

Department of Theology
Fall, 2007

University of Notre Dame
M, W: 11:45- 1:00
Malloy 220

THEO 60402-01: LITURGICAL HISTORY

Maxwell E. Johnson

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Course Description:

Survey of liturgical history and sources with regard to both Eastern and Western rites. Fundamental liturgical sources including basic homiletic and catechetical documents of the patristic period. Basic introduction to the methodology of liturgical study.

Goals:

For students pursuing the M.A. and or MTS in Liturgical Studies and others, the goals of this foundational course are:

1. the attaining of an overall knowledge of the sources for and shifts within the wide spectrum of Eastern and Western liturgical history; and
2. the attaining of the necessary methodological and research skills for: further study and research in other courses concerned with specific rites and/or liturgical topics in detail.

Class Requirements and Format:

Lecture by instructor, **one** short exercise on the *Missale Romanum Tridentinum*, **one major paper (15- 20 pages)** on a liturgical source from the patristic or medieval period (**due Dec. 11**), and **two** take-home examinations (due **October 6** and **Dec 4**).

Grading:

Grades will be determined on the basis of "full, active, and conscious participation" and student papers/exams.

NOTE: The grade **A** is reserved for what is considered to be *exceptional* work on the graduate level; a **B+** means that work is at a level of solid and high quality, a level above what is necessary to successfully complete the requirements for the course; a **B** is good solid work, the average and minimum required (and expected) for the successful completion of a graduate-level course; a **C+** is a passing grade for graduate-level study meaning that an assignment was

completed but in need of improvement and/or further development or clarification; and a C, although a passing grade, indicates some serious problems.

Required Books

P. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship* (Liturgical Press)
 L. Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy* (Liturgical Press)
 Peter Jeffrey, *Translating Tradition: A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam Authenticam* (TT)
 E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books* (Liturgical Press)
 R. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Liturgical Press)
 J. White, *Protestant Worship* (Westminster/John Knox)

Highly Recommended

R.C.D. Jasper and G. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist; Early and Reformed* (PEER)

On Reserve (All required and recommended books and)

P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (SEARCH)
 WCC, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (BEM).
 Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westfield-Tucker, *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (OHCW)
 K. Hughes, *A Monk's Tale*
 R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, SECOND EDITION)

NOTE: Articles and chapters listed below within the assigned readings are supposed to be on electronic reserves. If not there they are also under regular reserve in the library.

To access these readings electronically go to:

The course can also be accessed by going to the University Libraries website at <<http://www.library.nd.edu/>> and clicking on the Electronic Reserves link located under Library Services.

(TENTATIVE) CLASS SCHEDULE AND TOPICS

Key: R = Required Reading; S = Suggested or Supplemental Reading

I. INTRODUCTORY TOPICS

T, AUG 28: *Lectio brevis* : The Scope of the Course

Reading for AUG 30: **R** - R. Taft, *Beyond East and West (BEW)* : Intro., Forward, and ch. 1: "Toward a Theology of the Christian Feast" (on reserve); R. Taft, *Beyond East and West* : ch. 15: "Response to the Berakah Award" (on reserve); Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*, 1-19.

Th, AUG 30: Methodological Introduction to *Historical* Liturgical Study

Reading for SEPT 4: **R** - A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, chapters 1-2 (handout); R. Taft, *Beyond East and West* ch. 10: "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology," (on reserve).

T, SEPT 4: Principles for Reading and Interpreting Ancient Liturgical Sources

Reading for Sept 6 : **S = SEARCH**, pp. 1-29, **PEER**, pp. 1-12; SpL, pp. 3-19

Th, SEP 6: Jewish Liturgy and Sources

Reading for Sept 11: **R** – OHCW, pp. 1-31; D. Aune, "Worship, Early Christian" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 973-989 – on reserve; **S** - PEER, pp. 13-19; SEARCH, pp. 30-55; SpL, pp. 22-69;

T, SEP 11: Worship in the New Testament

II. LITURGIES IN THE EARLY CHURCHES

A. The Pre-Nicene Period

Reading: **R for entire Early Churches Unit** – Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship*. SpL.; **S** - OHCW, pp. 32-130 (on reserve); R. Taft, BEW, ch. 11: "How Liturgies Grow," (on reserve); SEARCH, pp. 80-205; **for pre-Nicene period** – SpL, 1-180; PEER, pp. 20-113, 135-146

Th, SEP 13: Liturgy in the Pre-Nicene Period: An Overview

Reading for SEP 18: **R** – SpL, pp. 71-77, 87-94; *Early Christian Worship*, 8-23, 38-44; **S** - OHCW, pp. 32-76; and PEER, pp. 1- 51.

