deacons, with the admixture of water provided by the principal cantor. The pope then goes to the altar, and arranges the oblations (the loaves), including his own, on the altar. He inclines for prayer, signals to the choir to bring the offering psalm to an end, and recites the prayer super oblata. He then begins the sursum corda with the salutation.\(^5\) Only a part necessarily of the offerings of the nobility and clergy is presented for the eucharistic oblation.

Andrieu's edition of *Ordo Romanus I* is based on twenty-three MSS, almost all if not quite all of which originated in the cathedral and monastic scriptoria of France in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The *Ordines Romani* as a whole describe the way in which Roman liturgical texts were to be used. These texts of the mass, baptism, ordination, the consecration of churches, and so forth, were contained in the sacramentaries. But the sacramentaries were collections of prayers, with limited rubrical explanations, and required the *Ordines* to explain their use. By means of these books the Roman rite spread north of the Alps, ousting the old Gallican rites;

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1. See, for example, R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* c.7, Ravenna pp.136-139
4. Andrieu, *OR I*, nos.69-76
5. Andrieu, *OR I*, nos.77-87
and it is to the labour of Frankish scholars and copyists that we mostly owe our knowledge of the earlier Roman rite.

In being copied, however, these texts, both sacramentaries and ordines, were adapted. Such adaptations are well illustrated by Ordo Romanus XV, which was based on Ordo Romanus I, but originated in France at the end of the eighth century, a century later than the original of Ordo Romanus I. Ordo Romanus XV includes two forms of mass. The first, set out for the third mass of Christmas Day, is intended to serve also for all Sundays, Eastertide and saints' days.1 Notionally it is the papal stational mass, but shorn of all the dignitaries and others of the papal court.2 It is indeed a model for bishops. The other form of the mass provides the celebration of mass on Sundays and principal feasts by priest(s) and deacons.4

In both forms the offertory continues to exhibit the two-stage arrangement of Ordo Romanus I, but otherwise shows much adaptation. In the case of the pontifical mass, the detailed and sometimes obscure arrangements of stage one in Ordo Romanus I are drastically pruned. The pontiff ('and also bishops or presbyters') receives the oblations (i.e. the loaves) of the people - no mention of the nobility. Similarly, the archdeacon receives the wine which again is offered by the people. The pontiff then returns to his chair and washes his hands.5 In the second stage of the offertory, the deacons place the (bread) oblations of the people on the altar - whether or not a selection from the whole is not said - to which the pontiff himself adds the oblations of the clergy, and then his own two loaves, to the accompaniment of his own silent prayer. The archdeacon places the chalice next to the pontiff's oblation, and then the pontiff says the oratio super oblata. The salutation and sursum corda follow.6

In the second, presbyteral form of mass, the two stages of the offertory survive, separated as in the pontifical mass by the lavabo; but the part of the people receives no mention, so that the offertory becomes a clerical act. Thus, the oblations are prepared in the sacarium. After the gospel, they are carried in procession to the altar while Psalm 148 is sung. A priest carries the bread oblation either in a 'tower' (turris) or on a paten held above his head, and a deacon carries the chalice likewise.7 The ‘primus sacerdos’ who is to celebrate the mass leaves his seat behind the altar, stands before the altar, and washes his hands. At the second stage in the offertory the clergy (priests and deacons) bring their oblations to the altar, the ‘primus’ comes to the altar with his own oblation, and the deacon gives him the chalice. At this point the account of the offertory in the presbyteral mass is broken off.8 Then follows a brief statement about what happens in monasteries, where alone in this Ordo reference is made to the contribution of the laity - ‘devoti vel boni Christiani’.9 Who those people were - benefactors perhaps, or guests - is uncertain; but in having some part in the offertory, they represent a practice which had otherwise died out in the Frankish rite. The offertory as a liturgical action had become restricted to the clergy.

1 Andrieu, OR III, no.12
2 Andrieu, OR XV nos.12-65
3 Andrieu, OR XV no. 133
4 Andrieu, OR XV nos.133-151
5 Andrieu, OR XV, nos.28-30
6 Andrieu, OR XV, nos.31-36
7 Cp. the Byzantine great entrance.
8 Andrieu, OR XV, nos.133-144
9 Andrieu, OR XV, no.145
So it remained, with exceptions, in the later middle ages. The tendencies in the continued medieval development of the offertory may be illustrated from two cathedral church uses of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: one the Use of Sarum,\textsuperscript{1} which was widely influential, and the other the Ordinale Exoniensis,\textsuperscript{2} extensively influenced by Sarum. Still envisaged is the solemn celebration of mass, with priest, deacon, subdeacon, and minor orders, with occasionally the presence of the bishop. Absent from a speaking and active part in the liturgy are the people. Thus, once again, the offerings of the people, if any, receive no liturgical expression. The liturgical offertory is still in two stages, namely the provision of the bread and wine, and their presentation on the altar. But instead of taking place after the gospel and before the sursum corda, the provision of the bread and wine is filtered back into the course of the first part of the mass and is moreover performed by those in minor orders.

Stage one, then, is begun immediately after the introit, when one of the candlebearers brings the bread in a pyx, and wine and water in glass phials \textit{ad eukaristie ministrationem}.\textsuperscript{3} Next, after the reading of the epistle, the subdeacon, having washed his hands, prepares the bread and wine for the administration of the eucharist. The washing of hands, which at an earlier date had followed the receiving of loaves and flasks of wine, now precedes their preparation. Formerly functional, it has now become reverential. And since, as we shall see, it is also required of deacon and priest, this must be associated with the introduction of the piscina - sometimes a double piscina, one for hands and the other for vessels. In addition the shelved piscina also makes its appearance, to provide a convenient place where the bread and wine are first put.\textsuperscript{4}

Stage two is begun\textsuperscript{5} while the alleluia or tract is being sung by the choir. The deacon, having washed his hands, spreads the corporal and censes the altar. He also places the bread on the paten and pours water into the chalice. After the reading of the gospel, the priest goes to the middle of the altar and begins the creed, if it is to be said. The deacon meanwhile offers the priest the chalice and paten, together with the \textit{sacrificium}. The priest elevates the chalice a little and offers the \textit{sacrificium} saying \textit{Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas}; and he places the bread upon the corporal, sliding the paten under the edge of the corporal. He then censes the \textit{sacrificium}. After the creed the priest turns to greet the people with \textit{Dominus vobiscum}, and turning back to the altar says \textit{Oremus} - and recites the offertory antiphon. If the creed is not said, \textit{Dominus vobiscum, oremus} and antiphon precede the presentation of the eucharistic gifts. Stage two ends with the offertory prayer, the oratio super oblata, now called the secreta because it is said \textit{secrete}. Thus not only do the people no longer have any part in the liturgical offertory, but the offertory is mixed up with the lessons and their chants and the creed, and the people no longer hear the offertory prayer.

\textsuperscript{1} W.H. Frere, \textit{The Use of Sarum}, I \textit{The Sarum Customs}, Cambridge 1898. II \textit{The Ordinal and Tonal} Cambridge, 1901.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ord. Exon.} I, 295; \textit{Use of Sarum} I, 6f
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Use of Sarum}, I 68 (n.10). On the piscina, see Francis Bond, \textit{The Chancel in English Churches}, Oxford 1916.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ord. Exon.} I, 296f; \textit{Use of Sarum} I, 71-79
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The medieval *ordinale* and *usus* do not, however, tell the whole story. They tell us how the liturgical offertory was to be managed. Nevertheless there were offerings of the people which were, at least on occasion, associated with the liturgical offertory. The strained relations of Church and State were high-lighted by the bull *Clericis laicos* of Boniface VIII in 1296 in which the diversion of ecclesiastical collections or tithes for the purposes of the State was forbidden under pain of excommunication. At the same time continuous efforts were being made to provide and maintain a priest in every parish.¹ To this end a Synod of Exeter, for example, in 1287, required every man or woman to make a payment to the curate on four 'offering days' in the year: Christmas, Easter, and two others, perhaps St John the Baptist and St Michael and All Angels.² The diocese of Exeter was not alone in making such provision, for at the Reformation it was enacted by Henry VIII in 1536 and passed into the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549: 'At the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings'.³

Moreover, the offertory anthem in the Latin Missal was replaced in this Book by a series of twenty texts from Scripture all bearing on the virtues of giving for the benefit of the clergy and the poor: 'Whiles the Clerks do sing the offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box everyone according to his ability and charitable mind'. All this, the offering days and the 'alms for the poor and other devotions of the people',⁴ was introduced before the eucharistic offertory began:

*Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing, prepared for that purpose; and putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water, and setting both the bread and wine upon the altar.*⁵

Thus the ancient sequence of the people's offerings, and then the provision from these of the eucharistic gifts, is re-asserted.

The collection was inherited by the Church from Judaism. In Judaism it took place on the eve of the Sabbath, against the inauguration of the Sabbath by the Sabbath meal. In the Church it was transferred to the Sunday with the sanctification of the first day of the week as the Lord's Day. It was coupled to the liturgy of the Lord's Day, as the time when Christians met *qua* Christians, but it was not part of the liturgy. So it has remained in the East. The bread and wine and water for the eucharistic sacrifice are notionally provided from the people's offerings. But the significance of the liturgical offertory, as the great entrance shows, derives from the anaphoral prayer that follows. In the West the collection, i.e. provision for the needs of the poor and the maintenance of the clergy, continues to be extra-liturgical. But on occasion the people, or some of them, contributed bread and wine liturgically, from which the

¹ See A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1947, especially ch.IV, 'Parsons, vicars, and curates'.
³ Brightman, op.cit. p.662
⁵ ib. p.116
⁶ This remains the case in the Armenian Liturgy: Brightman, LEW, 431f.
bread and wine for the eucharistic sacrifice were selected. The contribution to the liturgical offertory in this way made it possible for lay offerings in terms of coinage to be given a place in the liturgy, but only before the liturgical offertory, leading to the eucharistic prayer, was begun.¹

(2) Offertory prayers

The offertory, preparatory to the anaphoral prayer, is essentially an action. At an early date it was accompanied by psalmody. Later, prayer was introduced to accompany the action. In both East and West, however, the psalmody has subsequently been drastically reduced or eliminated, and the prayer extended.

So far as the psalmody is concerned, the Byzantine great entrance - so it has been argued by T.F. Taft² - was accompanied 'in the first stage of its history'³ by Psalm 24, with alleluia as its refrain. In the second half of the sixth century the Cherubic Hymn was added.⁴ Gradually the cherubic hymn predominated, and by the tenth century the psalm had disappeared.

In the West the offertory, like the introit and the communion, was accompanied from the fifth-sixth centuries by psalmody. This consisted of a psalm plus gloria, punctuated by an antiphon or refrain. Eventually, with the decline and disappearance of communion, and with the growing elaboration at the same time of chant, the

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¹ The two stages of the offertory have suffered mixed fortunes in modern revisions. They seem to be conflated in the Missale Romanum of 1970. First there is the preparation of the altar:

   His absolutis [sc. professio fidei and oratio fidelium], incipit cantus ad offertorium.
   Interim ministri corporale, purificatorium, calicem et missale in altari collocant.

Then it is recommended that the people should play their part in the oblation, either by bringing bread and wine for the eucharist, or other gifts for the needs of the Church and the poor:

   Expectit ut fideles participationem suam oblatione manifestent, offerendo sive panem et vinum ad Eucharistiae celebrationem, sive alia dona, quibus necessitatibus Ecclesiae et pauperum subveniatur.

In the Anglican ASB of 1980 the sequence of 'the preparation of the gifts' is reversed in both rites A and B. First:

32(26) The bread and wine are placed on the holy table.

To this instruction the following rubric is added in rite A:

33 The president [sic] may praise God for his gifts in appropriate words to which all respond
   Blessed be God for ever.

It would however be difficult to cite a precedent for the priest praising God for bread and wine in the eucharist.

Then there follows the collection of the offerings of the people:

34(27) The offerings of the people may be collected and presented. These words may be used.
   Yours, Lord, is the greatness,
   the power, the glory ...  
   and of your own do we give you.
   [1 Chron.29. 11, 14b]

Since the collection is followed by the sursum corda, this arrangement has the effect of suggesting that the collection forms the matter of the eucharistic prayer.

² T.F. Taft, The Great Entrance, Roma 1978, pp.53-118
³ ib. p.116
⁴ This remains the case in the Armenian Liturgy: Brightman, LEW, 431f
offertory chant was reduced by the eighth-ninth centuries to the antiphon, sometimes with a surviving psalm fragment.¹

As for the offertory prayers, *Apostolic Constitutions*, after noting that the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar, simply says that the bishop prays in silence with the priests, makes the sign of the cross upon his forehead, and begins the salutation.² The Byzantine rite of the ninth century has a single prayer to be said by the priest in preparing the bread in the skeuophylakion:

> O God, our God, who hast sent the heavenly bread, the food of the whole world, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Benefactor, to bless and sanctify us: Bless this offering, and receive it upon thy heavenly altar. Remember in thy goodness and mercy those who have offered it, and those for whom it has been offered. And keep us without blame in the priestly service of thy divine mysteries. For thy venerable and exalted name, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, is sanctified and glorified now and for ever and to all ages.³

This single prayer has subsequently been supplemented in the prothesis rite of the preparation and vesting of the priest, and the preparation of the gifts and of the incense, and at the great entrance by the censing of the altar and the sanctuary, and at the placing of the gifts on the altar.

The Roman offertory prayers similarly developed from small beginnings. In *Ordo Romanus I* the pontiff, after completing the arrangement of the gifts on the altar, inclined himself a little towards the altar, before signalling to the schola to be silent.⁴ That is to say, they had to bring the offertory psalm to a close. After the psalm, then, as at the introit and the communion, the oratio was said. The concluding formula, *per omnia secula*, is quoted in *OR I*.⁵ Then follows the salutation and the sursum corda.

The oratio super oblata - its Roman name, or secreta in Gallican usage - belongs to the earliest orationes in the Roman rite, and is in the mass sets of the Veronense the most frequent constituent apart from the vere dignum. The address is generally of the simplest kind, *Domine*, not necessarily the first word in the sentence. The petition is expressed in a simple or compound sentence, sometimes with a final clause. The thrust of the prayer is the offering to God of the eucharistic gifts. Hence the vocabulary is restricted, the gifts themselves being called *donum*, *munus*, *mysterium sacramentum*, *sacrificium*, *oblata*, *oblatio*, *hostia*; and these terms are coupled with verbs of offering or accepting, etc. Conspicuously absent in the super oblata prayers is any mention of bread and wine. For once the gifts are placed on the altar, they are already seen not simply as themselves, but in the light of the eucharistic sacrifice.

Two examples must suffice, one (a) from the *temporale* and the other (b) from the *sanctorale*.

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¹ See R.J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, Roma 1935
² *Ap. Const.* VIII, 12:3f
³ Brightman, *LEW*, p.309f (St Basil)
⁴ Andrieu, *OR I*, no.85
⁵ Andrieu, *OR I*, no.87
(a) Concede nobis haec, quaesumus, domine, frequentare mysteria, quia quociens huius hostiae commemoratio cælebratum, opus nostra redempconis exercitum: per.  
Grant, we beseech thee, O Lord, (worthily) to frequent these mysteries, because as often as this commemorative sacrifice is offered, the work of our redemption is set forward: through (Christ our Lord).

(b) Aeclesiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, praeces et hostias apostolica commendet oratio, ut quod pro illorum gloria celebremus, nobis prosit ad veniam: per.

May the prayer of the Apostles, we beseech thee, O Lord, commend the prayers and sacrifices of thy Church, that what we celebrate for their glory may be profitable to us by way of grace: through (Christ our Lord).

Ordo Romanus I thus exhibits the Roman offertory: the action of getting the eucharistic offerings to the altar, the chant sung by the schola while this is done, and the oratio super oblata summing up the action and referring it to the oblation and communion that are to follow.

But the offertory as such did not stand still. Already in the pontifical mass in Ordo Romanus XV, the pontiff's prayer of silence in Ordo Romanus I - inclinans se paululem ad altare - has become an oratio. Now in Ordo Romanus XV the pontiff, adding his own bread oblations to those on the altar, raising his eyes to heaven and lifting up the oblations orat ad Deum segrete [secrete]. Then, completa oratione, he replaces them on the altar. The oratio super oblata follows; but this too is said secrete, except for per omnia secula seculorum.

In the course of the following centuries offertory prayers and texts flourished. They are all of them 'secret', satisfying the devotion of the celebrant, but not reaching the plebs, who are increasingly left in limbo during the offertory action. This development may be illustrated from the offertory texts of the first printed Roman Missal of 1474 (reproduced following this paragraph), which were taken over as a whole into the Tridentine Missal of 1570. The suscipe, sancte pater at the offering of the host was used in Rome from the fourteenth century onwards. Its vocabulary is strongly influenced by the vocabulary of the canon; but contrariwise the prayer is in the first person singular, which is totally alien to the canon. Deus qui humane substantie, at the admixture of water in the chalice, is an adaptation of a Christmas collect in the Veronense. The offering of the chalice is linked to a prayer in the first person plural, Offerimus tibi domine calicem salutaris, and is again influenced by the vocabulary of the canon. In spiritu humilitatis comes from the song of the Three Young Men (ver. 16), additional to Daniel 3:23/24. The invocation, Veni Sanctificator omnipotens aeterne deus, is found as early as the Stowe Missal. The incense prayers, though not the use of incense, are all Gallican in origin. The lavabo,
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which is a reverential repetition of the earlier washing of the hands after the collection of the people's gifts, is accompanied by the recitation of Psalm 26:6ff., together with the gloria. The following prayer, Suscipe sancta trinitas hanc oblationem, originated in Northern France in the ninth century, and is the only offertory prayer mentioned in the Use of Sarum and the Ordinale Exon. Finally, Orote fratres was at an early date addressed by the celebrant to other priests in the sanctuary. In the tenth century Ordo Romanus V, however, as in 1474 and 1570, it is addressed ad populum.

Offertory rubrics and prayers
Missale Romanum 1474

Quando sacerdos offert hostiam super alte dicat hanc orationem.
Suscipe, sancte pater omnipotens eterna deus hanc immaculatam hostiam. quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero tibi deo meo uiuo et uero. pro innumerabilibus peccatis et offensionibus et neglignitiis meis et pro omnibus circumstantibus. sed et pro omnibus fideliis christianis uiiuis atque defunctis. ut michi et illos proficiat ad salutem in uitam eternam amen.

Quando mittit aquam in calicem dicit orationem.
Deus qui humane substantie dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti. da nobis per huius aetate et uini misterium. eius diuinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostro fieri dignatus est particeps. iesus christus filius tuus dominus noster. Qui tecum uiiuit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus. Per omnia secula seculorum amen.

Quando offert calicem super alte dicat hanc orationem.
Offerimus tibi domine calicem salutaris. tuam deprecantes clementiam. ut in conspectu divine maiestatis tue. pro nostra. et pro totius mundi salute cum odore suauitatis ascendat. amen.

Deinde dicit.
In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te domine. et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie. ut placeat tibi domine deus.

Seguitur oratio super hostiam et calicem cum signo crucis.
Ueni sanctificator omnipotens eterna deus. benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomine preparatum.

Cum ponit incensum in turribulum dicit hanc orationem.
Per intercessionem beati michaelis archangeli stantis a dextris altaris incensi: et omnium electorum suorum incensum istud dignetur dominus benedicere. et in odorem suauitatis accipere. Per christum dominum nostrum amen.

1 ed. Frere, vol.1, p.75b
2 ed. Dalton, vol.1, p.296f
3 Andrieu, OR V, (t.II) no.56
4 R.Lippe, Missale Romanum 1474, Vol.1 (text), HBS XVII, p.200f
Cum incensat oblata dicit.
Incensum istud a te benedictum, ascendat ad te domine et descendat super nos misericordia tua.