T, SEP 18: Pre-Nicene Liturgical Sources I: The *Didache* and the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr

Reading for SEP 20: **R** – SpL, pp. 121-153, 167-180; *Early Christian Worship*, 45-50; **S** – review OHCW and PEER;

Th, SEP 20: Pre-Nicene Liturgical Sources II: *Didascalia Apostolorum* and the so-called *Apostolic Tradition*

Reading for SEP 25 : **R for Nicene and post-Nicene period** – *Early Christian Worship*; SpL, 181-289; **S** - OHCW, 77-130; and PEER (as above)

B. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Period

T, SEP 25: Liturgy in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Period: An Overview

Reading for Sep 27: **R** - SpL, pp. 213-240; **S** - Review OHCW, 77-130; PEER, pp. 100-113, 138-140

Th, Sep 27: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources I: Church Orders: *Apostolic Constitutions*, 7-8

Reading for OCT 2: Review SpL, pp. 181-212, 241-248, 267-289; **S** - PEER, pp. 74-81, 82-87

T, OCT 2: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources II: Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses* and The Pilgrimage Diary of Egeria

Take-Home Exam 1 Distributed

Reading for OCT 4: **R** – SpL, 183-208; **S** - Review OHCW, 77-130; PEER, pp.124-134, 135-137, 143-146

Th, OCT 4: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources III: The Sacramentary of Sarapion of Thmuis and Ambrose of Milan

III. LITURGIES IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES

Reading for Medieval Period: **R** - BR; E. Bishop, "The Genius of the Roman Rite," in *Liturgica historica* (on reserve); Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*; R. Taft, BEW, ch. 11: "How Liturgies Grow," (packet); **S** - PEER, pp. 114-134, 147-173; OHCC, 131-306.

T, OCT 9: Liturgies in the Medieval Churches of East and West: An Overview; Classification of Rites in East and West: The Byzantine Liturgy

Reading for OCT 11: **S** - PEER, pp. 147-158

Th, OCT 11: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources I: Non-Roman Western Sacramentaries - Gallican, Celtic, Mozarabic*

Take-Home Exam 1 Due

Reading for OCT 16: **R** – Palazzo, 19-62; **S** – OHCW, 175-253

T, OCT 16: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources II: Roman Sacramentaries

OCT 20 – OCT 28: MID-SEMESTER BREAK

Reading for OCT 18: **R** – Palazzo, 111-172; 173-186; **S** - OHCW, 175-253

Th, OCT 18: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources III: *Ordines Romani*, and *Breviarium*

OCT 20 – OCT 28: MID-SEMESTER BREAK

Reading for OCT 30: **R** – Palazzo, 83-111, 187-237; **S** - OHCW, 175-253

T, OCT 30: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources IV: Pontificale, Lectionaries, Rituals

IV. LITURGIES IN THE CHURCHES OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND THE CATHOLIC/COUNTER REFORM

Reading for Reformation and Counter Reformation: **R** White, *Protestant Worship* – **S** - OHCW, 307-533

Th, Nov. 1: Liturgy in the Churches of the Reformation: An Overview

Reading for NOV 6: **R** - PW, pp. 35-78.

T, NOV 6: Reformation Liturgical Sources I: Lutheran and Reformed

Reading for NOV 8: PW, 94-117, 150-171

Th, NOV 8: Reformation Liturgical Sources II: Anglican and Methodist

Reading for NOV 13: PW, 117-208

T, NOV 13: Reformation Liturgical Sources III: Free Church Traditions

Th, NOV 15: The Missal of Pius V (including video presentation)

Take-Home Exam 2 Distributed

Special Assignment for T, NOV 20: *Missale Romanum Tridentinum* . Check out a copy of the Tridentine *Missale Romanum* from the Library, browse through it carefully noting how its contents are organized, and prepare a brief (**3 page**) outline of it to be turned in on .

T, NOV 20: Reformation Liturgical Sources IV: Trent and the Tridentine Books

Th, NOV 22: Thanksgiving Day

V. LITURGY IN THE CHURCHES OF TODAY

Reading for Modern Period: **R** – WCC, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (photo-copied); **TT**; S - OHCW, 586- 720; K. Hughes, *A Monk's Tale*

T, NOV 27: Modern Liturgies and the Contemporary Roman Liturgical Reform/Books

Reading for Th, NOV 29: R- PW, 209-216; S - OHCW, 721-54

Th, NOV 29: Liturgical Reform/Books in Other Modern Churches: Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed, Methodist/ Ecumenical Liturgical/Sacramental Convergence (*Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*)

Reading for Dec. 4; R- TT

T, DEC 4: Topics in Modern Liturgy: Inculturation and Translation (*Liturgiam Authenticam*)

Take-Home Exam 2 Due

Reading for Dec. 6: **R** – Johnson, “Can We Avoid Relativism in Worship?” M. Aune, “Liturgy and Theology: Rethinking the Relationship; Parts 1 and 2,” (on reserve)