Cum incensat altare dicit.
Dirigatur domine oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo eleuatio manuum mearum sacrificium uespertinum. Pone domine custodiam ori meo: et hostium circumstantie labiis meis. ut non declinet cor meum in uerba malitie ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.

Quando reddit turribulum diacono dicit.
Accendat in nobis dominus ignem sui amoris et flamma[m] eterne caritatis. amen.

Quando sacerdos lauat manus dicit.
Lauabo inter innocentes manus meas. usque in finem cum gloria patri.

Tunc inclinat se ante altare et dicit hanc orationem.
Suscie sancta trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam passionis resurrectionis et ascensionis iesu christi domini nostri. et in honore beate marie semper virginis. et beati iohannis baptiste. et sanctorum apostolorum petri et pauli. et istorum et omnium sanctorum. ut illis proficiat ad honorem. nobis autem ad salutem. et illi pro nobis intercedere dignetur in celis quorum memoriam facimus in terris. Per christum dominum nostrum. amen.

Erigens se deosculatur altare et uertens se ad populum dicat.
Orate pro me fratres. ut meum ac uestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud deum omnipotentem.

Circonstantes uero respondent.
Suscripia dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui. ad utilitatem quoque nostram totiusque ecclesie sue sancte amen.

(3) Summary
A summary of this long and complex history may not come amiss. The 'offertory' is a portmanteau term for what is essentially an action. This action has a number of stages. It includes the collection of the people's gifts, for the benefit of the sick and the poor and the clergy, as an indispensable concomitant of the liturgy. These gifts are both in coinage and in kind. In the East this collection precedes the liturgy. In the West it is associated with the liturgical offertory. Next, a distinction needs to be drawn in regard to the liturgical offertory. There is sometimes an offering of bread and wine for the eucharistic sacrifice by the people or some of the people. From this collection a selection is necessary for presentation on the altar, preparatory to the anaphoral prayer.

The collection of the people's gifts in coinage or in kind is the business of the deacons. The collection and selection of the people's gifts of bread and wine is similarly the business of the deacons. The bringing of the selected gifts to the altar is
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also the business of the deacons; but their presentation on the altar is the business of the priest since this aspect of the offertory is integrally related to the eucharistic sacrifice which follows.

Since the offertory is an action, it is accompanied by chant - the singing of a psalm. In the East the psalm was superseded by the cherubic hymn. In the West the psalm was steadily reduced until it disappeared, together with the gloria, leaving only the antiphon behind.

But so solemn an action, leading to the anaphoral prayer, could scarcely be carried out without the accompaniment of prayer. In the East the one and earliest prescribed prayer, and still the concluding prayer of the rite of the prothesis, is *O God our God*. In the West the one and earliest prescribed prayer was the *super oblata*, concluding the psalm as the collect concluded the introit psalm and as the post-communion concluded the communion psalm. But, both in the East and in the West, this prayer is orientated towards the eucharistic sacrifice and is itself couched in sacrificial terms. Inevitably this prayer was extended, in similarly sacrificial terms, throughout the business of the preparation and presentation of the eucharistic gifts, in the East in the rite of the prothesis before the entrance rite at the beginning of the liturgy, in the West after the *missa catechumenorum* and the dismissal of the catechumens and other special groups.

The place for the preparation of the eucharistic gifts is in the East the chamber of the prothesis, with its table. In the West the place was perhaps at first the altar itself; but with the introduction of unleavened bread from the ninth century onwards, the restriction of the chalice to the priest, and the decline in the communion of the laity, the piscina was adapted, usually with a shelf. Later in the sixteenth century and lasting into the present day, the credence table was introduced.

The offertory procession is in the East the bearing of the sacred gifts from the prothesis to the altar at the great entrance. It was in origin a procession of deacons, but in consequence of the overshadowing of the preparation of the gifts by the eucharistic sacrifice it became, as it is today, a procession of priest and deacon. Since in the West there is nothing to correspond with the chamber of the prothesis, there is nothing to correspond with the Eastern offertory procession. The modern practice, we venture to add, of organising a lay offertory procession is somewhat unreal. For the bread and wine and water which laymen carry up from a table at the west end of the church to the altar have been put there before mass by the priest or server. Moreover, in the modern world we live in a money economy, so that the true people's offering is nowadays in cash. Such a collection should, as anciently, precede the liturgical offertory. From this money, given on a previous occasion, the bread and wine for the eucharist have been purchased by the priest or the sacristan, perhaps weeks ago, and stored in the sacristy. The involvement of the people in the offertory should be, not in a bit of play-acting, but as St Paul said 'by putting aside and saving'.

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1 1 Cor 16:2
Communion

The eucharistic liturgy has no climax. Its significance is continuous from the offertory to the communion. It is the *opus nostrae redemptionis*. The communion is an integral part of the eucharistic sacrifice. Oblation followed by communion represents the fusion of the two sources of the rite: that which is derived from the Shema`, and that which is derived from the meal. The cross and the supper are conjoined.

The integration of these two constituents of the eucharistic liturgy held until the fourth and fifth centuries. By that time, however, a number of far-reaching changes had begun to operate in the life of the Church. It is usual to trace these to the changed relationship between Church and State. But the reconciliation of Church and State was symptomatic of religious currents that were already flowing deeply. The openness of the Church towards the Gentile world, which first became a major issue in the work of Paul the Apostle, had long been taken for granted. In parallel with this, on the other side, Judaism underwent consolidation first on the basis of the Mishnah, and then by the fusion of the Mishnah (literally 'teaching') and the Gemara (literally 'completion') in the Talmud (literally 'learning'), in the two versions developed in the schools of Palestine and Babylonia. While the catechesis of the Church defined Christianity, the Talmud sealed off Judaism from the Church. The Church and Synagogue were alienated from one another.

Again, with the end of the persecutions and with the protection afforded to the Church by the State, adherents began to flood into the Church from the pagan world. Society became Christianized, but at a relatively superficial level, since motivation was no longer disciplined by *peirasmos*, by trial or testing in a hostile environment. Moreover, initiation began to be a matter not only for adult converts, but also for infants in Christian families. Catechesis therefore tended to become a formality. It was no longer a condition for baptism, and might or might not be supplied thereafter. In consequence while literacy and learning were a requirement for ordination - a 'clerk' is by definition a learned man - the laity were inadequately instructed.

A further change affecting the ethos of life in the Church lay in the scale of the architectural setting of the liturgy. This might be called the Babel factor. The change in the place of the Church in society in the fourth century was expressed in the Constantinian foundations in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Rome, and later in the century in the huge basilicas in the capitals, in Constantinople, Antioch, Milan, Trier, and again Rome. These buildings were meant to be imposing, and indeed they dominated men's minds and bodies. While they provided, however, a grand setting for the liturgy, they created new problems. The exploitation of space inevitably caused difficulties from the standpoint of liturgy: audibility if not visibility, and varying degrees of remoteness from the liturgical action. In the pre-Nicene house church, with its domestic scale, these problems had not arisen.

These changes help to explain the decline in the communion of the laity. When liturgy in East and West alike was attaining the forms which have continued to the present, paradoxically there was a rapid decline in the communion of the laity. The point is made for us by Ambrose, commenting on *quotidianus*, daily, in the Lord's Prayer: 'If it is daily bread, why do you receive it once a year, as the Greeks in the
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East are accustomed to do? ... He who does not deserve to receive it daily, does not deserve to receive it once a year. The situation was evidently unchanged a century or so later, for the Council of Agde in 506 enacted that those laymen who did not receive holy communion at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost were not deemed to be Catholics nor were they to be admitted among Catholics.

Liturgical texts, nevertheless, continued to provide for the regular and frequent communion of the laity as well as of the clergy. Communion in the body and blood of Christ completed the initiation of converts at the Easter Vigil, as we can see, for example in the catechetical instructions of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia in the East, and of Ambrose in the West.

The invitation to communion in Eastern rites was with the formula, Ta hagia tois hagiois, 'The holy things for the holy people'. The rubric governing the communion in Apostolic Constitutions reads:

And after this let the bishop receive, then the presbyters and the deacons and the subdeacons and the lectors and the cantors and the ascetics, and among the women the female deacons and the virgins and the widows, then the children, and then all the people in order with fear and reverence, without noise.

The bishop distributed the oblation, and the deacon the cup; and afterwards when all have received, the deacons carry the remains to the pastophoria.

The assumption of communion for all continues to underlie Western texts of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Thus Ordo Romanus I describes the communion of the pontiff and all the other clergy, together with the populus. Ordo Romanus IV, a Gallicanized version of the Roman rite of Ordo Romanus I, of the last decades of the eighth century, continues to provide for the communion of the people: 'descendit pontifex ad communicandum populum'. Similarly, the old Gelasian sacramary, Vat.Reg.316, coming between Ordo Romanus I and IV in date, after the pax adds the rubric: 'Post haec communicat sacerdos cum ordinibus sacris cum omni populo'. On the other hand there is no indication of what was done at the communion at the Easter Vigil.

In the Hadrianum the outline of the mass and the text of the canon, placed at the beginning of the sacramentary, stop short at the Agnus Dei, and nothing is said about communion. On the other hand, again, in the Supplementum Anianense, where it is explained what is to be done at the Easter vigil in the absence of the bishop, the communion is to be given without chrismation by the presbyter

1 De Sacr. V, 24f
2 Conc. Agathense, 506, Canon 18
3 Cyril of Jerusalem, Myst. Cat. V, 19-22; John Chrysostom, Baptismal Instructions, Stav.2.27; Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cat. Homilies XVI, 17ff; Ambrose, De Sacr. IV, 19,28
4 Brightman, LEW, p.25
5 Brightman, LEW, p.25
6 OR I, nos.108-121. Note that confirmare as well as communio is used of the giving of communion.
7 OR IV, nos.56-87
8 Andrieu, OR IV, no.76
9 Vat.Reg.lat.316. mg.ref.1260
10 Vat.Reg.lat. I xliiv-xlvi (ed. Mohlberg pp.74-76
11 ed. Deshusses, pp.85-92

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with the words: 'Corpus domini nostri iesu christi custodiat te in vitam aeternum, Amen.' This is communion in one kind, without the chalice. The recipient is an infant in years.¹

Notionally, then, provision for the communion of the people was maintained, in spite of the decline in the practice of communion. But another change was introduced in the communion of the people which removed the communion rite yet further from what was in origin the meal, namely expedients alternative to drinking from the chalice. These were developed in both East and West. The causes are a matter for speculation. It is a fact of experience, however, that the practical administration of the chalice presents greater problems than that of the host. The posture of the communicant comes into the question, whether standing or kneeling,² whether the communicant is tall or short, whether upright or bowed, whether one is dealing with ten or a thousand, as well as the characteristics of the building, whether there are screens or steps to be taken into account, besides the level of understanding in the faithful. At all events, while receiving the host in the hand and drinking from the chalice were common to East and West perhaps until the sixth and seventh centuries, various changes were subsequently introduced at different dates and in different places.

By the ninth century the commixture of the holy bread in the holy chalice was established in the Byzantine rite: 'The priest lifts up the holy bread and says, "The holy things for the holy people"', adding "There is One that is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father, and in the fullness of the Holy Spirit", and he takes portions of the holy body and places them in the holychalices'.³ The communion follows, although it is not said how the priest communicates himself or how the people are communicated. In the present Byzantine rite the priest communicates himself first with the precious body of Christ, and then with the holy chalice. The people are communicated from the commingled chalice with a spoon. However far the frequency of the communion of the people declined, provision for communion never disappeared from the text of the liturgy in the East.

In the West other expedients in lieu of drinking from the chalice were being adopted. Thus Ordo Romanus I, after describing the communion of the clergy from the chalice, notes that what is left in the chalice is poured into the scyphus, the chalice is returned to the sacristy, and the subdeacon delivers the tube (pugillarem) to the archdeacon for the communion of the people.⁴ In Ordo Romanus IV the people are communicated from a vessel with a spout (fons).⁵ The use of a tube or pipe spread everywhere until communion from the chalice by all but the celebrant came to be abandoned in the twelfth century. Dealing with this question, St Thomas Aquinas writes: 'It is the custom of many churches for the body of Christ to be given to the communicant without his blood'.⁶ The 'perfection' of the sacrament lies in the consecration of the body and the blood. The priest who consecrates ought therefore to receive both. But in view of the risk of accidents with the chalice, resulting from

¹ ib. p.379
² Kneeling was introduced only in the West, and only in the later middle ages.
³ Brightman, LEW, p.341
⁴ Andrieu, OR I, nos.111-112
⁵ OR IV, nos.74-75, 83-84. (On the meaning of fons see Andrieu's note on p.149.
⁶ Summa Theologica, Q.80, Art.12
the numbers of the people, and there being both very old and very young among them, 'it is a prudent custom in some churches for the blood not to be offered to the reception of the people, but to be received by the priest alone'. ¹ This practice is further defended by the doctrine of concomitance, that is to say that 'Christ is fully contained in either species'. ²

Another change in Western practice has to be noticed, namely the introduction of unleavened bread from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. From the outset, in spite of the association of the last supper with the feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread, ³ ordinary leavened bread, the bread of the Sabbath meal, was used in the eucharistic liturgy. This remains the practice in the East, even where the baking of the bread is done by the priest. The adoption of unleavened bread, although it was justified on biblical grounds, probably commended itself for practical reasons: there were no bits and crumbs, and reservation was made easier. Although it fuelled the controversies between East and West after 1054, the Council of Florence (1438-1445), called to reconcile East and West, accepted both leavened and unleavened bread.

There is one other stage in the decline of the communion of the people in the West to be considered, and that is the disappearance of lay communion from the order of the mass. The only form of mass throughout the first millennium was its celebration by the different orders of the Church. The different parts of the mass were therefore to be found in different books: the sacramentary, the lectionary, the antiphonale, and perhaps the ordinale. In cathedral, collegial and monastic churches mass was thus solemnly celebrated on Sundays and solemnities. In the course of the tenth century, however, it became increasingly common for choir monks to become priests; and accordingly the form of mass was adapted for presbyteral celebration. Thus the presbyter assimilated to himself those liturgical functions which had hitherto fallen to other orders, namely the deacon, subdeacon, lector and cantor; and the books which they had used came to be integrated in a new type of book, namely the missal. An early example of the beginnings of this development is the Bobbio Missal, in which the lections are appended to the prayers, although the texts of the choir chants are as yet absent. The opening words of these texts, however, were entered in the margin of the earliest stratum of the Leofric Missal (in the first half of the tenth century), while the opening words of the epistle and gospel were entered in the margin soon afterwards. ⁴ Thus the missal was essentially a presbyteral book for use in a mass that did not require the participation of any other order. Moreover, the multiplication of priests led to the multiplication of altars. And thus the basilica which had hitherto enshrined the one altar came to be encircled by ambulatories giving access to a series of subsidiary altars, each with its diminutive shelved piscina, as may be still seen in many a great Gothic church which has not suffered ruthless restoration. The chapel in which the subsidiary altar was placed, other than the Lady Chapel, scarcely made provision for a congregation of the faithful. Accordingly the missal, while making an increasingly elaborate provision for the communion of the priest, made no provision

¹ ib. ² ib.; and Q76. ³ Mk 14:1, Lk 22:1 ⁴ ed. F.E. Warren, Oxford 1883, pp.xxxiv-xxxix
for the communion of the people. This continued to be the case with the first printed Roman Missal of 1474, with the Tridentine Missal of Pius V in 1570, and with the missals printed under Pius XII even as late as the 1940s and 50s.

1 In consequence communion was received in separation from the mass; and in the Rituale of 1614 the Ordo Ministrandi Sacram Communionem was printed after the orders of baptism and penance.
2 HBS vol.XVII, 1899, pp.210f
3 Only in the Ordo Missae of 1969, in a couple of rubrics in the restructured Ritus Communionis, did the communion of the people again come into view as part of the mass, but then in communion in both kinds (106f (Roman Missal of 1970 135f.).)
The anaphoral liturgy has therefore suffered, like the baptismal liturgy, disintegration. In the case of the baptismal liturgy, its transference from adults to infants meant the immediate loss of instruction, and the undertaking of the baptismal promises not by the baptizand, but in his name. Incorporation in the Church, the gift of grace, was no longer accompanied by mind, heart and will. The dis-integration of the rite in the West, by circumstance and not by design, did little to remedy the problem. Baptism on its own was incomplete. Confirmation did not always follow baptism; and the eventual loss on the protestant side of the sixteenth century divide of episcopal chrismation or confirmation has proved to be incalculable in its effects, and so far irreparable.

Like the baptismal liturgy, the eucharistic liturgy has from the first been a complex rite. And because it is complex, and not absolutely simple, its unity has not lain on the surface. From the first, its roots were in the Shema` and the sabbath meal; but both Shema` and sabbath meal were transformed by Christology, and integrated in a new rite of redemption. The unity of this rite was fused by Christology, but its liturgical expression, as with the baptismal liturgy, has been dismembered in time and place. Nothing has contributed more deeply to its dismemberment than the loss of communion, with its far-reaching sequelae. This was clearly seen by the reformers of the sixteenth century, who sought to restore communion to the laity; but the means adopted by them to remedy matters have proved disastrous.

The process of dis-integration was long, and took a different course in East and West. The liturgical texts stemming from the patristic period have survived in essentials, but the way they have been used has changed. In the East the liturgy has continued to be expressed manifestly in terms of order, so that it remains the work of the priest (be he bishop or presbyter), the deacon, cantor and people, all present and acting together. But subtle and continuous changes have affected the character of the rite. Thus the priest has encroached upon the functions of the deacon, as in the great entrance, and he has tended to recede from the people in those stretches of the anaphoral prayer recited mystikos, silently. The role of the deacon in the offertory and communion is reduced, and he has assumed a mediating role in relating the prayer and devotion of the people to what takes place unseen at the altar. Communion has not indeed ceased to be an integral part of the rite, but it is weakly maintained in the infrequent communion of the people, and the more frequent communion of infants.

The loss of sacramental communion is partly compensated for by the veneration of the icons. In the early Christian basilica, an architectural form derived from the Empire, the sanctuary area around the altar was marked off from the nave by a panelled or trellised screen, often with columns supporting an architrave. After the resolution of the iconoclastic controversy it became customary to place an icon of the Saviour above the holy doors opening towards the altar. Later, icons of the Theotokos and the Prodromos were placed on either side of the Saviour. This seems to have been the origin of the placing of the icons of the saints on the screen. By the fourteenth and fifteenth century several tiers of icons had been formed into a solid screen, thus separating the sanctuary from the nave. In spite of the incarnational character of the icon, which creates a bond of communion between the worshipper
and the subject of the icon, it is undeniable that the iconastasis physically separates the laity from a visual and audible participation in the liturgy.¹

Nevertheless, in spite of these dis-integrating tendencies, the architectural form of the Eastern basilica placed restraints on the separation of clergy and laity. It consisted of a square space surmounted by a dome, with short arms E W N and S in the form of a cross, with a shallow orientated apse.² The Eastern domed basilica, even on the largest possible scale as in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, has a unified interior which gives support to the unity of the rite.

Turning now to the West, some of these tendencies making for dis-integration in the East reappeared, leading however to different consequences. But in the West there was one contributing factor not at first present in the East, and that was the question of language. In the East the principle of translation was admitted at an early stage, in liturgy as in scripture; and thus Coptic, Syriac and other vernacular texts appeared. The adoption of Latin in the West is a further instance of this principle. But Latin, once adopted, did not give way to other languages. It was the language of the Western Church as it had been of the Western Empire. And although Latin for a long time remained intelligible throughout Italy, Gaul and Spain, it was unintelligible to the Germanic populations east of the Rhine. This had a direct bearing on the vital question of the silent canon.

The first evidence of the silent recitation of the anaphoral prayer occurs indeed in the East. The revision of Roman Law under Justinian I, the Corpus Juris Civilis, included the Novellae, and among these a novel concerning the ordination of bishops and the clergy. In this novel the silent recitation of the anaphoral prayer was forbidden, and its audible recitation enjoined: 'Moreover we order both bishops and presbyters that they perform the sacred oblation and the prayers in holy baptism, not silently, but in such a voice as may be heard by the faithful people.'³ The fact that such a regulation was necessary presupposes that the practice of silent recitation was current; and the fact that the Corpus was published in both Greek and Latin means that the regulation was to be observed in both East and West.

At this date silent recitation was the practice outside the Byzantine Empire, for Narsai in Homily XVIII (A) says that after the sursum corda silence is observed, and the bright (-robed) priest, the tongue of the Church, opens his mouth and speaks in secret [or 'privately' or 'familiarly'] with God as a familiar.⁴ The sanctus is said aloud by all; but clearly the priest resumes the prayer in silence, for at the conclusion 'he raises his voice at the end of his prayer to make it audible to the people'.⁵ In Byzantium silent recitation evidently caught on again, for in the Barberini manuscript of the Byzantine liturgy the first part of the anaphoral prayer from the grace to the sanctus was said aloud, but thereafter the priest continued the prayer 'secretly'.⁶

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⁵ ib. p.18
⁶ Brightman, LEW, 321ff
In the West the practice of reciting the canon silently began not in Rome, but north of the Alps. In Rome at this date the canon continued to be said aloud. The earliest witness is Ordo Romanus I at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century. This Ordo already deems the canon to begin after the sanctus. The sanctus is sung by all, and then the pontiff begins the canon alone. This is clearly said aloud, for the Nobis quoque and the Per quem are the cues for the subdeacons and the archdeacons to stand upright (surgent). Later, in the middle of the eighth century, in the Gelasianum (Vat.Reg. 316), which is Roman at source, the canon was equally clearly said aloud; for on the third Sunday in Lent, at the Memento and Hanc igitur paragraphs, the celebrant kept silence while the names of the sponsors and the elect were recited. Later again, at the end of the eighth century, in Ordo Romanus III, which is a supplement to the papal mass in Ordo I, provision is made at the principal feasts of the year for a concelebrated mass; but those who recite the canon with the pontiff must speak so that his voice may be heard in greater strength. About the same date the Roman Hadrianum (Cambrai 164) appears to indicate that the entire canon from the sursum corda onwards was recited excelsa voce. All these texts then, up to the end of the eighth century, show that the canon was recited aloud in Rome.

It is thereafter, in texts originating north of the Alps, that the canon begins to be recited in a low voice. Ordines Romani IV and V mark the change. Ordo IV at the end of the eighth century adapts Ordo I to a situation outside Rome. In the concelebrated mass on the principal feasts of the year the concelebrating bishops stand behind the pontiff, who himself recites the canon so that it can be heard by them, ut audiatur ab eis. Then in Ordo V, about 900, the oratio super oblationes is recited silently, dicta secreta, except for its conclusion, which is said alta voce. Sursum corda, preface and sanctus follow aloud; but then surgit solus pontifex et tacito intrat in canonem. The very term 'canon', which in the Gelasianum was the heading placed before the sursum corda, was now used of that part of the prayer starting with Te igitur. A distinction in treatment was now implied: the preface and sanctus were said aloud, and the canon was said secretly. This practice, originating north of the Alps, prevailed throughout the later middle ages, and eventually also in Rome.

With the development of the silent canon, there were also changes in the receiving of holy communion. Ordo Romanus I provides for the communion of all: the pontiff, the clergy and all the people. The 'preparation' for communion is the canon. All that follows is the oratio ad complendum and the dismissal. At the end of the medieval period, by contrast, the communion of all except the celebrant was now given separately from the rite of the mass. Now the 'preparation' consisted, not of the text of the mass itself, but of confession and absolution as in the communion of the sick. Moreover, since the emergence of the doctrine of concomitance early in the twelfth century, communion was given in one kind, the chalice being withheld. Frequency of communion had at the same time so far declined that it was necessary for the fourth

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1 Andrieu, OR I, nos.87-89
2 ed. Mohlberg, p.33
3 Andrieu, OR III, no.1
4 ed. Deshusses, p.86
5 ed. Andrieu, OR IV, no.52
6 ed. Andrieu, OR V, no.58
7 ed. Andrieu, OR I, nos.106-122
Lateran Council in 1215 to decree that the sacrament of the eucharist be received at least at Easter.\(^1\)

Since the canon of the mass was recited silently, the laity could no longer share in the prayer of the priest. The eucharistic oblation, expressed in the oratio super oblata and the unde et memores paragraph in the canon, was made inaudibly, so that the faithful not only ceased to receive, but also ceased to offer.\(^2\) Other forms of devotion therefore emerged. Seeking to elucidate the eucharistic mystery, scholastic theology shifted the emphasis from receiving the sacramentum to seeing it, from sacrifice to presence. Thus the elevation of the host - hostia, not oblatio - was introduced in the thirteenth century at the dominical words in the canon. Accordingly in the Sarum Missal, after the words Hoc est enim corpus meum, the rubric is introduced, Hic elevet alcius\(^3\) corpus ut videatur ab omnibus.\(^4\) The elevation of the chalice, which did not of course afford a direct sight of the sacramentum, followed only at a later date, but was eventually incorporated in the Tridentine Missal of 1570. Both elevations were preceded and followed by the genuflexion of the priest in adoration.\(^5\) Para-liturgical piety became the lot of the laity.

In the thirteenth century too, as may be seen in many medieval parish churches, it was common for a squint to be cut through into the chancel from the nave or aisle or side chapel to give a view of the high altar, so that the elevation might be seen. Of course these developments do not in themselves inhibit communion. But they have to be understood against the background of non-communicating attendance at mass by the people. Indeed, in the absence of the communion of the people, the priest was deemed to communicate on their behalf, while spiritual communion for the people had taken the place of sacramental communion. The sacrifice of Christ was not forgotten, but communion therein was abandoned. Christ, present in the host, was seen and adored. The loss of audibility in the canon ultimately led to the loss of the integration of priest and people in the eucharistic oblation.

This loss of integration was emphasized by the architectural development of the Western basilica. In the East, as we have seen, the domed basilica secured for the liturgy a spatial unity. The dome however was not indigenous in the West, and the Western basilica underwent a different development in response to different needs. These were the needs of the mass and of the office. The mass required an oriented setting, with priest and people unified in the same space, and organised in relation to the altar. The office did not require the altar. Instead, it required an arrangement of clerks and monks to facilitate the singing of the psalms and canticles antiphonally, and the hearing of the lessons read at the lectern in their midst. The Western basilica developed as a compromise, seeking to reconcile these conflicting needs. The collegiate or monastic choir was accommodated in a spatial unity between the priest at the altar and the people in the nave. Architecture confirmed these divisions. The

1 Conc. Latr. IV. decreta, cap.21
2 In this connexion the ninth century addition to memento in the canon should be noted: 'quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis'. The ancient concept of priest and people together offering the eucharistic sacrifice is replaced by the idea of the priest offering on behalf of the people.
3 = altius
4 ed. J. Wickham Legg, p.122
5 J. O'Connell, The celebration of Mass, 3 vols, London 1940. II, 102, 104
6 i.e. from side to side.
result was the compartmentalisation of the Romanesque basilica. It was extended on its east-west axis. A screen enclosed the choir on the western side. The altar area - the sanctuary or presbytery - was extended eastwards, usually with a raised floor level to allow for a crypt beneath, which housed the relics of a saint or saints or the remains of the founder or patron. The lay brethren and the people in the nave were thus placed at an increased distance from the altar.

In the collegiate or monastic church, moreover, the atrium, in which in earlier times the bishop, clergy and people had assembled in order to enter the basilica together for the liturgy of redemption, was abandoned. In its place the cloisters were built on the north side or south side of the nave, from which the clerks or monks entered the church for the mass and the office. An enlarged porch on the opposite side, gave access to the nave for the laity.

In addition to these changes in the main characteristics of the ancient basilica - apse, nave, and atrium - the Romanesque basilica contained a number of subsidiary or side altars. They were the consequence of the multiplication of the number of priests, from the ninth century onwards, with which the number of bishops and dioceses had not kept pace. These altars emphasized the loss of the interior unity of the building.

In the Gothic period all these tendencies were carried further. The architectural choir was in innumerable cases rebuilt, and extended eastwards. The bishop's cathedra, from which in origin he taught the faith, was no longer situated in relation to the altar and the congregation, but was aligned with the choir stalls for the daily office, from which he was almost invariably absent. Moreover, it was now treated out of all proportion to the rest of the choir furnishings, so that it became a throne from which the bishop ruled like a lord or a prince, with his court before him.

In addition to the subsidiary altars, radiating from the ambulatories around the architectural choir, a Lady chapel was in many instances built east of the high altar in the greater church to accommodate the daily office and Mass of our Lady. These were supplementary to the choir office and the conventional mass.

The dis-integration of church interiors was not confined to collegiate and monastic churches, but remains equally familiar in parish churches from the late thirteenth century onwards. Naves were widened and aisles added in order to form auditory halls in response to the revival of preaching led by the newly founded mendicant orders. These developments left nave and aisles poorly related to the high altar. Furthermore, chantry and guild chapels were introduced, or built as external additions. But while all this is of absorbing interest to the historian of architecture and art, it irremediably fixed in stone medieval liturgical dis-integration.

The English reformation needs to be set against this background. The dis-integration of the liturgy was recognized. 'The Supper of the Lord', so Cranmer began his Defence, 'hath been of many men, and by sundry ways, very much abused; but specially within these four or five hundred years.' The essential first step was the restoration of communion. The basis of the restoration - 'the most sure and plain

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way' - was 'to cleave unto holy Scripture', i.e. those texts concerning eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ from John 6, Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, and 1 Corinthians 10 and 11. Accordingly an Order of the Communion, in English, was published in March 1548. It consisted of exhortations, confession in the name of the communicants and absolution, 'comfortable words', the prayer of humble access, the formulae for communion under both kinds, and blessing. There were precedents for much of this in detail. What was new was its inclusion in the Latin mass after the communion of the priest. Introduced in the Diocese of London at Easter, it soon spread elsewhere, including the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The next stage was to inhibit the celebration of mass without the order of communion. Moreover, English translations of the Latin canon began to appear, the earliest being Coverdale's c.1535.

The revision of the whole of the mass in English was included in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, and was imposed by an Act of Uniformity for exclusive use from Whit Sunday 9 June 1549. The canon was re-organized and re-written. The intercessions were gathered into a continuous prayer after the sanctus and benedictus. This was followed by a new prayer embodying the remembrance of Christ's death on the cross, 'a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world', together with the dominical words of institution, without however any elevations, as the guarantee of Christ's presence. Implicitly transubstantiation was rejected. Finally, with the remembrance of Christ's passion, resurrection and ascension, the Father was asked to accept this sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, together with the offering of ourselves, our souls and bodies. The core of the 1548 Order of the Communion followed after the Lord's Prayer and pax. Thus the presence of Christ was conceived afresh, not in terms of substance and accidents, but of devout remembrance. Similarly the sacrifice of the Church was conceived afresh, not in the objective terms of the eucharistic oblation, but in the subjective terms of our praise and thanksgiving and of ourselves our souls and bodies.

Re-writing the liturgy in this way had no precedent. Inevitably there was resistance and rejection. 'A great number of people, in divers parts of this realm, ... do wilfully, and damnably before almighty God, abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches ...'. There were 'divers doubts', coupled with 'the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers'. For reformation hereof the King and the Lords and Commons in Parliament enacted that a revised Prayer Book be introduced from the feast of All Saints 1552. In this Book the Latin canon was abandoned as a structural guide, and instead a new communion rite was formed on the basis of the 1548 Order of the Communion. There was no longer anything corresponding to the old offertory. The intercessions were removed from their setting in the old 'Canon', and were followed by the exhortations, confession and absolution, and comfortable words from the Order of the Communion. After the sanctus came the prayer of humble access from the same Order, followed by the prayer of remembrance, in which there were now

1 ib. p.3
2 ed. H.A. Wilson, HBS XXXIV, London 1907
4 An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, Brightman, ER. I, 17
5 ib. I, 17
6 Called in 1662 'the prayer of consecration', in which manual acts were restored.
no manual acts. Communion followed immediately after the dominical words. Nor was there to be any celebration of the Lord's supper 'except there be a good number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion'.

The failure of these methods to turn the people into communicants was perforce recognized. Among the new rubrics in 1552 was the order, 'And the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past'. As in times past therefore the people congregated in the nave, but now for morning and evening prayer and the ante-communion. The communicants, however, assembled in the chancel, where the altar was now set table-wise on the east-west axis. The Gothic nave and chancel were thus turned into a two-unit arrangement for the new rites and ceremonies. The people, formerly distanced from the altar by the Gothic choir, were now even more radically separated from the altar by the reformed rites. The minister was to 'turn him, as the people may best hear'; and that meant sooner or later his removal from the chancel to the three-decker pulpit in the nave, facing the people, with his back to the altar. The tension between mass and office in the Gothic church was resolved by turning the communion into an occasional office for a minority of the people in the chancel, while the common prayer was conducted 'as the people may best hear' - where they had always been - in the nave. The attempt to re-integrate communion with the mass resulted in the end in the loss of the mass as the definitive rite of the Sunday worship of the English Church.

The response of the counter-reform to these and other more radical essays in liturgical experiment was a conservative revision of the Roman rite. According to the Bull of Pius V, of 14 July 1570, with which the new Roman Missal was introduced, earlier codices had been consulted; other rites which had been in use for less than two hundred years were suppressed; and henceforth no additions, subtractions or changes were to be made. But now the meaning of the mass was focussed upon the dominical words, as with the Reformers, but as these had come to be interpreted, following the schoolmen, in terms of transubstantiation. To this one point was subordinated the whole length of the canon, in all its richness, together with the super oblata and post communion prayers.

'They teach' wrote Cranmer of 'the papists', 'that Christ is in the bread and wine; but we say, according to the truth, that he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine'. This dismal polarity, extended in a dozen similar antitheses in Cranmer's Defence, was the central issue between the Cranmerian reform and the Pian counter-reform. Both sides were locked in the debate on the meaning of the dominical words in such a way as to distort the meaning of the eucharist as a whole.

Under the influence of successive Acts of Uniformity on the one hand, and the Bull Quo primum tempore on the other, it long proved to be impossible to break out of these adversarial positions. Change eventually set in on the Roman side by attending to the pastoral problems of the Church in the modern world in the liturgical movement, and by learning from and putting into practice the lessons and

1 Brightman, ER II, 715
2 Brightman, ER I, 127
3 Brightman, I, 127
4 Defence, iii, 2
implications of the historical and comparative study of liturgy.\(^1\) The increasing use indeed of such terms as liturgy, eucharist and mystery, derived from Greek, reveals the acknowledged indebtedness of the West to the East. The participation of the laity in the eucharistic sacrifice - *nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta* - was emphasized, not least by the belated adoption of the vernacular; and sacramental communion once again after many centuries became the rule. On the Anglican side the proposals for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1927/28 included the reconstruction of eucharistic prayer by an anamnesis modelled on the 1549 formula and by an epiclesis of an Eastern type. Following the rejection of the proposed Book by Parliament an 'interim' rite gained ground in which Prayer Book material, without changes in wording, was re-ordered in an attempt to return to pre-Reformation outlines.\(^2\) Further, the celebration of 'the parish communion' either in addition to or in place of morning prayer became widespread.

With the profound political, economic, social and cultural changes after World War II, and the growth of ecumenism in the Church, liturgical revision was again in the air. Services alternative to those in the Book of Common Prayer, introduced piecemeal and experimentally, were eventually consolidated in the Alternative Service Book of 1980. So far as the eucharist is concerned there was excessive preoccupation with what was called 'shape',\(^3\) and insufficient attention to the meaning of the eucharist. The problem of getting an agreed return to the theological norms of liturgical tradition was dealt with by producing texts that were opaque in meaning. Indeed there was an underlying resistance to any return to the context of rites which have their roots in the age of the creeds and the fathers. Anglicans remain so dominated by their distinctive liturgical inheritance from the sixteenth century that they seem unable to come to terms with the sacramental dynamic of the Greek and Latin anaphoral prayers.

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1 The history of the Western liturgy has been illustrated in this century by the critical editions of the sacramentaries and *ordines*.
2 See the structural dependence of the 1549 rite on the Roman canon in Brightman, ER, II 682-696.
3 After Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*.
Order

(i) Liturgy and order in the Temple

The Church arose from Israel, not by way of repudiation of the past, but by way of Christological transformation of the past. 'I came not to destroy, but to fulfil'. Accordingly the Lord Jesus Christ brought into focus the Christological categories diffused in the life and worship and scriptures of Israel. What lay there in a fragmentary and shadowy state was given coherence and power by his incarnation, death and resurrection. Equally, the habits of prayer enshrined in Israel were not cast aside, but received a fresh orientation 'in' Christ, to whom now Christians addressed their worship as well as to the Father. Again, entry into the ecclesia was not by a newly invented rite, but by the older Jewish rite of baptism, given now however a Christological reference. Similarly the complex rite of synaxis and anaphora was derived from the liturgy of the synagogue and the fusion of the Shema` with the Sabbath meal, transfigured however by the Church's Christology. These considerations, if they are well founded, should lead us to look to Judaism likewise for the origins of order in the Church.

Post-exilic Judaism was dominated by the Temple in Jerusalem, with its liturgy and priesthood. These are well represented in the Gospels and Acts.¹ The reigning high priest had the right to officiate in the Temple liturgy whenever he chose, and in particular he alone had the right to enter the Most Holy Place on the Day of Atonement to make atonement for his own sins and the sins of Israel.² Subordinate to him were the chief priests, namely the captain of the Temple, who substituted for the high priest when necessary, the leaders of the twenty four weekly courses of priests, and the Temple overseers and treasurers. Beneath them were the country priests, living throughout Judaea and Galilee, who were organized in twenty-four weekly courses to take their turn in the Temple liturgy. Below them again, organized in the same way, were the Levites who acted in Jerusalem as singers and musicians, servants and guards.³ Thus the priesthood, serving the Temple liturgy, was spread throughout the land.

² Lev 16:1-34
³ Lk 10:31,32
The laity for their part had in theory at least an obligation to keep the pilgrimage feasts of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles in Jerusalem:

\[ \text{Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles.} \]

But since in the ordinary circumstances of life this obligation was impossible to fulfil, the characteristics of the feast were so far as possible transferred to the synagogue and the home. In the synagogue liturgy there was of course no offering of sacrifice: but priests, whose office was hereditary, enjoyed precedence if their education justified it. Thus the Temple liturgy was not without witness in the furthest parts of the land. Indeed throughout the land and also in foreign lands it was customary for the devout to pray towards Jerusalem\(^2\) - a custom which was confirmed at least in later times by the orientation of synagogues towards Jerusalem. Religion in Israel was inconceivable without priest and without sacrifice.

(ii) Liturgy and order at Qumran, and among the scribes and Pharisees

The Essenes have become known to us in detail through the discovery of the scrolls and archaeological remains at Qumran. They were a sect that separated from the Judaism of the Hasmonean period on the grounds of its corruption. They continued to pay tribute to the Temple, but refused to take part in its liturgy. They expected to gain control of the Temple and its rites in the last days of the struggle between light and darkness. At Qumran the sectaries regarded themselves as the true Israel, living in the wilderness as in the age of Moses, and constituted by priests (and Levites) and laity. The council of the community was made up of three priests and ten lay members. Daily prayer, albeit without sacrifice, took place at the hours of the morning and evening sacrifice in the Temple; the Sabbath was observed; but the cycle of feasts in the calendar was reorganized in accordance with the calculation of the solar calendar. Thus, although the Qumran community was irreconcilable with the régime in Jerusalem, its life and liturgy were intelligible only in relation to the Temple and its liturgy. Priesthood and sacrifice thus provided the spiritual and intellectual framework for prayer and eschatological hope at Qumran.\(^3\)

The Pharisees contributed another reform movement, but within Jerusalemite Judaism. "Their name means "the separate ones", i.e. the holy ones, the true

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1 Deut 16:16 RV. In this chapter the passover, in origin a nomadic tribal custom, is linked with the feast of unleavened bread, the first of the three agricultural festivals. In the Deuteronomistic reform all were to be observed in Jerusalem.