Th, DEC 6: Topics in Modern Liturgy – Liturgical Theology in the light of Liturgical History

T, DEC 11: Final Summary/Review

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF LITURGICAL HISTORY (Primarily in English)

Prepared by

Maxwell E. Johnson

Spring, 1998; Revised: Summer, 2002; Fall, 2006

I. GENERAL

A. STANDARD INTRODUCTORY WORKS

- A. Adam, *Foundations of Liturgy: An Introduction to Its History and Practice*.
Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Pueblo 1992.
- T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*.
London 1969.
- F. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical*.
Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress 1997.
- C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold, and P Bradshaw (eds.), *The Study of Liturgy*.
Rev. Edition. London/New York: Oxford 1992. (Good bibliographies at the
beginning of each section)
- A.G. Martimort, et. al. (eds.), *The Church at Prayer*. 4 vols.
Collegeville: The Liturgical Press 1986. (Good bibliographies at the beginning
of each section with numerous important French works)
- R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*.
Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press 1984. Revised Ed. Rome: Pontifical
Oriental Institute 1997.
- B. Thompson, *A Bibliography of Christian Worship*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press
1988. (Megabibliography worth owning but price is prohibitive, around \$100)
- J. White, *A Brief History of Christian Worship*.
Nashville: Abingdon 1993.
- J. White, *Documents of Christian Worship*.
Louisville: Westminster/John Knox 1992.
- H. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*.
Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Pueblo 1985.

B. SOME LITURGICAL CLASSICS

- L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*.
Notre Dame 1968.
- Y. Brillioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*

- London 1930.
- G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* . London 1945. (No book has been more influential on modern liturgical revision).
- L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*
London 1930.
- J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Solemnia)* . 2 vols. Benziger 1951. Reprinted Christian Classics 1986.
- J. Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy* . New York: Herder and Herder 1962.
- J. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*. London: Geoffrey Chapman 1962. Reprinted by Collegeville: The Liturgical Press 1989.
- T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* .
London 1969.
- G.G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*.
London 1964 (= Alcuin Club Collections 46).
- G.G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* .
London 1968 (= Alcuin Club Collections 50).

C. LITURGICAL STUDIES AND SELECT SOURCES IN TRANSLATION

All of the following are from Grove Books, Ltd., Cambridge, England.

Key: AGLS = Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study; GLS = Grove Liturgical Studies; JLS = Joint Liturgical Studies

- Cesare Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium* vol. 1, 1999 = JLS 44
- Cesare Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium* vol. 2, 2000 = JLS 47-8
- J. Baldwin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem* 1989 = AGLS 9
- P. Bradshaw (ed.) *The Canons of Hippolytus* 1987 = AGLS 50
- P. Bradshaw (ed.) *Essays on Early Christian Initiation* 1989 = AGLS 8
- S. Brock and M Vasey, *Liturgical Portions of the Didascalia* = GLS 29.
- C. Buchanan, *Eucharistic Liturgies of Edward VI* = GLS 34.
- M. Connell, *The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio* 2002 = AGLS 52
- G. Cuming, *Hippolytus: A Text for Students* = GLS 8.
- G. Cuming, *Essays on Hippolytus* = GLS 15.
- J. Day, *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine 325-451* 1999 = JLS 43
- J. Fenwick, *Fourth-Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* 1986 = GLS 45
- J. Fenwick, *The Missing Oblation: The Contents of the Early Antiochene Anaphora* 1989 = AGLS 11
- E. Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music: The Music of Pre-Constantinian Christianity* 1992 = AGLS 22-23
- W. J. Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions* 1990 = AGLS 61/62.
- G. Jeanes, *The Origins of the Roman Rite* 1991 = AGLS 20
- G. Jeanes, *The Origins of the Roman Rite* vol. 2, 1998 = JLS 42
- M. Johnson, *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt* = AGLS 33
- A Kreider, *Worship and Evangelism in Pre-Christendom* 1995 = JLS 32

- R. Lennard-Barrett, *The Sacramentary of Sarapion* 1993 = AGLS 25
(Use only in conjunction with M. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 249, Rome 1995)
- L. Edward Phillips, *The Ritual Kiss in Early Christian Worship* 1996 = JLS 36
- D. Power, *Irenaeus of Lyon on Baptism and Eucharist* 1991 = AGLS 18
- P. Rorem, *The Medieval Growth of Liturgical Symbolism* = GLS 47
- G. Sperry-White, *Testamentum Domini* 1991 = AGLS 19.
- B. Spinks, *Addai and Mari...A Text for Students* = GLS 24.
- B. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and his Reform of the Canon of the Mass* = GLS 30.
- B. Spinks, *Mar Nestorius and Mar Theodore the Interpreter: The Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers of East Syria* 1999 = AGLS 45
- Alistair Stewart-Sykes and Judith Newman, *Early Jewish Liturgy* 2001 = JLS 51
- B. Varghese, *The Syriac Version of the Liturgy of St. James: A Brief History for Students* 2001 = JLS 49
- P. Tovey, *The Liturgy of St. James as Presently Used* 1998 = JLS 40