2 1 Kin 8:44,45; 48,49; Ps 28:2; 138:2; Dan 6:10; Tob 3:11-12

3 Published work on the Dead Sea Scrolls has reached an overwhelming scale. There remains no better introduction to the subject, however, than G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English 3rd. ed. 1987, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1990.
Community of Israel'. To this extent they were like the Essenes. But whereas the
Essenes were a visionary sect, not short on fervour, but lacking historical and
intellectual depth, the Pharisees were 'for the most part men of the people', who
gained intellectual and spiritual strength through their association with the scribes
from the time of their origin in the second century BC. Scribes and Pharisees are not
to be identified; but many scribes were also Pharisees. The Scribes emerged as a non-
hereditary movement, dedicated to learning, and their long discipline in scriptural
exegesis secured for them their great influence in government, jurisprudence and
education. Association with the lay communities of Pharisees gave them a base in the
lives of ordinary people.

As with the Essenes, Temple, priesthood and sacrifice were all taken for granted.
What was characteristic of Pharisaism indeed was the extension of the laws of purity
and of tithing among the people. The laws of purity that were binding on priests were
to be extended to the people; and the laws of tithing, at once complicated and open to
evasion, were to be accepted for the support of the priests and Levites. Since a large
number of priests were scribes, there was therefore a ready alliance between scribes
and Pharisees. The scribe was addressed as rabbi, master, as a mark of respect; but
the term came to be used as an honorific title for outstanding teachers of the law, and
finally as a generic title, ousting the term scribe. The rabbinical tradition of the
written and unwritten law survived the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the
Temple in AD 70, when other groupings and associations in Judaism disappeared. Of
this rabbinical tradition the first monument is the Mishnah, in which the whole
economy of Temple, priesthood and sacrifice continues to be treated as if it was still
in existence. It thus continued, as at Qumran, to form the spiritual and intellectual
framework of Judaism.

(iii) The emergence of the apostolate in the Church

In all four Gospels the work of Jesus begins with the call of disciples. From the
outset a special position is occupied by Peter, who is introduced in each Gospel under
his first name Simon. He is the first disciple of the Master; and if an analogy be
sought, it might be found in the relationship of Baruch to Jeremiah, or even Joshua to
Moses. He is not, however, alone, for 'Simon and those with him' follow Jesus. In
the Gospel tradition these are paired. Andrew is sometimes paired with Peter, and the
brothers James and John regularly appear together. Again there is an analogy for this

1 J. Jeremias, Jerusalem, p.246
2 J. Jeremias, Jerusalem, p.246
3 The two distinguishable spheres of scribes and Pharisees in legislation and piety may be seen in
the Sermon on the Mount. Mt 5:21-48 deals with the elucidation of commandments, characteristic of
the scribes; and Mt 6:1-18 deals with rules of almsgiving, prayer and fasting, characteristic of the
Pharisees.
4 Mk 1:16-20, Mt 4:18-22, Lk 5:1-11, Jn 1:35-51
5 Mk 1:36
6 Not, however, at the transfiguration or in Gethsemane.
in the pairing of the Fathers, of whom the last were reckoned to be Shammai and Hillel. A further development is in the emergence of the twelve. Thus in the Synoptic tradition (though not in John) there is a second calling of disciples, this time of the twelve, as the work of Jesus spreads. This development clearly reflects the growing self-consciousness of the church as the fulfilment of Israel, Luke's mission and return of the seventy (-two) is a further elaboration of the same theme.

The twelve, moreover, in Matthew and Luke are unambiguously called apostles: 'Now the names of the twelve apostles are these: The first, Simon, who is called Peter,' and so forth. In Mark, however, the twelve are 'sent forth two by two': and only on their return are they called apostles i.e. those who have been sent forth. Matthew does not again use the term 'the twelve apostles', though he continues to speak of 'the twelve'. Luke by contrast uses the term 'apostles' freely in the latter part of the Gospel, and in the first half of Acts, up to the Jerusalem Council.

But if the term apostle belongs to the later stages of the Gospel tradition, it appears at this period in association with prophets and teachers. Here the context is that of an itinerant mission to houses and villages. Such a mission is described in Didache: 'Concerning the apostles and prophets, so do ye according to the ordinance of the Gospel'. Apostle, prophet and teacher scarcely have distinguishable functions, for the apostle is a prophet, and the prophet teaches. Their itinerancy and poverty are similar to those of the mission of the twelve described in all three Synoptic Gospels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mk 10:9-14</th>
<th>Mk 6:8-11</th>
<th>Lk.9:3-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take no gold, nor silver, nor copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor a staff; for the laborer deserves his food.</td>
<td>He charged them to take nothing for their journey except a staff; no bread, no bag, no money in their belts; but to wear sandals and not put on two tunics. And he said to them, &quot;Take nothing for your journey, no staff, nor bag, nor bread, nor money; and do not have two tunics.&quot;</td>
<td>And he said to them, &quot;Where you enter a house, stay there until you leave the place.&quot; And whatever house you enter, stay there, and from there depart.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 M. Aboth, 1:4-15
2 Mk 3:7-19, Mt 4:24-10:4; Lk 6:12-19
3 Lk 10:1, 17-20
4 Mt 10:2; Lk 6:13
5 Mk 6:7
6 Mk 6:30
7 Did.11,13

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And if any one will not receive you or listen to your words, shake off the dust from your feet as you leave that house or town."

And wherever they will not receive you and they refuse to hear you, shake off the dust that is on your feet when you leave that town shake off the dust from your feet for a testimony against them."

The pericope in Matthew forms the beginning of the tractate on the Apostolate (Mt.10:1 - 11:1). The tractate concludes with a vignette of a Jewish-Christian cell, which combines the simple hierarchy of the prophet, the righteous one and the convert, with the suggestion once again of itinerancy:

He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of the disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his regard.

The triad apostle-prophet-teacher is, however, not limited to Palestine. It occurs also in the Diaspora, and most notably in 1 Corinthians, where St Paul seeks to place the spiritual gifts in the church there in their proper perspectives. These are truly gifts of the Spirit, but are nonetheless surpassed by the triad of faith, hope and charity, and subordinate to the triad of apostles, prophets and teachers:

*God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers ... Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers?*

These roles are necessary for the foundation of the church, in which subsequently spiritual gifts can flourish.

This appears to have been the normative constitution of the local church at this stage, for it appears again in a work of very different character - different from Didache and its Gospel parallels, and 1 Corinthians - in Luke's account of the inauguration of the mission from Antioch in Acts;

*Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was there, prophets and teachers, Barnabas and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul.*

After prayer and fasting and the laying on of hands Barnabas and Saul were sent away first to Cyprus. Subsequently in the course of the narrative Luke refers at one point to Barnabas and Paul as apostles, though not again. For the apostles thereafter are the apostles and with the presbyters of the Jerusalem Council.

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1 'In the name of' = 'because he is'
2 i.e. one who exhibits the righteousness of the Sermon on the Mount.
3 i.e. a convert, as in the Sermon on Converts and Brethren in Mt 18.
4 Mt 10:41-42 RV
5 1 Cor 14:31b - 13:13
6 1 Cor 12:28a, 29a
7 Ac 13:1
8 Ac 13:4,14
9 Ac 15:2,4,6,22f; 16:4
The Pauline corpus, which appeared in the second century, rescued from oblivion perhaps by the collector of the Deutero-Pauline epistles, the Pastorals, throws a flood of light on the use of the term apostle on its own. There were Andronicus and Junias, who were outstanding among the apostles, and who were in Christ before Paul.\(^1\) There were the super apostles or false apostles who gave Paul so much trouble in Corinth.\(^2\) More generally there were opponents, perhaps gnostic apostles, who disputed the basis of Paul's claim to be an apostle.\(^3\) Above all, there were the Jerusalem apostles, the 'pillars', James and Cephas and John, with whom Paul co-ordinated the gospel which he himself proclaimed.\(^4\) To him, the least of the Apostles, as to James and all the Apostles, Christ appeared.\(^5\)

From these roots there grew up the concept of apostolicity, the very badge of antiquity and authenticity in the Catholic Church.

(iv) The transition of categories of order in Judaism to the Apostolic Church after AD 70

(1) Priest

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple were scarcely less momentous for the Apostolic Church than for Judaism. Up to that time in Palestine and Syria the estrangement of Christians from Judaism, though conceivably increasing, was not yet final. The Church continued to share in the institutions of the Temple and synagogue, with whatever degree of suspicion, distrust and alienation that there may have been occasionally and locally, and there was at this stage no complete severance of relationships comparable to the separation of the Qumran covenanters from Jerusalem. It is Luke's understanding of the situation throughout Acts that Christians continued to frequent the Temple from the first Pentecost until at least the seizure of Paul in the Temple on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem at the conclusion of his last missionary journey in the Diaspora.

The fall of Jerusalem, however, seems to mark the point from which Judaism and Christianity began finally to diverge. The tension between them is illustrated by the lament over Jerusalem that is common to Matthew and Luke.\(^6\) Their near identity of language points to Q as the source, which means that the lament was current before

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1 Rom 16:7 RSV (19461, 19712): ‘Greet Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and my fellow prisoners; they are men of note among the apostles, and they were in Christ before me’. NRSV (1989): ‘Great Andronicus and Junia, my relatives who were in prison with me; they are prominent among the apostles, and they were in Christ before I was.’
2 2 Cor 11:5,13; 12:11
3 Gal 1:1-17
4 Gal 1:18 - 2:10
5 1 Cor 15:7-9
6 Mt 23:37-39 = Lk 13:34-35
AD 70 and relevant at that date. Subsequently the destruction or profanation of the Temple is associated with the different stages in the passion of Christ. It is the starting point of the apocalyptic discourse. It is introduced in the form of an accusation laid against him in the examination before the high priest. It appears as a taunt at the crucifixion. Finally and most significantly, the death of Jesus on the cross is accompanied by the rending of the Temple veil. The tendency of all these passages is to show that the Temple liturgy has been superseded by Christ in his death, and this is the conviction of all the Evangelists subsequently to the events of AD 70. The Apostolic Church had already conceptualized afresh the meaning of sacrifice, and rethought who was the priest and where was the Temple. These categories were not rejected, therefore, in the Apostolic Church, but were destined there for newness of life.

Two other categories of order in Judaism, aside from the priesthood, need to be considered, namely the rabbi and the presbyter. The one was to suffer virtual rejection, the other was the source of fresh development.

(2) Rabbi

Rabbi was in origin a form of address implying respect and reverence. The teacher was addressed in this way by his students, 'My lord', 'Master'. Subsequently, after the fall of Jerusalem, with the development of Talmudic Judaism, rabbi was transformed into a title used of distinguished teachers of the law. In the New Testament it is found only in the Gospels, and there only in Mark and John as a form of conventional address. In Mark it is used of Jesus by Peter at the transfiguration, and again at the withered fig tree, and by Judas at the arrest of Jesus. In John it is used more often, which on the face of it is surprising in view of his antagonistic attitude towards the Jews. It is used of John the Baptist by his disciples, and several times of Jesus first by the disciples of John, then by Nathanael, by Nicodemus, by his disciples, and by the crowd. John thus cites enough instances to suggest, perhaps ironically, that Jesus was regularly addressed as Rabbi.

Nevertheless in the first instance he explains that rabbi means didaskalos, teacher. Nicodemus also uses both terms: 'Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God'. So the term is perhaps fading in Christian usage. A further example of this is in

1 Mk 13:1f, Mt 24:1f, Lk 21:5f
2 Mk 14:57f, Mt 26:60f, cp.Jn 2:19
3 Mk 15:29, Mt 27:39
4 Mk 15:38, Mt 27:51, Lk 23:45
5 Heb 4:14 - 5:10, 7:1 - 8:6
6 Heb 9:11-28
7 Jn 9:5
8 Mk 11:21
9 Mk 14:45
10 Jn 3:26
11 Jn 1:38
12 Jn 1:49
13 Jn 3:2
14 Jn 4:31; 9:2; 11:8
15 Jn 6:25
16 Rabboni (Mk 10:51, Jn 20:16) is not significantly different from Rabbi.
the transfiguration paragraph. Thus Mark: 'Rabbi, it is good for us to be here'; 1
Matthew: 'Lord [kyrie], it is good for us to be here' 2, and Luke: 'Master [epistata], it is
good for us to be here'. 3 Rabbi indeed is totally absent from the Gentile orientated
Luke-Acts. Furthermore, in Matthew it is specifically rejected. For him rabbi is
reserved for the Pharisaic teachers of the law, but repudiated for Christians: 'But be
not ye called Rabbi: for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren'. 4 And if Matthew
has Judas address Jesus as Rabbi, this reflects more the alienation of Judas than his
regard for Jesus. 5

The term rabbi was in short surrendered to Judaism. But it had in the New Testament
two common Greek equivalents, namely kyrios and didaskalos. Didaskalos is
frequently used of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, though not - in the vocative - in
John. The didaskalos is mentioned a few times in the Epistles, usually in association
with apostle or prophet or both. This usage too fades. But kyrios is a different case.
In the vocative, the equivalent of rabbi, it is extremely common in the Gospels, and
needless to say is reserved for Jesus. But the nominative, Ho Kyrios, the Lord, makes
its appearance once in Mark, a dozen times in Matthew, and more frequently in Luke
especially in the later chapters. It is rarely used by John in the first nineteen chapters,
but several times in the resurrection chapters. Ho Kyrios, the Lord, is extremely
common in Acts and the Epistles. But since this title is used in the Old Testament, in
the Septuagint, of God, Ho Kyrios used of Jesus becomes a vital aspect of
Christology. For this reason Kyrios as the equivalent of rabbi never passed into the
language or order in the Apostolic Church.

(3) Presbyter

Presbyter, however, the second Jewish category that we need to notice, has a very
different history. In itself the term presbyteros is a comparative, and as such is
ambiguous. It means both an older man and an official in the community. The
nuance of meaning has therefore to be determined by the context. But the institution
of the eldership is ancient, and is found throughout the Old Testament from the
Yahwist and Elohist sources onwards. The New Testament shows that the elders
formed part of the constitution of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, and of the local
community organized in relation to the synagogue. The presbyterate was therefore far
more enduring, for example, than the monarchy. Accordingly it is no surprise that the
presbyterate, given the break between the synagogue and the Church, persisted in the
life of the Christian communities.

In Christian writings at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second the
Christian presbyter figures prominently as an official in the churches. In the Epistle
of James, a product of the old (Jewish) wisdom tradition, 'the presbyters of the
Church' form the corporate rulership of the Church. In the context of sickness, sin,
and prayer, all related to one another, they have a corporate office in the anointing of
the sick, 'and the Lord will raise him'. 6 It is clear then that the presbyters of the

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1 Mk 9:5
2 Mt 17:4
3 Lk 9:33
4 Mt 23:5-8
5 Mt 26:25, 49
6 Jas 5:13-18
Church are not merely administrators of goods and property, but also of the Church's spirituality.

This basic role of the presbyterate in the order of salvation appears also in Acts, Titus, 1 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Polycarp. Luke in Acts represents the Christian presbyterate as the counterpart of the Jewish. It thus forms part of the Christian council in Jerusalem under James, in association with apostles, and is the ruling body in the local churches of Asia Minor. Titus is bidden to appoint presbyters in every city in Crete, and the author of 1 Peter addresses himself as a sympresbyteros in Babylon to the presbyters and the elect of the Diaspora in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. 2 John is addressed by the presbyter to 'the elect Kyria and her children' (i.e. the Church), and 3 John by the presbyter to the beloved Gaius.

(4) The wider context

The presbyterate is not however the sole stratum of order in the Church. For contemporaneously with these writings the presbyterate is seen in other writings in association with other strata. First on the scene here perhaps is 1 Timothy. The author, after outlining the dangers that beset the Church, turns his attention to the life of the Church intra muros, and specifically to its leadership, and to the character of the bishop and deacons. But their office evidently does not replace that of the presbyterate, for later on the author has some advice for presbyters, and then for widows as well. At this date, therefore, the order of the Church embraces, in addition to Paul the apostle of Christ Jesus and Timothy, in whom is 'the gift of God' 'through the laying on of his hands', the bishop and deacons, presbyters and widows, and the men and women of the Church of the living God.

Much the same ground, in regard to order, is traversed in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Church at Philippi. Polycarp himself is addressed by Ignatius as the bishop of the Church of the Smyrnaeans, and Polycarp in writing to the Philippians associates the presbyters with himself. He has a word to say to the Church as a whole, to wives and widows, to deacons and to presbyters. Faith and truth in the Church, so ordered, are derived from 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal High-priest himself the [Son of] God Jesus Christ'; and a special role therein, he says, is exemplified in Ignatius the bishop, and before him in Paul 'and the rest of the

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1 Ac 11:30; 15:2,4,6,22,23, 16:4; 21:18
2 Ac 14:23, 20:17
3 Tit 1:5
4 1 Pet 1:1,5; 5:1,5
5 2 Jn 1
6 3 Jn 1
7 1 Tim 3:1-13
8 1 Tim 5:1-20
9 1 Tim 1:1f
10 2 Tim 1:6
11 1 Tim 3:15
12 Ign. Pol.1
13 Ign. Pol.1
14 Ign. Pol.3-6
15 Ign. Pol.12

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It seems likely that these developments in order are to be related to the bishops and deacons mentioned in Paul's address to the Church in Philippi, although it is not possible to define that relationship.

Belonging to the same area, and approximately to the same date, is the Apocalypse of John. This is addressed to the seven churches of Asia. Setting before them the glory of heaven and the triumph of the Lamb, it exhorts them to endurance (as repeatedly in the Epistle of Polycarp) in the face of persecution. The heavenly court is constituted by the four living creatures and the twenty four presbyters around the throne, and is pre-existent. The redeemed who share in this glory are the hundred and forty and four thousand of the twelve tribes of Israel, and the numberless multitude out of every nation. They have their place in the heavenly Jerusalem, whose gates bear the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, and whose walls are built on the foundations of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. While the constitution of the heavenly Jerusalem and its court is not directly related to the constitution of the churches of Asia, heaven and earth are integrally related in a hierarchy that is experienced on earth. There are common categories.

The order of the churches at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second receives increased definition in the Epistles of Ignatius. He lays great stress on the unity of the churches in the face of teachers who set up dissident conventicles. This unity is found in Jesus Christ, and received from God the Father. But it is mediated through the threefold order of bishop, presbyters (or presbyterate), and deacons. 'Apart from these', he says, 'there is not even the name of a church'. Ignatius does not go far beyond 1 Timothy and Polycarp, and it is unlikely that the churches to whom he wrote were strangers to the order he so strongly commended. It is true that this unity was to be expressed in faith and love, rooted in the very stuff of the incarnation, the flesh and blood of Christ. Yet this unity is realized especially in the eucharist. 'Obey the bishop and the presbyterate without distraction of mind, breaking one bread which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ'. 'Be ye careful therefore to observe one eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in his blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbyterate and the deacons my fellow-servants; that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God'. It is not too much to say that order in the Church has been finally determined in the eucharist celebrated by the bishop in communion with the presbyterate, the deacons, and the people.

1 Ign. Pol.9  
2 Cp.Isa 24:23  
3 Revn 7  
4 Revn 21:9-27  
5 Ign. Phil.5:2  
6 Ign. Eph.14:1  
7 Ign. Trall.3:1  
9 Ign. Trall.8:1  
10 Ign. Eph.20  
11 Ign. Phil.4  
12 Ign. Smyrn. 8
Order

The first Epistle of Clement reveals a slightly different stage of development in Church order from that of the Epistles of Ignatius. The question at issue was the ejection of presbyters by the church in Corinth, and 1 Clement was written in the name of the Roman church to restore the proper order of the Church in Corinth. This order has been laid down by the Lord. It is seen especially in the way in which the Church is drawn up for leitourgia, for worship. The Lord has determined where and by whom the prospherai and the leitourgiai are to be rendered, and his statutes conform to the order of old: 'Unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office has been appointed, and upon the levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances'. This is the model for the economy of the Church, which indeed is no novelty. God wills a due order: Christ is from God, the Apostles are from Christ; the Apostles appointed their first-fruits to be the bishops and deacons of those who believe. These bishops were appointed to minister to the flock of Christ, and to offer the gifts. They are not clearly distinguishable from the presbyters. In this respect, indeed, 1 Clement differs from Ignatius. But the situation is the same as that found in the supplementary sections of the Didache, where bishops and deacons are to be appointed where formerly itinerant prophets and teachers had served.

In the period following the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 Church and Synagogue separated. In both, the ancient institution of the presbyterate continued to serve. But in the Church it was developed to give liturgical expression to the kerygma. The kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ became the mode of the Church's worship, and the structure of the Church was ordered to that end.

(v) Major and minor orders in the Church

In the synagogue liturgy and in domestic prayers and grace at meals, it did not fall to any one person in virtue of office to introduce prayer. Thus the Mishnah tractate Berakoth, while it is concerned with the recitation of the Shema` and the Eighteen Benedictions, says nothing about the person who introduces them. With grace at meals, even the paterfamilias invited someone else to take the lead. A similar practice seems to underlie the reference to abuses in prayer in the church in Corinth in Paul's time. But as the synagogue prayer tradition underwent Christological transformation in the Church, a different practice supervened. Not only was the sermon reserved to the apostle, prophet or teacher, but authority in the exposition of the word extended to

1 1 Clem 1:1, 47:6
2 taxis, 1 Clem 40:1
3 despotes, ib.
4 1 Clem 40:5 (tr. J.B. Lightfoot)
5 1 Clem 42
6 1 Clem 44
7 1 Clem 44:4-5, 47:6
8 Did 14,15
9 1 Cor 14:26
authority in the offering of the eucharistic prayer. The precedent for this development lay in the supper tradition, in which Jesus himself, and not any of the disciples, pronounced the blessing and gave thanks. In the nature of the case, the eucharistic words were his. Christ was the leitourgos, the hiereus, in the sacrificial rite that was constitutive of the life of the Church. The Church therefore developed from the Synagogue as an ordered liturgical institution, with its own hierarchical rite of redemption.

In the first account of the Sunday liturgy, in Justin's *First Apology*, the lessons from the Gospels or the Old Testament are read by the reader, the first of the minor orders to be reported.¹ The proestos then delivers the homily. After the prayers, bread and wine are brought to him - by whom Justin does not say - and then he, standing before God, addresses to God the eucharistic prayer. The distribution of the eucharist follows - by whom again Justin does not say - and it is carried to those who are absent by the deacons. Such is the order of the church celebrating the liturgy on the day that commemorates the beginning of creation and Christ's resurrection from the dead.

A generation later Irenaeus dwells on the importance of the bishop in the order of the Church. His succession from the apostles secures the continuity and openness of the tradition. The naming of the bishops in the succession lists of the churches, like the listing of the fathers in the Mishnah tractate Aboth,² is a guarantee of the tradition. He cites, by way of example, the names of the bishops of Rome in succession from the apostles Peter and Paul: Linus, Anencletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hygenus, Pius, Anicetus and Soter.³ And although he does not mention the proestos of the liturgy, it must be a safe inference that the bishop is the principal offerer in the eucharist. The Church offers to God 'the first-fruits of his creation', but the bread of the Church's offering is the body of her Lord, and the cup of his blood; and so the Church 'offers the things which are his own'.⁴ In this offering the bishop, though closely associated with the presbyterate, is distinguished from it in virtue of his succession from the apostles.

In the earliest liturgical text, that of *Apostolic Tradition*, the bishop is first ordained by the imposition of hands and by prayer, and then proceeds at once to the offering of the Church's gifts in the eucharistic prayer:

> And when he has been made bishop, let every one offer him the kiss of peace, saluting him, because he has been made worthy.

> To him then let the deacons bring the oblation, and he with all the presbyters laying his hand on the oblation shall say, giving thanks: The Lord be with you.⁵

- and the sursum corda follows.

These major orders of bishop, presbyter and deacon, were normative in the life of the Church. They were however supplemented by minor orders, of which the earliest, as we have already seen, was the reader or lector. All of them arose in connexion with the Church's liturgy, both baptismal and eucharistic, although their number varied

¹ Unless he is also referred to in Mk 13:14.
² M.Ab.1:4-15
³ Irenaeus, *Adv.Haer.* III.iii.2
⁵ *Ap. Trad.* ed. Dix ii.i-iv.3 (pp.2-7), ed. Botte 2-4 (pp.4-10), ed. Hanssens art.23-24 (vol.II, pp.68-77).
with place and time. Thus the sub-deacon was appointed to assist the deacon both in his liturgical and pastoral duties. The exorcist had an important role in the preparation of the catechumens for baptism at Easter. The deaconess assisted in the baptism of women in East Syria, Antioch and Byzantium from the date of Didascalia Apostolorum until adult baptism was superseded by infant baptism. Acolytes¹ assisted in the liturgy in various ways, such as the carrying of lights and helping with the oblations. The psalmist or cantor sustained the chants of the mass. The door-keeper was responsible for excluding from the eucharistic liturgy those who had not yet been baptized. Widows and virgins, provided for by the church, contributed to the prayer and life of the church by a life of prayer.

### Synopsis: Orders in the East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apostolic Tradition</th>
<th>Serapion</th>
<th>Apostolic Constitutions</th>
<th>Corpus Juris Civilis</th>
<th>Didascalia Apostolorum</th>
<th>Narsai Lit. Homilies</th>
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<tr>
<td>2-13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>VIII 4-5, 16-26</td>
<td>Novellae iii.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>xvii,xxii,xxi,xxii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt 3rd century</td>
<td>Egypt c. 340</td>
<td>Antioch c. 380/390</td>
<td>Byzantium 533</td>
<td>Edessa(?) mid 3rd century</td>
<td>Nisibis end 5th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bishop</th>
<th>bishop</th>
<th>bishop</th>
<th>bishop</th>
<th>priest²</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>presbyter</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
<td>presbyter (60)</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confessor</td>
<td>deacon</td>
<td>deacon</td>
<td>deacon (100)</td>
<td>deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deacon</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
<td>sub-deacon (90)</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[infra]</td>
<td>lector</td>
<td>lector</td>
<td>lector (110)</td>
<td>lector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>[infra]</td>
<td>[infra]</td>
<td>[infra]</td>
<td>[infra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
<td>interpreter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>monks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[supra]</td>
<td>virgins</td>
<td>virgin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[supra]</td>
<td>widows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[supra]</td>
<td></td>
<td>assistants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The word acolyte is derived from the Greek word 'to follow', although the order was unknown in the East.
² Celebrant of baptismal eucharist, =bishop. Connolly p.7
³ =presbyters. Connolly p.9
⁴ Connolly p.79
## Synopsis: Orders in the West

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cornelius</th>
<th>Statuta</th>
<th>Sacr. Gel.</th>
<th>OR XXXIV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Eusebius HE VI xliii 11,12</em></td>
<td><em>Ecclesiae Antiqua</em></td>
<td><em>Var. Reg. 316</em></td>
<td><em>Rome</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Gaul</td>
<td>Rome/Gaul</td>
<td>Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.250</td>
<td>5th century</td>
<td>c.750</td>
<td>c.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presbyter (46)</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
<td>presbyter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deacons (7)</td>
<td>deacon</td>
<td>deacon</td>
<td>deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-deacons (7)</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
<td>sub-deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acolytes (42)</td>
<td>exorcist</td>
<td>exorcist</td>
<td>exorcist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lectors</td>
<td>lector</td>
<td>lector</td>
<td>lector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doorkeepers</td>
<td>doorkeeper</td>
<td>doorkeeper</td>
<td>doorkeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widows etc. (1500)</td>
<td>virgo &amp; vidua</td>
<td>virgo &amp; vidua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rome and Gaul are the primary locations mentioned in the synopsis, with Rome being the most frequently referenced place. The document notes the presence of various roles such as bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers, each with their respective numbers and types mentioned. The document also highlights the period ranging from c.250 to the 5th century, with Rome being a significant location throughout this period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OR XXXV</th>
<th>OR XXXVI</th>
<th>Sacramentarium Gregorianum</th>
<th>Supplement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rome/Gaul</td>
<td>Gaul</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Gaul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.950</td>
<td>end 9th/10th century</td>
<td>784/791</td>
<td>c.820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- bishop
- presbyter
- deacon
- sub-deacon
- acolyte
- lector

- diaconissae &
- presbyterissae
- become such by
- the ordination
- of their husbands\(^1\)
- also wives of bishops\(^2\).
Priesthood in the Church

The development of order in the Church accompanied the extension from Judaism to Christianity of the language of worship, that is to say, of sacrifice, priesthood and temple. This language was applied first to Christ, and then to Christians. It is scarcely a matter for surprise, since the spirit of worship was imbued with the concept of sacrifice not only in Israel, but also in the Gentile world. Indeed when sacrifice ceased in the Temple in Jerusalem, it was continued in another mode in the Church.

The earliest formulation of the language of sacrifice in the Church lay in the proclamation of the death of Christ. In the pericope in Mark and Matthew of the request of the sons of Zebedee for the places of honour by the side of Jesus in his glory, the suffering of Jesus is foreshadowed in terms of drinking the cup and being 'baptized', and finally his sacrificial death: 'The Son of man came ... to give his life a ransom for many'. Closely related to this saying is the saying over the cup at the last supper: [Mark] 'And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said to them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many [Matthew adds: 'for the remission of sins']'. The language here is the language of sacrifice: the blood of the covenant referring to the covenant sacrifices at Sinai; blood 'shed' referring to the pouring of the blood at the base of the altar; shed 'for many', by way of substitution; and to atone for sin. The content of sacrifice in these words is underlined by their association with the saying over the bread, [Mark, Matthew] 'This is my body'; for the distinction between body and blood connotes the separation of the blood from the body in the act of sacrifice.

The supper tradition reached St Paul in a version slightly different from that in Mark and Matthew, and akin to that in Luke. The saying over the bread was extended in a compressed formula: 'This is my body which is for you.' Attempts to elucidate this formula appear in various manuscripts: 'broken for you', as in the breaking of bread; 'broken pieces' 'for you'; and 'given for you'. But in each case the death of Christ is understood as a substitutionary sacrifice. Paul similarly received the tradition of the death and resurrection of Christ also with a substitutionary formula: 'I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.' This understanding of the death of Christ as an atoning sacrifice entered deeply into Paul's thought. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ gave himself for our sins.' 'Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him.' Perhaps in this connexion we should also understand the divine-human commercium: 'though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich.' For while poverty here refers

1 For the meaning here, cp.Ps 42:7, 69:1; Isa 43:2; Jonah 2:2-5
3 Mk 14:23f, Mt 26:27f, Lk 22:20
4 Exod 24:5-8
5 Cp.Lev 4:7,18,30, etc.
6 See Metzger, op. cit., ad loc.
7 1 Cor 15:3
8 Gal 1:4
9 2 Cor 5:21 RV
10 2 Cor 8:9
Order

primarily to worldly existence, and 'becoming poor' to the incarnation, the depth of this poverty is experienced in death, which Christ undergoes 'for our sakes'. The sacrificial death of Christ is mentioned recurrently in Romans: 'God set forth Christ Jesus to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood';¹ Jesus our Lord was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification;² as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness [i.e. the death of Christ] the free gift came unto all men to justification of life;³ and again, 'what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as an offering for sin, condemned sin in the flesh'.⁴ The death of Christ as a sacrifice for sin is thus for Paul the foundation of his Christology.

An exceptionally concentrated expression of the death of Christ in terms of sacrifice occurs in Ephesians: 'Christ loved you and gave himself up on your behalf, an offering and sacrifice whose fragrance is pleasing to God'.⁵ Here the regular substitutionary formula 'for us' is associated with the usual words for sacrifice, prosphora and thusia, coupled this time with the quotation of the words for the burnt offering at the ordination of Aaron and his sons.⁶

The approach to the sacrifice of Christ in the Fourth Gospel is, as one would expect, along distinctive lines. The whole work of Christ is described upon the background of the festal calendar, made up of the feasts of obligation plus Dedication. It is as though these feasts wait for their realization in Christ. But this realization occurs specifically in the feast of the Passover. He is the Lamb of God,⁷ who is sentenced to death at the hour for the slaughtering of the paschal lambs in the Temple.⁸ It is consistent with this typology that the Evangelist's quotation of scripture following the death of Christ - 'A bone of him shall not be broken' - should be understood as referring to the passover lamb.⁹

The same word for lamb¹⁰ is used of Christ in 1 Peter 1:19, where it is coupled with the term 'blameless'¹¹ used of the unblemished sacrificial victims in the levitical sacrifices.¹² 'Unblemished' is used of Christ's self-offering in Hebrews: 'how much more will the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish unto God, purify our conscience from dead works to worship the living God?'¹³

¹ Rom 3:25
² Rom 4:25
³ Rom 5:18. (NRSV: 'just as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man's act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all.').
⁴ Rom 8:3
⁵ Eph 5:2 REB
⁶ Exod 29:18
⁷ Jn 1:29,36
⁸ Jn 19:14
⁹ Jn 19:36; Exod 12:10 (LXX), 46; Num 9:12. See the discussion, for example, in Schnackenburg, comm., ad loc.
¹⁰ amnos
¹¹ amomos
¹² e.g. Lev 1:3, 12:6, 23:12; Num 6:14, 28:3, 29:2; etc.
¹³ Heb 9:14 NRSV
Revelation uses a synonym for the Greek word for 'lamb'.

The writer's preference for this word is probably to be explained by the distinctive character of his Greek, for it is of rare occurrence in the Septuagint. Since, however, he speaks of 'the Lamb as though it had been slain,' there is clearly no difference in meaning. The writer uses the word of Christ no fewer than twenty-eight times, and therefore the sacrificial death of Christ is central to his Christology.

Up to this point we have been discussing the concept of sacrifice with reference to Christ in the cultic language of the New Testament. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, however, the language is extended to include priest and high priest. These terms are probably already part of the Christian liturgical tradition. But in Hebrews they constitute the substance of the Christology. In chapter 7 the priesthood of Christ is set out in relation to the priesthood of Melchizedek and the Levitical priesthood. In chapters 8 to 10 the salvific effects of Christ's self-sacrifice are expounded.

Now the Church not only understood the death of Christ in terms of sacrifice and priesthood, but it began to think of itself in similar language. Thus St Paul appealed to the Christians in Rome: 'I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, well-pleasing to God, your spiritual worship.' He reminds them of his own vocation 'to be a liturgical minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, consecrated by the Holy Spirit.' The Church itself, in Revelation, made by Christ, through his own sacrifice, to be 'a kingdom, and priests serving his God and Father.' Similarly in 1 Peter the Christian Diaspora is to be 'a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.' It is to be 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation.'

Finally in reviewing the cultic language of the New Testament the word for temple, naos, remains to be considered. It is less frequently used indeed than the parallel term hieron; but hieron is never used of the Jerusalem Temple in the Septuagint, leaving naos common to both the Greek Old Testament and the New. It is naos that is transferred from Jerusalem to the Church.

Most commonly naos is used of the Temple of God. St Paul speaks of the Church in Corinth as the Temple of God: 'Do you not know that you are God's Temple and that the Spirit of God dwells in you. If any man destroys the Temple of God, God will destroy him: for the Temple of God is holy - you yourselves.' And again: 'What agreement has the Temple of God with idols? - for we are the Temple of the living God'.

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1  arnion: Revn 5:6, etc.
2  Revn 5:6,9,12; 13:8
3  See Harold W. Attridge, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 97-103.
4  *High priest* is used of Christ seventeen times, and *priest* fourteen times.
5  Rom 12:1
6  Rom 15:16
7  Revn 1:6. Also 5:10, 20:6
8  1 Pet 2:5
9  1 Pet 2:9 (=Exod 19:6[LXX 23:22])
10 TWNT III 230ff., IV 880ff
11 1 Cor 3:16f
12 2 Cor 6:16, Revn 11:19

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In Revelation the Temple is the Temple of God in heaven. It is filled with angelic beings, but also with the faithful: 'He that overcometh [Satan], I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God'. Similarly, the great multitude out of every nation, 'who have come out of the great tribulation, and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, stand before the throne of God, and worship him day and night in his Temple; and he who sits on the throne will spread his tabernacle over them'. The angels come forth from the Temple of God for the judgment of the world. And finally the Temple in heaven is none other than 'the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb'.

In the Fourth Gospel, in the foreshadowing of the death of Jesus at the beginning of the Gospel, the image of the Temple is transferred to him: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up"... But he spake of the temple of his body. In Ephesians Christians collectively are built up into a holy Temple in the Lord, which surely means Christ, for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

The Greek Old Testament word for 'tabernacle' or 'tent of meeting' is used in both the noun and verb form in Hebrews and Revelation. Most strikingly perhaps it is used of the Word made flesh 'tabernacling' among us in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

This brief review of the evidence may help us to see how deeply the cultic and liturgical concepts from Israel's past suffused the prayer and thought of the Church. Although the Levitical priesthood and its sacrifices ceased with the destruction of the Temple, it bequeathed to the Church a way of entering into the mystery of Christ. It is overwhelmingly more extensive than for example the phrase 'the body of Christ' which has played so large a part in modern theology, and which indeed is itself perhaps to be understood in a cultic sense as the sacrificial body of Christ.

Now while the vocabulary of sacrifice originated with the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ, the vocabulary of priesthood was not assimilated to the order of the Church until order was itself consolidated. Indeed throughout the second and third centuries, in which order was rested on election and vocation, the idea of an inherited priesthood, inseparable from the Levitical priesthood, continued to inhibit the adoption of a priestly vocabulary. Moreover the association of priesthood in the Gentile world with the bloody sacrifices of pagan cults was a further deterrent. But once paganism was overcome by Christianity, it was possible for Greek and Latin religious language to be Christianized and liberated from past usage.