D. EARLY LITURGIES

- P. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship: A Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice*. London: SPCK 1996.
- P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*. 2nd edn. London/New York: Oxford 2002. (Read the footnotes carefully for important works to be consulted)
- P. Bradshaw and L. Hoffman (eds.), *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.
- J. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy To the Time of Gregory the Great*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press 1959. (Use with caution)
- K. Stevenson, *The First Rites: Worship in the Early Church*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press 1989.

E. MEDIEVAL WESTERN LITURGIES

- J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press 1991. (Of special interest to those in Liturgical Music but good general descriptions and references)
- E. Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques. Le Moyen Age. Des origines au XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Beauchesne 1993 (= *A History of Liturgical Books* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 1998)).
- R.W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (= Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 9). Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1982. (Excellent and standard medieval bibliographical reference work)
- C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*.

Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986. (This current *definitive* treatment must be consulted for references to standard critical editions of Latin medieval sources!)

F. MEDIEVAL WESTERN RITES OTHER THAN ROMAN

T.C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain, c. 300-1100* .

London 1967.

P. Fink (ed.), *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*

Collegeville: Michael Glazier 1990. S.v. "Traditions, Liturgical, In the West: Pre-Reformation," 1282-1293.

A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*

London 1957.

W.S. Porter, *The Gallican Rite*

London 1958.

W.F. Warren and J. Stevenson, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*

Woodbridge 1987.

G. EASTERN CHRISTIAN LITURGIES

Important Periodicals/Journals for Eastern Liturgical Studies:

Byzantinische Zeitschrift

Dumbarton Oaks Papers

Eastern Churches Review

Echos d'Orient

Greek Orthodox Theological Review

Oriens Christianus

L'Orient syrien

Orientalia Christiana Periodica (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*: monograph series)

Ostkirchliche Studien

Revue des études arméniens

Revue des études byzantines

Documents/Studies:

D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (2 vols.)

J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (= OCA 228)

G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (= OCA 193).

G. Bertonière, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion: The Sundays Without a Commemoration.*(= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 253) Rome 1997.

F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1: *Eastern* (vol. 2 never written).

P. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* .

Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 1997.

- O.H.E. KHS. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of her Sacraments*
- F.C. Conybeare - A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church*
- I.H. Dalmais, *Eastern Liturgies* (= 20th Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, 112)
- H. Denzinger, *Ritus orientalium coptorum, syrorum et armenorum in administrandis sacramentis* (sacramental rites other than eucharist in traditions other than Byzantine).
- J. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James: An Investigation into Their Common Origins* (= OCA 240).
- A. King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom* (2 vols.)
- W.F. Macomber, "A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean Rites," *OCP* 39 (1973), 235-42.
- W.F. Macomber, "History of the Chaldean Mass," *Worship* 51 (1977), 107-20.
- W.F. Macomber, "The Sources for a Study of the Chaldean Mass," *Worship* 51 (1977), 523-536.
- J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine* (= OCA 191)
- J. Mateos, "The Evolution of the Byzantine Liturgy," *John XXIII Lectures*, I, 76-112.
- J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* (= OCA 165, 166).
- T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*
- E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (2 vols - non-Byzantine Eucharist)
- R.G. Roberson, *The Eastern Christian Churches: A Brief Survey*
- S. Salaville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies*
- A. Schmemmann, *The Eucharist*
- A. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy*
- A. Schmemmann, *Great Lent*
- A. Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*
- A. Schmemmann, *Of Water and the Spirit*
- H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy*
- R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*
- R. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*
- R. Taft, *The Diptychs* (= OCA 238)
- R. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (= OCA 200)
- R. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-81) 45-75.
- F. van de Pavard, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts* (= OCA 187)
- G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale: Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (= OCA 217)
- H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite*

H. REFORMATION LITURGIES

- L. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* .
Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1947 ff. (Although rather biased in approach,
this is an excellent treatment of Reformation and modern Lutheran liturgical
sources)
- F. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* .
Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress 1997.
- V. Vajta, *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation*.
Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press 1958.
- J. White, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition* .
Louisville: Westminster/John Knox 1989.