The liturgical terminology of the third century was still the hierarchical terminology of bishop, presbyter and deacon. But in the fourth century the bishop began to be called hierex and sacerdos. Thus, in the East, Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the bishop as hierex, the priest:

1 Revn 11:19
2 Revn 3:12 RV
3 Revn 7:14f
4 Revn 14:15,17; 15:5-8; 16:1,17
5 Revn 21:22
6 Jn 2:19,21
7 Eph 2:19-21. See also 1 Cor 6:19.
8 Noun: 10 times in Heb., 3 times in Revn. Verb: 4 times in Revn.
9 Jn 1:14
You have seen then the deacon giving water for the washing of hands to the priest, and to the presbyters who stand encircling the place of sacrifice.¹

And again,

After this the priest cries, 'Lift up your hearts.' ... Then the priest says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord'.²

At Antioch, in the Apostolic Constitutions Christ is said to be 'first, by nature, high priest'.³

But after his ascension, for the offering of 'the pure and unbloody sacrifice', bishops, presbyters and deacons have been appointed.⁴ Accordingly the bishop, who is the celebrant of the eucharist, is called 'the high priest', and the presbyters who stand around and concelebrate with him are called 'priests'.⁵

Similarly in the West at the same epoch Ambrose speaks of the bishop as sacerdos, the priest. In his De Sacramentis he distinguishes between the words of the priest and the words of Christ.⁶ The priest says, 'Grant us that this oblation be approved, ratified, spiritual, acceptable, because it is the figura of the body and blood of Christ'. He offers, in the name of the Church - offerimus. But the words 'Take and eat this all of you, for this is my body which shall be broken for many', and 'Take and drink ye all of this, for this is my blood' - these are the words of Christ. He is offered - corpus est Christi.⁷

But while the terminology of priesthood is now and for the future applied to the hierarchical terms of bishop and presbyter, the sacrifice which is offered is said to be 'unbloody', anaimaktos.⁸ Cyril of Jerusalem calls it 'the spiritual [pneumatikos] sacrifice, the unbloody [anaimaktos] worship'.⁹ Ambrose, making the same point, uses the Latin word rationabilis,¹⁰ of which the Greek equivalent is logikos, belonging to the same realm as logos. The Latin text of the central paragraphs of the eucharistic prayer quoted by Ambrose is that of the Latin canon of the Roman Church: 'We offer to thee this immaculate host, this spiritual host, this unbloody host, this holy bread and cup of eternal life'.¹¹ Underlying this Latin text is the text of a Greek anaphoral prayer, hitherto in use in Rome and Milan, which was probably closely related to the Greek anaphoral prayers in use in Alexandria and Antioch. In the fourth or fifth century text of the liturgy of St Mark in the Strasbourg Papyrus 254, logikos and anaimaktos are brought together:

giving thanks to thee, we offer to thee this spiritual sacrifice, this unbloody worship.¹²

¹ Myst. Cat. 5:2
² Myst. Cat. 5:4, 5:5
⁴ Ap. Const. VIII. 46:15
⁵ Ap. Const. VIII. 12:4-5
⁶ De Sacr. 4:13,14
⁷ De Sacr. 4:21,22
⁸ Ap. Const. VIII. 46:15
⁹ Myst. Cat. 5:8
¹⁰ De Sacr. 4:21
¹¹ De Sacr. 5:27. 'Hostia'.
¹² Hänggi and Pahl, PE 116
'This spiritual and unbloody worship' remains the formula of oblation in the Alexandrian and Byzantine tradition.\(^1\) In the texts of the Latin canon of the eighth century onwards, however, the words 'spiritual' (\textit{logikos} = rationabilis) and 'unbloody' (\textit{anaimaktos}) have disappeared, probably because the yoking of \textit{hostia} and bread and cup as the object of the verb 'we offer' ensures that the Church's sacrifice cannot be confused with the bloody pagan sacrifices of a past era.

Thus, finally, in the Catholic tradition of the eucharist the distinctions of apostolic order in the Church, deriving ultimately from the first century, have been enriched from the sacrificial content of the death of Christ. The celebrant of the eucharistic sacrifice, whether bishop or presbyter, is the priest.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(vii) The dis-integration of order}
\item The order of the Church is exhibited in the liturgy, in the rites of redemption, and is orientated in Christ towards God; and this order was in the course of the second century, as we have seen, finally settled and constituted in terms of the bishop, the presbyterate, the diaconate and the laity. Changes in the liturgy in the middle ages however were accompanied by changes in order.
\item The bishop was, in the language of \textit{Apostolic Tradition}, both the high priest of the gifts of the Church and the shepherd of Christ's flock.\(^2\) There was but the one bishop in each church. But as the Church grew in numbers, so did the number of presbyters and deacons, and indeed the number of orders. Thus in \textit{Apostolic Tradition} the sub-deacon was introduced to assist the deacon, and the reader to read the lessons in the liturgy. Confessors were also recognized among the orders of the Church. Widows were enrolled, and had special obligations in the life of prayer. Virgins voluntarily offered themselves in the same vocation.\(^3\) A similar range of orders is found in Serapion, with the addition of interpreters (for a bilingual region) and monks. \textit{Apostolic Tradition} is the foundation of the section on ordination in \textit{Apostolic Constitutions}, where two further categories however are found, namely those of deaconess and exorcist. The deaconess appeared in East Syria in the middle of the third century in connexion with the baptism of women.\(^4\) Two additional orders are mentioned in the \textit{novella} of Justinian I regulating the numbers of those in orders of the Great Church, that is, serving Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene in Byzantium, and those are the psalmists and the door-keepers.\(^5\)
\item In the West there was a similar expansion of minor orders beyond the holy orders of bishop, presbyter and deacon. Peculiar to the West was the acolyte. Although not known in the East, the word is derived from the Greek \textit{akolouthos}, meaning follower.
\end{itemize}

\(^{1}\) Hänggi and Pahl, PE 102 (Mark), 226 (Chrysostom)
\(^{2}\) \textit{Ap. Trad.} 3
\(^{3}\) \textit{Ap. Trad.} 2-13
\(^{5}\) \textit{Corpus Juris Civilis: Novellae} iii.1
The acolyte is subordinate to the sub-deacon, and shares similar duties. It should be noted in passing that the Western *diaconissa* and *presbyterissa* were not related to the Byzantine and East Syrian deaconess. She was simply the wife of a deacon or presbyter, and was accorded this recognition on the ordination of her husband.\(^1\)

The growth in the number of minor orders and of those admitted to the orders was governed by the need to provide both liturgically and pastorally, for the growth in the numbers of the faithful, in the great basilicas of the capitals and urban centres of the Church. But the principle of 'one bishop in the (local) Catholic Church' remained. This secured the unity of the local church, and facilitated the communion of local churches with one another. The development of synods and provincial and oecumenical councils, attended by bishops, maintained the faith and order of the Church in the face of heresy.

Nevertheless the relationship of the bishop to his flock was often transformed. Augustine with his familia under one roof continued to be in direct touch with the faithful in Hippo. But Ambrose's relationship to the Church in Milan was more like the relationship of a provincial governor to the local population. In Rome the unity of the church was met by the pope sending the *fermentum*, the *eucharistia* of his consecration, to the titular churches of the city to be mingled with the *eucharistia* of the presbyteral masses. But while this practice served the tituli of Rome, it was not possible to extend it to the churches *in parochia* beyond the city walls. Presbyteral churches generally, at a distance from the cathedral church, necessarily lived in a degree of separation from the bishop.

This anomaly increased in Gaul and northern Europe where evangelisation spread more and more distantly from the great urban sees. The multiplication of presbyteral churches at a distance from the cathedral church went hand in hand with the tendency of Benedictine abbeys to become communities of priests. Thus the medieval Church became a Presbyteral Church with episcopal oversight. Rarely did the faithful see their bishop to receive the sacraments at his hands. The unity of order in the Church, expressed in the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies, had therefore in the later middle ages suffered dis-integration.

In this respect, as in others, the reformers of the sixteenth century did but carry the developments of the later middle ages a stage further. Where the episcopate was abandoned, this resulted not only from the close association of the bishops with the papacy, whose authority was rejected, but also from the dissociation of the bishops from the normal experience of priests and people in the liturgy. In England the episcopate was part of the Tudor despotism. Continuity in the State required continuity in the Church. This accounts at least in part for the conservative character of the English reformation. The bishops who sat in the House of Lords behaved like lords in their dioceses, with priests and people as commoners. The eucharistic bond between them was barely perceptible.

The threefold order of bishop, presbyter and deacon has remained a characteristic of catholic tradition in both East and West, confirmed by prayer and the imposition of the hands of the bishop. In the Byzantine rite only the minor orders of lector and cantor survive, with the sub-diaconate assimilated to the diaconate. In the Roman rite

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\(^1\) See Andrieu, *OR IV* pp.114 and 146.
the minor orders were suppressed by Pope Paul VI; but other 'ministries' were introduced into the eucharist, not by ordination but by 'institution',¹ namely that of lector in the liturgy of the word, and acolyte in the eucharistic liturgy. In the Church of England similar functions have been introduced by licence in recent years; but the most far-reaching change has been the admission of women to the diaconate and priesthood, and now contemplated in the case of the episcopate. No precedent exists for such changes in the Catholic tradition; but with the rapid and clamorous development of egalitarianism and feminism in secular life, the Church of England has found it difficult to withstand them. The dis-integration of the tradition of apostolic and catholic order in the middle ages and in the sixteenth century reformation has now been carried much further; and on this evidence it can only be a matter of time before the demand is made to extend to the laity the celebration of those liturgical acts by which the mysteries of Christ are realized in the life of the Church. The dis-integration of order would then be complete, and Marcionism, Montanism and Gnosticism will have entered into a new lease of life.

¹ A term borrowed from the versions of *Apostolic Tradition* (x-xii), though the Latin text at this point is no longer extant.
The Canon of Scripture

(i) The canon of the Old Testament

The revelation\(^1\) of the death and resurrection of Christ in the Apostolic Church had from the first its scriptural milieu. Its intelligibility depended on this background. Neither the death nor the resurrection could be understood without it. But what constituted scripture?\(^2\)

It is clear from Ecclesiasticus,\(^3\) written in the time of Simon the high priest, about 190 BC,\(^4\) that the Canon was already known in a binary form. It included the five books of Moses,\(^5\) and secondly those books which were known collectively as the prophets.\(^6\) These included the historical books from Joshua to Nehemiah, and the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. Ecclesiasticus itself was written in Hebrew as a kind of digest of Jewish history and wisdom, and was later translated into Greek by the author's grandson, Jesus son of Sirach, son of Eleazar, of Jerusalem.\(^7\) In the prologue, which ben Sirach added, besides 'the law and the prophets' a third category appears, namely 'the other books of our fathers'. But what books were included in this category at this stage it is impossible to say.

Two centuries later a threefold corpus is mentioned by Josephus in his work Against Apion.\(^8\) He too distinguishes between the law and the prophets, the five books of Moses and the thirteen books of the prophets. The latter include what we should call the historical books paired, the twelve minor prophets as one, and now the addition of Daniel. His third category is composed of hymns and precepts for the conduct of human life, i.e. the Psalms, ascribed to David, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs under the name of Solomon.\(^9\) At the end of the first century AD 2 Esdras distinguishes between twenty-four books which were to be made public and

1 Gal 1:16.
2 In the New Testament the word is used either in the singular or the plural to designate Scripture as a whole.
3 RSV Sirach
4 Ecclus 50:1
5 Ecclus 44:1 - 45:26
7 Ecclus 50:27 (text uncertain); c.132 BC. Fragments of a Hebrew text were recovered at Qumran in 1952 and at Masada in 1964.
8 Against Apion. 1:8
read by the worthy and unworthy alike, and seventy books reserved to the wise.¹ The twenty-four are the same as the twenty-two of Josephus, with a minor difference over pairing, and thus are made up of the whole of the Hebrew Old Testament, while the seventy form a separate esoteric category, the contents of which are unknown to us.

Throughout this whole period the Septuagint continued to expand beyond the limits of the law and the prophets by the acceptance of other books and fragments. Some of these originated in Hebrew, such as Tobit and Judith; the rest were composed in Greek. The earliest was Ecclesiasticus at the beginning of the second century BC, the latest 2 Esdras at the end of the first century AD. Although quotations from these texts are absent from the New Testament, there are numerous allusions and verbal parallels, especially to the books of the Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit and Wisdom, to be found throughout the New Testament.²

In the New Testament the binary canon of law and prophets seems to be taken for granted, with numerous references to it in the Gospels and Paul. At one point, however, the third category seems to be distinguished, namely in Luke 24:44f: '... all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me'. But since Luke has just referred in 24:27 to Moses and all the prophets as 'all the scriptures', it seems likely that he had in mind the same distinctions as Josephus. That is to say, the Psalms stand at the head of the sub-group related to David and Solomon within the limits of the Hebrew canon.

Thus for the writers of the New Testament the Scriptures meant primarily the Hebrew canon of the law and the prophets. For it was the law and the prophets that were read in the synagogue every Sabbath. At the same time the text of this canon was known from the Septuagint, rather than from the Hebrew, since the quotations from the Old Testament in the New generally conform to the Septuagintal text. The Hebrew text was an institutional book, the possession of the synagogue; the Greek text, perhaps of individual books, was more likely to be in the possession of individuals. While the Hebrew canon was authoritative, the Septuagintal text was nevertheless more accessible to the writers of the New Testament.

The Septuagint, however, exercised a further influence on the Apostolic Church. The acceptance of another category of writings for 'instruction and wisdom' and 'the fashioning of manners'³ served as a precedent for other books, to be set alongside Scripture, for 'teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ'.⁴

¹ 2 Esdr 14:44-48
² See GNT³, pp.898, 910f.
³ Ecclus, Prologue.
⁴ Ac 28:21
(ii) The Gospel canon

St Luke, in his prologue to the Gospel, speaks of 'many' having taken in hand to draw up a 'narrative' or record of those matters which have been fulfilled 'among us'. The rhetorical style of this prologue makes it difficult to give a precise interpretation of the text. But at least he acknowledges that he had predecessors in the work which he had undertaken. Among these we may certainly reckon Mark; but it is doubtful whether Luke knew of Matthew. We may also conjecture the collector of Q, and perhaps the compiler of the source for the passion and resurrection of Christ which Luke prefers to Mark. It may also be the case that the material incorporated in the Gospels existed in part at an early date in the form of *libelli*, such as the Sabbath day in Mark 1:21-34, the collection of parables in Mark 4:1-34, the collection of miracles in Mark 4:35 - 5:43, the nuclei of the wilderness meals, the conflict stories in Mark 11:27 - 12:40, and the apocalypse in Mark 13. If then Luke, as he says, has 'traced the course of all things accurately [or closely] from the first', it is unlikely that he remained in ignorance of these earliest formations of the tradition. Nor should we overlook, in seeking to understand the motivation for Christian writing, the background to this Christological development in the formative influence of the books of the Maccabees, now lodged in the Septuagint, with their history of the struggle for the holy sanctuary and the law, at the cost of countless deaths in battle and of martyrdom. Indeed, the existence of these and 'other books' in an open-ended canon facilitated the emergence of Christian books embodying the Christian revelation.

Mark is the first synthesis of the traditions about Christ, embodying kerygma and apocalyptic, teaching and debate, event and interpretation, acts and itineraries. It was written probably in the course of the Roman suppression of the Zealot revolt or after the destruction of the Temple at its calamitous end. In the sequel there began the reconstruction of Judaism at Jamnia under Johanan ben Zakkai, while the Apostolic Church for its part addressed itself increasingly to the Graeco-Roman world. The controversy between synagogue and church already underlies the structure of Mark; but it was intensified in the following decades, and resulted in the revision and supplementation of Mark in Matthew. For Matthew, Mark was of the highest authority, and in this relationship the formation of a Gospel canon is already evident. Matthew used practically the whole of Mark; and while he re-organized the material in the early chapters of Mark, he thereafter followed Mark's order to the end. Both freely drew on Scripture, i.e. the law and the prophets, in order to illustrate the gospel traditions both by direct quotations and by allusions; and in this method of apologetic they were surpassed only by Paul in Romans. Thus the foundations were laid for a Gospel canon that is related to Scripture, and this appears to have been the Gospel canon known to Papias (c.130).

Luke's relationship to Mark can in one way be readily defined. He is less dependent on Mark than Matthew is, using just over half of Mark, and freely re-writing what he uses. Apart from Mark he employs other sources - Q in common with Matthew, a

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1 Lk 1:3
3 OT quotations: Matthew 61, Mark 32, Romans 60; OT allusions: Matthew 54, Mark 27, Romans 275.
special source of his own for the passion and resurrection, and a considerable amount of other material for which there is no parallel in the other Gospels. Nevertheless all this material, diverse in origin though it is, is comprehended in the Marcan framework. Basically Luke has Mark's Galilean section and Mark's Jerusalem section, with an enormously expanded journey section, largely non-Mark, from Galilee to Jerusalem connecting the two.

Yet in another way Luke's relationship with Mark is different from Matthew's. For whereas Matthew is a revised edition of Mark, written for a church separating from the synagogue, Luke was written as an apologia for Christianity, addressed to a non-Christian reader, at a time when the divorce of Christianity and Judaism was becoming apparent to the Roman Imperium. Luke therefore uses Mark, along with other sources, for a different purpose. This is clearly evident when Luke's Gospel is seen in perspective with Acts. Every trial scene, from the trial of Jesus in the Gospel to the many trial scenes in Acts, finds Roman authority either protecting Christians or declaring Christians not guilty of the charges laid against them. Luke's theme is the transference of Christianity from the heart of Judaism to the heart of the Roman world - from Jerusalem to Rome. Its point of origin is the vision of Zacharias at the altar of incense that stood in the Temple in Jerusalem against the veil that concealed from view the most holy place. The closing scene in Acts finds Paul under house arrest in Rome, receiving first Jews then Gentiles, proclaiming the Kingdom of God and teaching everything to do with the Lord Jesus Christ unhindered. 'Without hindrance' is the plea of Luke to Roman authority in the spread of the Church through the world.

While we may regard Mark-Matthew as the nucleus of the Gospel canon, developed in the liturgical setting of the Church, where the Scriptures were read and interpreted, and where Christ was worshipped as in the final scene in Matthew, we can scarcely think of the canon developing steadily with the appearance of Luke-Acts as a private work addressed to the most excellent Theophilus. Indeed the question arises as to how Luke-Acts made its way back into the Church for the Gospel to be accepted as a constituent member of the Gospel canon, invariably in separation from Acts, and hence serving a purpose not originally intended by Luke.¹

Nor did the appearance of John at once advance the development of a Gospel canon. It is true that the basic scheme of Mark, first Galilee, then Jerusalem, survives in John, and that almost all the episodes in John have their counterpart in Mark-Matthew and/or Luke. Yet they are treated in John in a radically different way, with a distinctive vocabulary and idiom so that the sayings of Jesus are now differently formulated. It is true that John like the other evangelists illustrates his text from Scripture. Yet these quotations are fewer and on the whole different, and carry less weight than the enactment of the events of the Gospel upon the background of the Jewish calendar of feasts. These differences are to be explained by John's radically different understanding of the tradition. For while it may be said that in the Synoptic Gospels apocalyptic has been subordinated to the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ, in John the kerygma of the death and resurrection are rendered intelligible by the kerygma of the incarnation of the Word. For John, it may be said that the decisive event for the salvation of the world was the sending of the Son into the world by God in the incarnation, and that the death and resurrection stand in the

logic of this primordial event. Eschatology is set by John in the framework of protology. The relationship of the Son to the Father is decisive for the relationship of the world to God.

The date, place of origin and early currency of John remain opaque questions, and have to be weighed in relation to rather general considerations. John's dependence on the historical tradition, from the witness of John to the appearance of the risen Lord to his disciples, suggest his proximity to other apostolic communities. The presence of the eucharistic section in 6:51b-59, even if 'interpolated' by 'the redactor', by no means implies that the rest of the gospel is 'anti-sacramental', or that 'the redactor' has tried to rescue it for the church at a late stage. It is perfectly possible to compile a Christological statement at length, which is what John is, or briefly, as in the creeds, without formulating its relationship to the eucharist. The 'redactor' is simply expressing the connexion between his Christology and the apostolic eucharist. He lives in communion with the risen Christ, and like everybody else lives in and from the eucharistic mystery.

As for the external situation of the Church, it is not unlike that of the Church in Acts. Both Luke in Acts and John constantly refer to the Jews as a community apart from the Church and opposed to the Church. But whereas Luke addresses himself to the secular world, John confronts religious gnosticism. At what date was this stage finally reached? Perhaps we have to be content with saying that John is about the same date as Luke - whatever Luke's date is.

Much indeed has been made in modern scholarship of the affinities of John with gnosticism. Gnosticism, however, is notoriously difficult to define, since it is exhibited in innumerable coteries and systems, and from the beginning of the Christian era became widespread geographically and persistent in time. Among its characteristics are the otherness of God and the alienation of the world from him. On the basis of this experience a mythology is built up, which is itself a stranger to history. Salvation consists in deliverance from the world through knowledge of oneself in the light of the mythology. The question then arises for modern scholarship whether John gnosticizes Christianity or Christianizes gnosticism. John first comes on to the scene, so far as our present information goes, in a gnostic context. But this tells us little about the currency of John among Christian communities, or how John so soon thereafter emerged as one of the pillars of orthodoxy in the Church. If John is compared with, let us say, the Apocryphon of John, one of the Nag Hammadi tractates and dating from about AD 140, it is at once apparent that John is controlled not by mythical speculation, but by the historical tradition.

The Gospels were written as separate documents, and were in use separately in the churches. There is little evidence of their use by the Apostolic Fathers, and less evidence that they knew more than one. Papias (c.AD 130) knew of the existence of Mark and Matthew, without knowing, it seems, the text of either; but he clearly set greater store on the oral transmission of the tradition from the apostles and elders, for I supposed that things out of books [biblia] did not profit me so much as the

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1 71 times in Jn 80 times in Ac (cp. 24 times in Paul).
utterances of a voice which liveth and abideth'.  Marcion (c.AD 145) founded his school on the repudiation of the Old Testament, a mutilated version of one Gospel, the Gospel according to Luke, and an expurgated version of the epistles of Paul.

The first mention of a Gospel corpus is in Justin's first Apology (c.AD 155), in which he gives an outline of the Sunday synaxis: ‘the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read’. 2 The memoirs of the apostles are, in Justin's usage, the Gospels; the prophets probably mean the Old Testament. The Gospels certainly include Matthew, Mark and Luke; but it is open to question whether he knew John. Gospels and prophets are referred to as though they were alternatives, but the Gospels are mentioned first as though by now of prime importance.

Before the end of the second century, however, a fourfold Gospel canon had been established. Irenaeus is insistent upon there being four, though indifferent about their order, listing them first as Mark, Luke, Matthew and John, and then as John, Luke, Matthew and Mark. His argument that there should be four Gospels, neither more nor less, rests on conceits that may seem to us to have little power - four habitable zones of the world, four winds, four pillars of the Church; but it is intended to vindicate John which some reject, and to exclude the Valentinian Gospel of Truth which had recently appeared. 4 The Muratorian fragment, of Roman origin if indeed as early as the end of the second century, lists all the books received in the Church. The beginning of the text is defective, but it implies Mark and presupposes Matthew. Luke and John follow. The papyrus codex P45 early in the third century originally included all four Gospels and Acts. From this point at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third the Gospel canon was complete and closed.

The impulse for its formation was to give breadth to the historical tradition, and to reject later compositions embodying speculation and mythical tendencies. Incorporated in the synaxis, as can be seen in Justin, it filled out and codified the historical background of the kerygma which had from the first constituted in the eucharist the mode of Christian worship.

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1 Eusebius, HE III 39
2 1. Apol.67
3 Based on Revn 4:7. The order that eventually prevailed is based on Ezek.1:10.
4 Irenaeus, Against Heresies, III. 11:8-9

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(iii) The Epistle corpus

The Epistle corpus in the New Testament has an entirely different history from that of the Gospel canon. It was formed at an earlier date, but seems to have received general recognition only at a later date, perhaps under the influence of Luke-Acts. Its purpose was also different from that of the Gospel canon; for while the latter filled out the background of the kerygma which was at the heart of the Church's liturgy, the Epistle corpus dealt with a range of specific theological and moral questions.

Acts reveals nothing of Paul's Epistles. There are basic biographical discrepancies between them, and what is characteristic of Paul's theology is absent from Acts. Since it must be assumed that Luke took as much trouble in searching out material for Acts as he did for the Gospel, it must in all probability follow that the Pauline corpus did not exist when he wrote Acts, whatever the date of Acts may be. On the other hand the Epistle of Polycarp, later than Ignatius, contains quotations from and allusions to the whole of the Pauline corpus, including 1 and 2 Timothy, though with the (accidental?) exception of 1 Thessalonians, Colossians and Titus. In addition it includes references to Hebrews and 1 Peter, as well as Mark and Matthew. Moreover it clearly belongs to the epistle genre of the Pauline corpus with its advice to different groups in the household and the different orders of the Church. Accordingly the collection of Paul's Epistles and others was by now in existence, sometime after the martyrdom of Ignatius.

It is an inevitable conclusion from the critical study of Paul's Epistles that they are formed from fragments, both short and long. It is only in dispute where the joins are and whether the number of fragments is to be maximized or minimized. These fragments all belong to the epistle genre. They were in origin letters or parts of letters written to deal with particular questions, some of them very obscure to us and perhaps also to the collector. The original purpose of the letters was not however necessarily the purpose of the collector. And since indeed Polycarp's interest in the Pauline corpus was hortatory, this in turn may have differed from the collector's interest.

We have already noted that the geographical spread of the recipients of the Epistles may have been designed, by selection, to give universality to the work of the Apostle to the Gentiles. There is in addition a tendency, which may have been the work of the collector, to extend the salutations from the particular church to a whole area. Thus the address to the church in Corinth in 1 Corinthians is extended to 'all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours', and similarly in 2 Corinthians 'with all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia'. There is perhaps a similar expansion in Ephesians: 'to the saints which are [at Ephesus], and to the faithful in Christ Jesus'. Philippians shows expansion in a different way; the address is 'to all the saints which are at Philippi', and then is added a phrase which suggests a later stage in church organisation, 'with the bishops and deacons'. There is

1 1 Cor 1:2
2 2 Cor 1:1
3 Eph 1:1
therefore in these salutations a tendency to 'catholicize',\(^1\) that is, to address a wider audience than was originally intended.

Another feature of these Pauline salutations which may have commended them to the collector is the rich theological content of the greeting. The usual form of salutation at the beginning of a letter was, 'A to B, greeting'. Luke gives an example in Acts: 'Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting'.\(^2\) The Epistle of James contains a Christianized version of this formula: 'James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion, greeting'.\(^3\) The Pauline salutation, however, expands the usual formula in two ways. First, the conventional 'greeting' is replaced by two words saturated with Christian significance, namely 'grace and peace'. Secondly, this Christian greeting proceeds not from the writer himself, but by invocation from 'God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ', where the co-ordination of the two Persons in a binitarian formula is of the profoundest import. Thus the reader of the Pauline salutation, if he assimilates it, is furnished with a theological \textit{vade mecum} for life - and for tackling the sometimes stiff argumentation that follows in the letter itself.

There remains one further point in the Pauline salutation that is of special interest for the Pauline corpus. Timothy, mentioned as an assistant of Paul ('our brother') in Romans and 1 Corinthians,\(^4\) is coupled with Paul in the salutation at the head of 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon. In the Pastoral, however, he moves over to become the recipient of the letter - as also does Titus, mentioned in 2 Corinthians and Galatians as similarly a fellow-worker of Paul. The collector of the Pauline corpus has by this means updated Paul. Paul's treatment of problems of his time is thus brought into relation with the situation of a later generation. Paul's kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ, the mystery of Israel, the ambiguities of gnosis, the question of authority ('Am I not an apostle?'), are linked up with the new stress on Church order and the persistent problem of gnosis in the Pastoral.

There are two other witnesses to the Pauline corpus in the first half of the second century, namely 2 Peter and Marcion. They nevertheless appeal to it from very different points of view. 2 Peter was written to counteract false prophets and false teachers who had introduced destructive heresies.\(^5\) The knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ derived from the apostles is by contrast made more sure by the holy prophets whose words are embodied in Scripture. Judgment, though now delayed, will end in the destruction of ungodly men. This is also the teaching of 'our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him', 'in all his epistles speaking in them of these things, wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction'.\(^6\)

The criticism of the 'false teachers' here fits the teaching of Marcion. He rejected the Scriptures, i.e. the Old Testament, on the grounds that they revealed an inferior God.

\(^2\) Ac 23:26
\(^3\) Jas 1:1
\(^4\) Rom 16:21, 1 Cor 4:17
\(^5\) 2 Pet 2:1
\(^6\) 2 Pet 3:15-16
of law and was full of contradictions. By contrast Jesus Christ was the revelation of
the God of love. This contrast between law and love, or law and Spirit, was
understood only by Paul, whose ten epistles, suitably edited in separation from the
Pastorals, formed the basis of Marcion's teaching. The 'apostolikon' was joined to a
single 'evangelion', namely Luke (again suitably edited) perhaps because Marcion
understood Luke to be a companion of Paul.¹

Thus a Pauline corpus was in existence in the first half of the second century. Its
limits were however not settled. It seems to have been developed in association with
the Pastorals, though the latter were rejected by Marcion. Again, while Marcion
edited the ten Pauline epistles to suit his own teaching, different recensions of
Romans seem to have been current, to judge from the MS evidence for Rom.14:23 -
16:27.² In addition to the Pauline corpus, two other works in epistolary form belong
to the end of the first century and the early part of the second, namely Hebrews and 1
Peter. Both are 'exhortations',³ and have many important features in common.⁴ At this
stage Hebrews is not associated with Paul, and the concept of an Epistle canon is
premature. There is no evidence as yet of liturgical use.

(iv) The canon of the New Testament

The Gospel canon and the Epistle corpus, then, evolved in different ways, and served
different purposes. One Gospel and the Pauline corpus, as we have seen, were first
brought together, so far as our evidence goes, by Marcion. He yoked together a
bowdlerized version of Luke and of Paul's epistles in order to vindicate his own
theological position. But whether he was the first to bring together an evangelion and
an apostolikon is uncertain. Liturgically, however, the link does not appear yet to
have been made, for Justin mentions only the Gospels and the prophets (i.e. the Old
Testament) as being read at the synaxis.

A twofold canon, of Gospels and Epistles, seems to have been developed however not
liturgically but apologetically, and this development took place in the latter part of the
second century and the beginning of the third in the face of newly written works
which either displayed tendencies out of harmony with the tradition of the churches or
openly challenged that tradition. But again we need to distinguish between Gospels
and Epistles.

¹ Col 4:14
² See B.M. Metzger, A textual commentary on the Greek New Testament, pp.533-541. K. and B.
³ Heb 13:19,22; 1 Pet 5:12
Irenaeus is the first witness, as we have seen, to insist upon the fourfold canon of the Gospels. He explicitly asserts their apostolic authority. Two of them are the work of apostles, namely Matthew and John, while Mark was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, and Luke the attendant of Paul. 'It is not possible' he writes, as we have seen, 'that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For, since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal winds, while the Church has been scattered throughout all the world, and the pillar and ground of the Church is the gospel and the spirit of life; it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh'.

He then identifies the Evangelists with the four living creatures in Revelation 4:7. This quaternion of Gospels, of apostolic authority, is opposed by Irenaeus to Marcion and especially to Valentinus and his followers who claim to have in The Gospel of Truth more perfect knowledge. Irenaeus therefore consolidates the Gospel canon, already established in the Roman liturgy, by the addition of John, and sees in it the confirmation of the tradition safeguarded in the apostolic successions of the churches.

From this point onwards the fourfold Gospel canon becomes the norm in East and West. It is subject neither to reduction nor to expansion. Moreover, among the received books it has pride of place. Thus in the Muratorian Fragment, the Gospels are placed first. The opening clauses of the text are missing; but the extant text begins with an unmistakable allusion to the Petrine authority of Mark. The text goes on to mention 'the third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke', and to say that 'the fourth of the Gospels was written by John, one of the disciples'. It may safely be inferred therefore that the list began with Matthew. It was moreover possible at this date to embody all four Gospels in a single papyrus codex, for the earliest extant papyrus codex, P45, of the early part of the third century, originally included all four Gospels and Acts. All four Gospels, and no others, are recognized by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. For Tertullian the instrumentum evangelicum consists of the four Gospels, of equal value. For Clement they are 'scripture'. And for Origen they are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God. Thus the fourfold Gospel canon was established by the end of the second century and the beginning of the third.

The reception of the Epistle corpus has a different history, soon leading nevertheless to comparable stability, if not finality. Against Valentinus, Marcion, Cerinthus, Basilides and others who claim the perfection of knowledge and wisdom, Irenaeus maintains that the tradition is preserved by the successions in the churches, i.e. of bishops and presbyters, and is confirmed by the writings of the apostles which he calls 'scriptures'. After illustrating his argument from the four Gospels, he then adduces the written evidence of the preaching of the Apostles in Acts, and then draws on the

1 Adv. Haer. III
2 Adv. Haer. III.i.1
4 Revn 4:7 is based on Ezek 1:10.
5 A Coptic text, with 'The gospel of truth' as the opening words, was found among the Coptic texts recovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1947. James M. Robinson (ed.), The Nag Hammadi Library in English, Leiden, 2nd. ed. 1984, pp.37-49.
7 Adv. Haer. III.iii, 1-2

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epistles, first of Paul, and then of John and Peter.¹ The only epistles not represented, perhaps by accident in view of their short extent, are Philemon, 2 Peter, Jude and 3 John. He quotes extensively from the Revelation of John, and knows both Hebrews and the Shepherd of Hermas. The limits of the Epistle corpus are not precisely defined, as they are in the case of the Gospels. But he concludes 'that the preaching of the Church is everywhere consistent, and continues in an even course, and receives testimony from the prophets, the apostles, and all the disciples ... and through the entire dispensation of God ...'.²

The list of received books in the Muratorian Fragment corresponds to those mentioned by Irenaeus, except that it also includes Wisdom, 'written by the friends of Solomon in his honour',³ and the Apocalypse of Peter and the Shepherd of Hermas, which however in the judgment of the compiler might not be read publicly in church. There continues to be broad concurrence on the reception of Acts, the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Epistles, 1 Peter and 1 John. But there was disagreement about the tail end of the Epistle corpus for some long time to come. Hebrews, revered indeed but of uncertain apostolicity, was slow in establishing itself, as were James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude. 1 Clement, Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas were known to Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and the Apocalypse of Peter to Clement, and the Gospel of Peter and the Protevangelium of James to Origen. At the beginning of the third century the Pauline corpus, including Hebrews but excluding the Pastorals, were embodied in P; and it is therefore conceivable that the physical limitations of the papyrus codex had some influence on the selection of books that were received.

By contrast a different situation existed from the fourth century onwards. This was the beginning of the era of the uncial parchment codices, and these had a much greater capacity than the papyrus codex. Thus the Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century included the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, while in the fifth century the Codex Alexandrinus included the first and second Epistles of Clement. Indeed, in the judgment of K and B Aland, 'texts of the Apostolic Fathers ... were probably present' in codex Vaticanus in the fourth century, as in Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus.⁴

In this new era of book production the principle of canonicity begins to emerge more clearly, namely what was read in church. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth of his Catechetical Lectures distinguishes between the books of Scripture and the apocryphal books. What was read in church could be studied privately. What was not read in church was not to be read privately. The inspired Scriptures include both the Old and the New Testaments, for Christ in the New Testament was foretold in the Old. He lists twenty-two books from the Greek version of the Old Testament, i.e. the Septuagint, and so includes books from what we would call the Apocrypha. In the New Testament he includes the four Gospels, Acts, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Epistles of Paul, including Hebrews. Excluded from the list is the Revelation of John. The latter, in spite of reservations about its reception in the East, was nevertheless included in the Thirty-ninth Festal Epistle of Athanasius in the year

1  Adv. Haer. xii-xvi
4  op.cit. p.107
367. These Epistles were circulated annually after the feast of the Epiphany, in order
to fix the date of the ensuing Easter for the churches and monasteries of Egypt. This
Thirty-ninth Epistle has the distinction of naming for the first time the twenty-seven
books of the New Testament as these have subsequently been received in the canon.

The first synods to list the names of the canonical Scriptures were first the Synod of
Hippo Regius and following that the Synod of Carthage in 397. The Old Testament
canon was based on the Septuagint. The New Testament canon consisted of the four
Gospels, Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, Hebrews, the two Epistles of Peter, three
of John, one of James, one of Jude, and the Revelation of John. The Synods looked to
the 'transmarine church', i.e. Rome, to confirm the canon. 'Besides the canonical
Scriptures,' it was stipulated, 'nothing under the name of the divine Scriptures shall be
read in church'. On a different level, nevertheless, the passions of the martyrs might
be read on their anniversaries.¹

Augustine was present at the Council of Carthage. His influence, coupled with that of
Jerome who had undertaken the Vulgate revision of the Latin text of the New
Testament at the bidding of Pope Damasus, secured for this canon final authority in
the West. In the East, however, there continued to be different judgments on the limits
of the canon of the New Testament. The Orthodox and Oriental Churches did not
share a common language, as the Church in the West was unified by Latin. Thus there
were Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic and other manuscript
traditions, which reflected different verdicts on canonicity. The shorter Catholic
epistles tended to be passed over, while the Revelation of John was even less in
favour. John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople and contemporary of
Augustine, made no use of either; and in this respect he seems to have followed a
New Testament canon exemplified in the Peshitta, the received text of the Syriac-
speaking Church. On the other hand both are represented in the Byzantine received
text from the sixth century onwards. To this day, however, while the shorter Catholic
epistles find a place in the Liturgy lectionary of the Orthodox Church, the Revelation
of John does not. The precise limits of the canon of the New Testament are therefore
not felt in the East to be of absolutely critical importance.

¹ Migne P.L. 56.428; Denziger, Enchiridion VIII; B.M. Metzger, op.cit. pp.314f.
## The Canon of Scripture

### Synopsis: The canon of the New Testament (2nd-3rd centuries)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irenaeus</th>
<th>Muratorian Fragment</th>
<th>Tertullian</th>
<th>Clement of Alex.</th>
<th>Origen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Haer. III. 11:8</td>
<td>Rome end 2nd cent.</td>
<td>d. before 215</td>
<td>Alex., Caesarea</td>
<td>d. 253/4</td>
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</tbody>
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**instrumentum evangelicum:**
- 4 gospels: the gospels of the Apostles
  - i.e. 2 by apostles
    - 2 by disciples of apostles
- 4 gospels of equal value

**instrumenta apostolica:**
- Acts
- 12 epistles of Paul:
  - i.e. inc. Pastorals,
    - (Cor. & Thess. twice)
    - Pastorals
    - epistles to 4 individuals
      - (Tim. twice)
      - (inc. Philemon)

**I*** Pet.**
- **1 & 2 Jn**
  - - on same footing as Paul
  - - epistles to 7 chs.
    - in Rev.
  - Jn:
    - Jude
  - Revn Jn
  - Pet. - but disputed

**Jas.**
- Heb.
- Revn Jn
  - known, but on a different footing

**Philemon**
- an epistle of Barnabas
  - (De Pud.20)

**Hermas**
- but not to be read in public

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Reservations as to:</th>
<th>References to:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jas.</td>
<td>1 Clem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 3 Jn</td>
<td>Barn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of uncertain canonicity:</td>
<td>1 Clem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermas</td>
<td>Gosp. of Peter.</td>
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</table>

1 but its place in relation to other books not clear
(v) The Scriptural canon and tradition

The canon of the New Testament represents the judgment of the Church upon its written apostolic inheritance. Its earliest comprehensive expression is, as we have seen, in Book III of the Adversus Haereses of Irenaeus, a Greek, for a time resident in Rome, then bishop of Lyons, writing in the third quarter of the second century. In its settled form, though without the shorter general epistles, it was used by John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, at the beginning of the fifth century; and with the shorter general epistles it was used by Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, in Numidia, North Africa, in consequence of the decision of the Council of Carthage at the end of the fourth century. It therefore formed a constituent part of the tradition of the Church.

For Irenaeus the earliest oral proclamation of the gospel was in due course transmitted to later generations in these 'Scriptures'. Moreover the tradition of the apostles was secured by their successors in the churches, a succession which he illustrated from the Church in Rome. This coherence of Scripture with tradition is the subject of the fourth of the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem delivered to the photizomenoi in the Constantinian Martyrium in the middle of the fourth century. Before embarking in subsequent lectures on the exposition of the clauses of the creed, he gave a summary of the tradition of the faith. He outlined the doctrines of God, of Christ and of the Holy Spirit; of the soul and the body and the resurrection of the body; and of the washing away of sins in baptism and the receiving of the seal of the Holy Spirit for eternal life. He then appended in confirmation of this tradition the lists of the books of the Old and New Testaments. He named the twenty-two books of the Septuagint, and then in the New Testament the four gospels, acts, the seven catholic epistles, and the fourteen epistles of St Paul. He added that what was now read in the churches ought not to be read in private.