I. SOME IMPORTANT JOURNALS AND OTHER RESOURCES IN LITURGICAL STUDY

Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
Ephemerides liturgicae
Ecclesia Orans
Henry Bradshaw Society (rare liturgical texts; Latin primarily)
Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie
Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft
La Maison-Dieu
Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen
Sutdia Liturgica
Studia Patristica
Worship

II. SPECIFIC TOPICS IN LITURGICAL STUDY

A. SOME STANDARD WORKS ON CHRISTIAN INITIATION

- T.C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain, c. 300-1100* . London 1967.
- G. Austin. *Anointing with the Spirit*. New York: Pueblo, 1985.
- P. Bradshaw. *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*. Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study
8. Bramcote/Nottingham 1989.
- F.L. Cross. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments:
The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses*. London 1951.
- M. Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries*.
New York: Sadlier, 1979.
- T.M. Finn. *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John
Chrysostom* (= Stud. in Christian Antiquity 15). Washington 1967.
- T.M. Finn. *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate* . 2 vols.

- (= Message of the Fathers of the Church 5 and 6)Collegeville: Michael Glazier 1992
- J.D.C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation. Baptism in the Medieval West* (= Alcuin Club Collections 47). London 1965.
- M.E. Johnson (ed.), *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation* . Collegeville: Pueblo 1995.
- M.E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 1999).
- A. Kavanagh, *Confirmation: Origins and Reform*. New York: Pueblo, 1988.
- A. Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism*. New York: Pueblo, 1978.
- G.W.H. Lampe. *The Seal of the Spirit. A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*. London 1967.
- L.L. Mitchell. *Baptismal Anointing* (= Alcuin Club Collections 48). London 1966.
- B. Neunheuser. *Baptism and Confirmation*. New York 1964.
- H. M. Riley. *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan* (= Studies in Christian Antiquity 17). Washington 1974.
- Bryan Spinks. *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism; From the New Testament to the Council of Trent*. Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- Bryan Spinks. *Reformation and Modern Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From Luther to Contemporary Practices*. Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- P. Turner, *Confirmation: The Baby in Solomon's Court*. New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press 1993.
- P. Turner, *Sources of Confirmation: From the Fathers Through the Reformers* Collegeville 1993.
- E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*. London: SPCK, 1970. Revised and Expanded Edition by Maxwell E. Johnson, available November, 2003.
- Wilkinson, J. *Egeria's Travels* . London 1981.
- G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale: Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10 Jahrhunderts* . (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta 217 (Rome 1982).
- E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century*. Slough, England: St. Paul, 1971. Rev. ed. Collegeville: Liturgical Press 1994.

B. SELECT WORKS ON THE ANAPHORA (EUCCHARISTIC PRAYER)

Texts:

- At the Lord's Table* (= Supplemental Worship Resources 9) Nashville 1981.
- Book of Common Prayer* . (American Episcopal Church) Seabury 1979. Pp. 361-382.
- Book of Common Worship* . (Presbyterian Church, USA)

- Louisville 1993. Pp. 69-73, 126-159, and 165-400.
- F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Vol. 1: *Eastern Liturgies*. Oxford 1896. (prints Greek texts where available; other languages in English translation).
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LTGY 400

HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE LITURGY (Johnson)

ADDENDUM TO SYLLABUS WITH REVISIONS**ASSIGNMENTS, PRESENTATIONS, AND TOPICS**

Course Requirements: Because of the extraordinary large number enrolled in the course, requirements have been adjusted as follows: **ONE major presentation** (both written - 10-15 pages - and oral) **on ONE of the Primary Liturgical Sources chosen; ONE short exercise on the *Missale Romanum Tridentium* as indicated on the original syllabus due on Dec. 5; and TWO Take-Home Exams** (Mid-term over the Jewish roots through the Patristic period due on Nov. 7; and Final over Medieval and Reformation/Counter Reformation due on Tuesday, December 17)

Th, Sept. 26: Pre-Nicene Liturgical Sources 1: Max will take 'Didache' and 'Justin Martyr'

T, Oct. 1: Pre-Nicene Liturgical Sources II:

Apostolic Tradition (Initiation Rites, Hours) _____

Apostolic Tradition (Eucharist, Orders, Year) _____

T, Oct. 8: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources I: Church Orders

Apostolic Constitutions 7 _____

Apostolic Constitutions 8 _____

T, Oct. 15: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources II: Cyril and Egeria

Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses* _____

The Pilgrimage Diary of Egeria _____

Th, Oct. 17: Nicene and Post-Nicene Sources III

The Sacramentary of Sarapion of Thmuis Max _____

Ambrose of Milan _____

Th, Oct. 31: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources II: Roman Sacramentaries

Verona ("Leonine") _____

Old Gelasian and Eighth-Century Gelasians _____

Th, Nov. 7: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources III: Roman Sacramentaries and *Ordines*

Gregorian Sacramentaries (*Hadrianum* and *Paduense*) _____

Ordines Romani (OR I and OR XI) _____

T, Nov. 12: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources V: Breviary and Pontificals

Development of the *Breviarium Romanum* _____

Development of the *Pontificale* _____

Th, Nov. 14: Medieval Western Liturgical Sources V: Lectionaries and Rituals

Development of the Lectionary Matt Clark (Guest)

Development of the Ritual _____

Th, Nov. 21: Reformation Liturgical Sources I:

Lutheran _____

Reformed _____

T, Nov. 26: Reformation Liturgical Sources II:

Anglican _____

Methodist _____

CLASS/LECTURE #1: Intro. to Liturgical Study

Go over Syllabus and course format and have students choose assignments.

Quick summary of Liturgical Study:

Taft's definition of Liturgy (get Klentos handout) -- see also A. Adam's first chapter on definitions - Gottesdienst "Service of God" - two-fold direction (objective and subjective genitive)

Worship = Worship!

- I. Leitourgia (leitourgia)
Not Laos + ergos BUT litos + ergos

Public Work – civil term in Greek = “Minister”

Christ the Liturgist = (Hebrews) – Leitourgos

Work on behalf of the people = - “Transhistorical Christ” – X = not past or future but Present; liturgy as mode of encounter with the present Christ!!

Gottesdienst – service of God; service of God – objective and subjective genitive; dialogic nature of worship – God acts; we respond

One of three principal activities of the Church – Leitourgia, diakonia, martyria

Ite, Missa est!!

Do summary of Bradshaw's essay on The Shape of Liturgical Studies

- I. Liturgical Theology (Theology of liturgy)

Lex orandi....lex credendi theologia prima – language of
cult, narrative, liturgical experience, etc.

Faith “prayed” before dogmatized (Trinity, christology, mariology...)

- II. Ritual Studies (Auxiliary Sciences – Anthropology, Sociology)
Studies The act of liturgy itself and the community that does the act of liturgy

The Ritual Process: Sanctification of life, time, and space

Life: Rites of Passage: Separation, Liminality, Re-aggregation

Time: Hours, Year

Space: Architecture

Another Dimension: Levels of Meaning – Official, Public, Private

- III. Liturgical History (Auxiliary Sciences: History in General, Archeology, Art History, etc.)
- IV. Apologia for Historical Method

Thomas Talley has said:

Our current discussions of pastoral praxis, of theological meaning, or spirituality, and of much more rest finally on the assumption that *we know what we are talking about* ; and to know what we are talking about demands knowing much more that can be generated by a mere creativity operating upon data drawn only from the experience of itself.ⁱ

Especially is this the case with the rites of Christian initiation. To draw upon data "only from

To actually "know what we are talking about" with regard to the rites of Christian initiation, then, means that we have to study history. There is no other way. Robert Taft has said on numerous occasions with regard to liturgy that "those ignorant of history are subject to the latest cliché." Along similar lines he has written that:

...amidst all the contemporary talk of 'relevance' in matters liturgical it remains my firm conviction that nothing is so relevant as knowledge, nothing so irrelevant as ignorance. So I think that in matters of pastoral relevance there is still something we can learn from comparative liturgical scholarship across a broad range of traditions....One of the great contemporary illusions is that one can construct a liturgical theology without a profound knowledge of the liturgical tradition. So in spite of the (to me) rather perplexing discomfort that many Americans seem to have with history, there can be no theology without it...Christian liturgy is a given, an object, an already existing reality like English literature. One discovers what English literature is only by reading Chaucer and Shakespeare and Eliot and Shaw and the contemporaries. So too with liturgy. If we want to know what Christmas and Chrismation, Eucharist and Easter mean, we shall not get far by studying anthropology or game-theory, or by asking ourselves what we *think* they mean. We must plunge into the enormous stream of liturgical and patristic evidence and wade through it piece by piece, age by age, ever alert to pick up shifts in the current as each generation reaches for its own understanding of what it is we are about.ⁱⁱ

The pastoral practice of liturgy itself, I am convinced, must also flow from such an historical and theological approach. In a recent book, Dennis Smolarski speaks of the

relationship between liturgy and pastoral practice in a way that should be noted carefully by all who are involved in any type of pastoral ministry. Smolarski states:

The noted French liturgical center is called the *Centre de Pastorale Liturgique de Paris*. *Pastorale* is the noun and *Liturgique* is the adjective. In English we speak of *pastoral liturgy*. But the French term implies *liturgical pastoral practice*. The liturgy (and its spirit, its history, etc.) forms and informs pastoral practice. We [Americans] tend to think the other way around. We think pastoral concerns are reasons for changing liturgy. The French phrase suggests that liturgy can affect the ways we minister, that the spirit of the liturgy can direct our work. A person should never have to choose between being pastoral or being liturgical, since good liturgy is ultimately pastoral.ⁱⁱⁱ

V. CLASS/LECTURE #2: "Jewish Liturgy and Sources"

[**NEED:** Danby, Mishnah, texts of Tefillah and B-H-M (see PEER for text of B-H-M) **see Quinn notes (make photo-copies); Bradshaw, Daily Prayer**