What was 'read in church' - an expression used also at the Council of Carthage in 397 - was the definition of canonicity. And what was read in church was read in the course of the Liturgy. Apostolic Constitutions, as we have already seen, provides for five lessons: the law, the prophets, the epistles, acts, and the gospel. In Milan, at that date, three lessons were read: 'prius propheta legitur, et apostolus, et sic evangelium'. This has remained the Ambrosian tradition to this day. It was equally the Byzantine tradition until at least the time of Maximus the Confessor in the seventh century (d.662), for in referring to the law and the prophets after 'the first entrance' he probably means the prophetic lesson. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople in the eighth century (d. c. 733), speaks of 'the entrance of the gospel'. This entrance is probably illustrated in the mosaic of Justinian I in S Vitale in Ravenna, in which a deacon is shown carrying the book of the gospels. By the date of Germanus, however, the prophetic lesson has disappeared, although the prokeimenon, the intercalated

1 Adv. Haer. III.i 
2 Adv. Haer. III.iii 
3 Cat. Lect. IV, 1-32 
4 Cat. Lect. IV, 33-35 
5 Ap. Const. VIII, 5-11 
6 Ambrose, Expos. Ps., cxvii, 17.10 (Migne, PL.15, 1518C) 
7 Mystagogia, XXIII, Migne P.G. 91. 697C, 700A
psalm chant between the prophet and the epistle, remained. This continues to be the practice in the Byzantine rite today. Thus 'the entrance of the people into the holy church of God,' together with the bishop and the clergy, leads directly to the reading of the Scripture lessons. It is followed by 'the entrance of the sacred mysteries', the procession of the deacons carrying the sacred gifts from the skeuophylakion to the altar in the church, for the celebration of the anaphora. The presence of Christ in the liturgy of the word is accordingly related directly to the presence of Christ in the anaphoral liturgy.

In the West the Roman Mass from at least the eighth century had, like the Byzantine rite, only the two lessons, epistle and gospel. There are nevertheless indications that at an earlier date there was in addition a lesson from the Old Testament, an epistle and gospel. In Africa, at Carthage and Hippo, in Augustine's time, there were similarly an Old Testament lesson (though not invariably), an epistle, psalm, and gospel. It is unlikely that Rome, so influential in other ways, would have been exceptional in not having an Old Testament lesson. Indeed the use of the Old Testament in the Roman mass lectionary is illustrated by the embertide masses at the beginning of Lent, after Pentecost, in September, and in December. These seasons, Roman in origin, are of extreme antiquity. The Wednesday masses have two Old Testament lessons and a gospel, and the Friday masses one Old Testament lesson and a gospel. The absence of an epistle suggests that the lectionary antedated the stabilisation of a two-fold canon of the New Testament. The Saturday masses by contrast have five lessons from the Old Testament, but also an epistle as well as a gospel. These Saturday masses were vigil masses, like the Easter vigil, and therefore extended into the Lord's Day, and indeed served as the Sunday mass.

The inclusion here of the epistle lesson reflects the later recognition of the settled canon of the New Testament.

To sum up, the liturgical use of Scripture began in the synagogue and Temple, and gave expression openly and publicly to what was canonical. This usage was continued in the Church. By the time of Justin, however, a new genre had gained acceptance, namely the gospels; and these were read in the liturgy as an alternative to 'the prophets', and indeed had primacy of place. The Church's lectionary practice soon accommodated both, as we can see for example from the oldest embertide masses. By the fourth century at least a lection from the epistle corpus had gained a settled place in the mass lectionary of East and West, and was interpolated between the Old Testament lesson and the gospel. By the eighth century, however, the Old Testament lesson had, in both Byzantium and Rome, suffered eclipse, and the two lesson scheme of epistle and gospel prevailed. This development has contributed to the facile assumption in the Christian mind that it is only the New Testament that matters, and that the Old Testament is to be used only in an episodic or atomistic way.

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2 Maximus, Mystagogia, IX, Migne, PG 91, 688D
3 ib. 693D
4 Germanus, op.cit. 36f
5 G.G. Willis, St Augustine's Lectionary, London 1962 (Alcuin Club Collections, no. XLIV), ch.2
6 In the Gregorian Sacramentary, the mass of Lent II is still entitled, incongruously, Die Dominico vacat, Deshusses, op.cit. p.141; and so with the Sunday after Pentecost, p.118, and the Sunday after the September embertide, p.278.
7 On the embertide masses, see G.G. Willis, Essays in Early Roman Liturgy, London 1964 (Alcuin Club Collections, no.XLVI), ch.II.
Only modern historical scholarship, in both Bible and Liturgy, has led to the rectification of this state of affairs.

A full soteriological conspectus has nevertheless survived in the Easter Vigil in both East and West. The Byzantine vigil contains fifteen lections from the Old Testament. Vigils with similar series of Old Testament lections are associated with the Nativity and the Epiphany. In each case, of course, the liturgy includes epistle and gospel. In the West in the eighth century the Old Gelasian Sacramentary had ten Old Testament lessons at the Easter Vigil, as well as epistle and gospel in the mass that followed, making twelve lessons in all. The Gregorian Hadrianum by contrast provided only four Old Testament lessons at the Easter Vigil.

A similar Vigil, with four Old Testament lessons, took place at Pentecost, with an epistle and gospel in the mass. Similar again to the Easter Vigil is the Saturday Vigil of the four ember seasons. This is regularly called, in both the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, sabbato in XII lectiones. There are in fact five Old Testament readings and an epistle, each with its own collect. These lessons were in origin read in both Greek and Latin, and hence the number of twelve lessons. The title remained after the disappearance of the reading of the Greek text. The gospel, last, occupied a position independent of this scheme.

In the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue the law lesson was read first, thus expressing its primacy; in the Sunday morning liturgy of the Church the gospel was by contrast read last, as the climax to the lessons, giving breadth to the Christological tradition. The canon of the New Testament as a whole rests on the canon of the Old Testament in all its depth, and takes its place in an already existing tradition of kerygma and creed, of the mysteries of Christ, that is, the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies, and of apostolic order. It is an integral part of this tradition, and requires to be understood in that complete context.

(vi) Dis-integration in the use of Scripture

The Church inherited from the synagogue the form in which the Scriptures were transmitted. That is to say, the books of Scripture were copied out in continuity. Continuous text manuscripts were in use in the Church throughout the earlier centuries. The limits of the lessons read in the liturgy were indicated in the margins by arche and telos, beginning and end, or some such sign.

1 E. Mercenier (ed.), La Prière des Églises de Rite Byzantin, t.II, pp.260-261
3 ed. Mohlberg, pp.70-72
4 ed. Deshusses, pp.182-185
5 Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg, pp.97-100; Hadrianum, ed. Deshusses, pp.222-227
The Canon of Scripture

However, from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards lectionaries began to make their appearance, embodying selected passages for reading in the course of the liturgy. In the later centuries of the Byzantine empire they seem to have existed along with continuous text manuscripts in the proportion of about two to three. In the West the Latin Vulgate similarly existed in these two forms. From the beginning of the eighth century the mass lessons were organized in two series, epistles and gospels, each with their own book. Then in the later middle ages the mass lessons were incorporated in the Missal, and similarly the office lessons, often shortened, in the Breviary. In addition to these selections from Scripture for the lessons at mass and in the office, the text of Scripture was drawn upon for the antiphons sung in association with the psalms, and for the gradual, alleluia and tract chants in the mass, and the responsories in the office. Thus the text of Scripture was familiar from these extensive selections.

Side by side, however, with the liturgical use of Scripture, continuous text manuscripts of Scripture were in use in the medieval schools. Indeed the Latin Vulgate was until the second half of the twelfth century 'the only set book to be universally recognised'. Subsequently the syllabus of study was enlarged to include the sacraments, philosophy and theology. Scripture therefore was fully integrated with the liturgy and theology of the Church, both in the form of continuous manuscript texts and in the form of selected texts for liturgical use.

What has ultimately proved to be a change in the use of Scripture was ushered in with the first printing of the Latin Vulgate, published in Mainz in 1452/6. The Latin text came first, then the Hebrew, and finally the Greek. Before the Greek text appeared, there had been more than a hundred editions of the Latin Bible, three of the Hebrew Old Testament, and translations in German, French and Italian. The first Greek New Testament to appear, in 1516, was edited by Erasmus, although the Greek text had already been included in the Complutension Polyglot, under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes, in 1514. The Polyglot was completed in 1517, and published under papal authority in 1522. Several English translations of the Bible followed, from Tyndale to the Authorized Version in 1611. The Vulgate was revised, and authorized by Sixtus V in 1590, withdrawn and authorized afresh by Clement VIII in 1592. From all this activity there eventually developed the autonomous life of the Bible.

The sixteenth century reformers, rejecting the authority of the pope, substituted the authority of Scripture. Typical of this position is Article VI of the XXXIX Articles of the two provinces of the Church of England in the year 1562:

'Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation'.

_Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation._

A distinction is then drawn between the canonical books of the Old Testament, and the other books which the Church reads 'for example of life and instruction of manners',

not however 'to establish any doctrine'. A similar distinction was indeed drawn by Athanasius in his Thirty-Ninth Festal Epistle of 367. But whereas he calls the canonical books 'fountains of salvation', he does not regard them, as Article VI does, as containing exclusively what is necessary to salvation.

Moreover, the context of these two canonical lists is not the same. Athanasius sets out the lists of canonical books and those books 'appointed by the Fathers to be read by those ... who wish for instruction in the word of godliness', in order to exclude the apocryphal writings which are 'the invention of heretics'. But Article VI, and the related Articles XIX, XX and XXI on the Church and General Councils, treat 'God's Word written' as standing over the rites or ceremonies of the Church and matters of faith. Thus the canon of Scripture is no longer regarded as part of tradition, but as separate from tradition, and standing in judgment on tradition.

The consequence of this development was that other institutions in the life of the Church began to be reorganised in the light the text of Scripture. Thus the rites of the Church came to be reconstructed in accordance with the reformers' reading of Scripture. The baptismal and eucharistic liturgies were 'revised' on the basis of the fragmentary notices in the New Testament. Order was transformed in accordance with the 'ministries' reflected in the churches of the New Testament. And new creeds have been compiled to express what is presumed to be the residual faith of the New Testament.

The supremacy of Scripture over against tradition has made the question of the interpretation of Scripture a matter of critical importance. The modern historical study of the text of Scripture has contributed richly to the understanding of how the text came to be as it is, and what it means. But exegesis is endlessly mobile, and finality is never reached. The search for the 'historical Jesus' is forever being renewed, there are always new understandings of the Gospels, and one fresh interpretation of Paul succeeds another. This ceaseless labour has enormously deepened our perception of the history of salvation, but it should not be imagined that the life of the Church depends on its outcome. The historical study of Scripture is necessary, good and healthy; but it is important not to exalt historicism over tradition as a whole. While the history of the biblical traditions performs an invaluable service to tradition, biblical scholarship cannot be the arbiter of doctrine, or the sole witness to the life of the Church.

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The Re-integration of Tradition

At the heart of the life of the Church is the mystery of Christ, and at the heart of the mystery of Christ is the kerygma of his death and resurrection. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is none other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who raised him from the dead.

The kerygma that 'God raised Christ Jesus from the dead' is repeated over and over again in the epistles of St Paul and in the sermons and speeches of Acts in one form or another. It is also 'the form of the Gospel tradition'. In the Gospels, that is to say, the death and resurrection of Christ are not only set out in narrative form; but equally the manifold pericopai of his life bear the impress of the kerygmatic events.

The apostolic testimony is not however merely the assertion 'that God raised him from the dead'. The death and resurrection of Christ are 'in accordance with the scriptures'. It is not that they are treated as the fulfilment of isolated texts, chosen without reference to context; but there is an analogy between God's revelation in Israel and God's revelation in Christ. 'The fall and rising up of many in Israel' have their apotheosis in the death and resurrection of Christ. The act of God unfolds in a unity.

The kerygma which is delivered is also received. It is received in the heart and mind of the disciple, who is able to verify what he is taught in his own prayer, where Christ, man and God, has become the mediator between God and man. But his own prayer is inseparable from the corporate prayer of the Church. To this he has been introduced in the baptismal mystery, in which he has been baptized into Christ's death. Further, the fundamental disposition of God towards man is revealed in the mystery of the eucharist, in which the disciple renews his status every Lord's day. The apostolic tradition of the death and resurrection of Christ thus reaches the disciple in different ways, in teaching and hearing, prayer and the mysteries, which nevertheless cohere in the centrality of Christ.

Liturgy is one aspect of the kerygma. It is the embodiment of the kerygma in the forms of worship. The study of liturgy therefore is a distinct but not isolated discipline. Accordingly, just as New Testament Christology requires for its understanding the background of the Old Testament, so the origin and early

2 The title of Vincent Taylor's influential lectures, London 1933.
development of Christian liturgy need to be understood in relation to the liturgy of the Temple and synagogue. The community of liturgical forms in the Church point to a community of origin in Judaism. In this area, admittedly, the rarity and dispersal of evidence is a difficulty, and recourse has to be had inevitably to hypothesis and probability, at any rate in the present state of scholarship.

In the sequel, since so far as written evidence goes the Church was composed of Greek-speaking converts, the study of the Greek liturgies must first engage our attention. Here again there is a parallel in the history of the text of the New Testament. The Greek papyrus and uncial texts are of paramount importance. The early versions, Latin, Syriac, Coptic and others, are of secondary though substantial importance. Similarly, since the language of the early Church was Greek, and Greek was also the language of liturgy, Greek liturgies have a primary importance. Greek liturgical forms lie behind those vernacular forms which began to make their appearance in the third and fourth centuries. The great mass of Latin texts which accumulated in later centuries should not blind us to this fact. In the study of liturgy, therefore, Greek texts are specially necessary for the maintenance of proper perspectives. This principle, so far as the eucharist is concerned, is recognised in the collections of Renaudot early in the eighteenth century, of C.E. Hammond and F.E. Brightman at the end of the nineteenth century, and most recently of A. Hänngi and I. Pahl.

This study of the liturgy has been given a context in the life of the Church. It began with the source of Christianity in Israel, and the continuity of the Christological tradition and of kerygmatic liturgy with Israel and Judaism has been emphasized. The convert to Christ was introduced to the prayer and creed of the Church. Then when his conversion was stabilised he entered the Church through the baptismal liturgy, by baptism, the laying-on of hands and chrismation. This rite originated in Judaism, but was developed to express the kerygma. He thereby entered into newness of life, a life of communion with God through the sacrifice of Christ. Henceforward, taking his place in the new order of the Church, he was to live in and from the eucharist, a rite which had its source in the sabbath meal and in the crucifixion at the passover of our redemption. The anaphoral liturgy was itself preceded by the synaxis, derived from the Sabbath morning liturgy of the synagogue, where the old and the new canon of Scripture was read and expounded. The indebtedness of the Church in its Sunday liturgy extended to the whole of Sabbath observance and liturgy in Judaism.

Christian liturgy therefore forms a complex but coherent whole. It has nevertheless through the centuries suffered dis-integration in consequence of a variety of causes, and this dis-integration has been felt in every part of the liturgy. The transference of the baptismal liturgy from adults to infants inevitably resulted in dislocation. Most serious was the loss of the conditions for baptism, namely repentance and faith on the part of the baptizand. Theology was able to supply damage limitation, by magnifying the grace of God, for example, in the increase in the number of 'scrutiny' masses in the West, by extending the role of the Godparents, and by emphasizing the corporate nature of the life of faith in the Church. But these considerations did not remedy the total passivity of the baptizand, or make good the absence of the personal abrenuncio and credo. The further dismemberment of the baptismal liturgy by separating (in the West) the episcopal imposition of hands and chrismation from baptism in the font, and again by separating (in the West) the bishop's part in the baptismal liturgy from
The Re-integration of Tradition

Communion in the bishop's eucharist, has created problems which not even theological ingenuity can wholly overcome. These rites, baptism, confirmation and communion, are seen in separation, and not as a whole manifesting unity with Christ whom God raised from the dead. The problems are familiar. Their solution is harder to see. Far-reaching reform is needed. But the more far-reaching, the greater the risks that the reformers run, and the harder it is for those upon whom the reforms are imposed to accept them.

Only less familiar is the dis-integration of the eucharistic liturgy. Insidious consequences flowed from the practice of the silent recitation of the canon. Although Justinian legislated against this practice, he was surely one of the promoters of its causes. How could the patriarch make himself heard in Justinian's Hagia Sophia? Even if the canon was intoned throughout, it would require a strong and cultivated voice to make it heard in so vast a space. That is to say, the big church, vying with all other public buildings, if not bigger than they, introduced a distance between the priest and the people, both audibly and visibly. While the domed basilica tended indeed to limit the size of the building and to give it unity, the longitudinal basilica paved the way for increasing dis-integration. The orders of the Church became separated, by the growing distinction of sanctuary and nave - a distinction which became more profound in the Romanesque basilica and the interpolation of a collegiate or monastic choir between sanctuary and nave. The elongated big church then became the model to be followed, needlessly and uncritically, in smaller and poorer and less pretentious churches. The eucharistic liturgy thus became a staged drama in which the laity were increasingly the spectators. With a silent canon, and the want of a vernacular liturgy that could be heard and understood, it became easier to demonstrate the presence of Christ in the eucharist by elevations, censings, and the ringing of bells, than to communicate Christ's sacrifice to the plebs sancta. Without the communion of the people, moreover, such a rite poorly expressed the apostolic kerygma 'for us' of the death and resurrection of Christ.

The principle of the vernacular, adopted as a means of communication by the reformers, is now at length universally accepted. The vernacular nevertheless is not without its disadvantages liturgically, for it leaves exposed the weaknesses of the liturgical autographs of the reformers in replacement of patristic rites, and now of liturgical committees in our own times.

Dis-integration in the eucharistic liturgy, as in the baptismal, is deepened by dis-integration in holy order. If architecture has set the dis-integration of the eucharist in stone, politics and economics have fixed the dis-integration of order. Holy order has long since ceased to be perceived as a liturgical unity. The stational masses of Rome and elsewhere represented an endeavour to preserve liturgically the unity of the local church. The shadow of this system still fell upon the masses of Lent and Easter tide, Advent and Christmas, and the embertide masses, with their assignment in the rubrics to the Roman stational churches in the Tridentine Missal, abandoned only in 1970. But for most of the people most of the time the usual celebrant of the eucharist is not the bishop but the presbyter. The bishop is rarely seen, and rarely wanted. Sunday by Sunday the church is a presbyteral church. The feudal and Tudor lord, and the baroque prince of the church have become the managing director of a conglomerate. It is often said that the modern Church could not afford very much smaller dioceses. Conceived as they are in organisational and financial terms, that may be true. But can
the Church afford not to restore apostolic order to the local church for the proclamation of the apostolic faith and the celebration of the apostolic liturgy?

It is no part of this study to propose a programme of reform. On the contrary, in the midst of the difficulties that beset the Church at the present time, restraint in making changes is essential. The present ardour for change requires to be tempered by the broadest perspectives, and proposed reforms need to be subjected to a scrutiny no less critical than that directed upon the past. Innovation and experiment are the worst guides. What enters the Church from the world should especially be treated with liberal doses of scepticism, for hitherto it has been no part of the Church's teaching that the truth which is in Christ has its origin in a world that is in need of redemption.

We need to understand why the present is as it is. We need to respect the past, which means respecting also our forebears in the faith, and to work our way back along the process of tradition and return to sources, above all to that tradition by which the Church lives, namely the apostolic kerygma of the death and resurrection of Christ. Liturgy is not more important than other facets of tradition, but it is as important as others. The aim must be coherence, within liturgy as a whole, and of liturgy with the rest of Catholic tradition.

Tradition is indeed process, but fundamentally it means content. It is, in the words of St Paul, 'that which I also received, and which also I delivered unto you, and which also ye received'. It is this tradition in which we are to stand, and which we are to hold fast. It is this tradition, integrated in its various aspects, that constitutes authority in the Christian religion.
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