A. The Jewish Background to Christian Worship

Intro. In a lecture some forty years ago the renowned liturgical scholar, Gregory Dix, once said that "Our understanding of our forms of worship underwent a radical transformation...when it finally occurred to someone that Jesus was a Jew." And to this might be added the often quoted statement of Pope Pius XII to the effect that "Spiritually we are all Semites." Indeed, the style of Christian prayer, the Liturgy of the Hours, the eucharistic meal and its prayers, the Liturgical Year, the structure of the week, etc. that we celebrate as Christians, etc. all share a common history with Judaism to some degree. Spiritually, as Christians, we are truly Semites. But since these two famous statements were made there has been what Bradshaw calls a full-blown scholarly revolution among both Jewish and Christian liturgical scholars concerning the liturgical relationship between Judaism and early Christianity. It was once common to assume direct and mono-linear links between what was assumed to be fixed, standard and authoritative Jewish liturgical practice and Christian worship. But while Christian worship certainly developed in continuity with Judaism -- how could it not ? -- it also developed in discontinuity with it, centered as it is in the radical confession of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, the Christos. How much of Jewish liturgy as it is reflected in texts stemming only from a relatively later time period was actually in use in the time of Jesus is highly questionable, as is the extent to which Jesus himself -- as well as the earliest Christian communities -- would have either used such prayers without radically transforming them or even used them at all. (See the essay by B. SPINKS, "Beware the Liturgical Horses" **W** 1985) And how much Jewish worship continued to influence that of Christianity after 70 AD is not all that clear. So what can we say about the Jewish Background to early Christian worship?

1. Sources/Documents for Jewish Worship

Besides the OT itself, of course, the principal textual source for ancient Jewish liturgy is the Prayer Book -- but the earliest we have is the Siddur Rav Saadya Gaon, 9th cent. president (Gaon) of the Academy in Babylon, Siddur or Seder simply means "order"; 10th cent. ms. Beyond this we have the Mishnah (the first systematic collection of rabbinic judgements made at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D.), the Tosefta (a later supplement), and the Talmud (an extensive compilation of rabbinic discussion spanning several centuries after the Mishnah's promulgation and organized as a running commentary on that work. There are two Talmuds -- the Palestinian (final form ca. 400 A.D.) and the Babylonian (7th

or 8th cent. B.C.) and most of our available textual liturgical evidence is based on the Babylonian rather than on the Palestinian. So how dependable and authoritative these documentary sources are for determining the state of Jewish liturgy during the New Testament and early Christian periods is highly questionable. Practices cited and texts given may often be the attempts of Rabbis to determine what the shape of Jewish worship should be by citing what they believe is an ancient tradition rather than accurately reflecting that tradition. Thus, GREAT CAUTION must be taken with these sources regarding conclusions for early Xn worship (and this cannot be emphasized enough), especially since scholarship has tended to assume that what we have here in these texts is what we would have found in the early period. But this is not necessarily the case.

2. Jewish Religious Practices

(See Taft, LoH in E and W and Bradshaw, Daily Prayer in the Ancient Church (chs. 1-2))

Along with Texts, it is important to note a number of factors or practices which influenced early Christian worship to some degree.

A. Prayer

First of all, the Jewish custom of praying at set times. But there is little agreement concerning the times of Jewish prayer in this period -- because Judaism itself was anything but uniform. There were several schools of thought or groups within Judaism in the time of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes. What becomes normative or "Rabbinic" Judaism after the destruction of the Temple in 70A.D., of course, is Pharisaic Judaism but this not mean it was Pharisaic Judaism which was most influential on early Christianity. The other groups disappear. And Jewish worship in this early period was largely **uncodified**, i.e., not set or regimented. The codification and standardization of Jewish liturgy was the task of the Rabbis of the second cent. onwards. Contrary to traditional scholarship it is no longer possible to assume, for example, a single Jewish pattern of two daily sacrifices in the Temple (Morning and Eve), paralleled by two private prayer times at the same hours, which in turn lead supposedly to two chief Christian hours of MP and V. What we have instead appears to be a mixed pattern: a twofold recitation of the Shema morning and evening, which in rabbinic circles is joined to a threefold daily private prayer -- the additional one being at the 9th hour. The most that one can say about the influence of Jewish prayer times on Xn prayer is that Jews and Christians prayed at set times. And, further, Jewish prayer was centered in the Temple, the synagogue, and the home.

a. Temple

There were two daily sacrifices in the temple, morning and evening, but what influence this had on Christian worship is difficult to determine. Acts tells us that the early Christians attended the temple daily but that they gathered as a separate group (3:11-4:31; 5:12-42) in which they preached Christ and were persecuted for it. Furthermore, the sacrificial imagery of the Temple certainly did exert influence on Christian thought in the early period -- but its influence on Christian liturgical practice - based on the literary description of the Temple liturgy rather than the first-century institution -- is more strong from the fourth century onwards.

b. Synagogue (Origins disputed: during Exilic period due to distance from Temple? Or to cope with a growing nation for whom the temple could have only have an occasional impact?)

Scholars have often asserted that the Shape of the Christian Liturgy is the result of a fusion between the distinct units of The Jewish Synagogue Service of readings, preaching, and prayer, and the remains of a communal Meal also having its roots in Jewish practice. But It is not clear just what corporate synagogue prayer comprised in the first century, nor on how many days it was held. It seems that there were public services on market days (Mondays and Thursdays) and on the Sabbath. At least on the Sabbath there were morning and afternoon services, and the morning assembly, it seems, included a recitation of the Shema and Tefillah or benedictions with Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:24-6) -- probably added to synagogue worship from temple sacrificial cult after 70 A.D., placed here rather than at end of the service where we would expect a blessing) plus readings from the Law and the Prophets (though we do not know how selected with certainty). (Regarding psalmody in synagogue worship it should also be noted that contrary to the popular claim that our use of psalms in the Liturgy of the Word -- especially advanced in support of our contemporary practice of inserting a responsorial psalm between the first and second readings - - is rooted in the Synagogue has no evidence in support of it.) Psalms at the Temple sacrifices and in the ritual of passover yes, but not in the synagogue liturgy until the 8th cent. A.D. First Christian use is attested by Tertullian in North Africa (ca. late first/early second century in his Montanist period). Although the Mishnah presupposes that both Shemah and Tefillah will be said every day, this is most likely understood to be the private recitation of individuals rather than a part of common daily worship in the synagogue until later. While Daily worship becomes a part of the Essene pattern there is no real foundation for the traditional assumption that daily Synagogue worship was the practice of the devout Jew in the first century.

c. The Home

Jewish Prayer-Patterns

Three main types of formal prayer may be identified in early Judaism:

(A) The Berakah Form (BERAKOT)

The classical form, and the one which ultimately became normative in the synagogue was the berakah "Blessing", (from Barak - "to bless") in which God was blessed for what he had done for his people. In its most ancient form, found in the OT, it occurs principally not in a cultic setting but as a response to some event. It contains the following elements:

- The opening blessing, always the stereotyped formula - "Blessed be the Lord" using the passive participle of the verb barak;

- further appellatives of God - sometimes omitted; (e.g., "King of the universe)

- a relative clause, using the third person and expressing the particular grounds for blessing (Blessed be the Lord,...who has done such and such....)

This simple blessing might take an extended form, especially in a liturgical setting by the addition of other elements:

- The anamnesis of God's activity might be expanded into a more detailed description by the enlargement of the relative clause and by the addition of a further sentence or sentences;

- Petition and intercession might follow on from anamnesis and in subordination to it -- the recalling of God's past goodness constitutes the ground on which he might be asked to continue his activity among his people.

Finally, when used in a liturgical setting, it became customary to conclude the developed form with another short berakah, thus reiterating the opening of the prayer and inviting the congregation's Amen. (e.g., Blessed be the Lord forever. Amen.)

While in the OT these berakot are in the 3rd person there developed in the intertestamental period a preference for the second person - baruk attah - blessed are you...

Since the work of Jean-Paul Audet in 1957 the berakah form has frequently been seen as the origin of the Eucharistic Anaphora. But Audet

lumped all Jewish prayer formulae into this category of berakah and, furthermore, made the unaccurate assumption that berakah is the equivalent of eucharistia; that "Bless" is the same thing as "thanks." (Influence - NAAL annually gives the Berakah Award to a contemporary NA liturgical scholar)

(B) The Hodayah Form (common among Qumran/Essene materials)

A second form, called the Hodayah is parallel in construction to the berakah, but with the verb yadah, hodeh, or another, used in place of barak, and in an active rather than passive form, with God addressed directly in the second person; usually translated in English as "I will give thanks to you, O Lord...." Praise, however, might be a better translation since its primary significance is not gratitude but the confession and acknowledgement that it is GOD who has acted; indeed the same verb is used for a confession of sin. As Bradshaw notes, it was first rendered into Greek by forms of homologeō (usually "confess" but also "praise") and later, especially in those books of the LXX not part of the Hebrew canon, by eucharistēō.

(C) The Anamnesis Form

A third form, a variant of the berakah, might be called the direct anamnesis, dispensing entirely with any intro. formula of praise and immediately recounting God's mighty works, usually addressing him in the second person or in third person (as in hymns) and then passing to supplication and doxology.

Elements of all three could be mixed and combined in the same prayer. But, the Rabbinic insistence on the berakah as the normative type of Jewish prayer eventually led not only to each prayer having to begin and end with this form, and all variants suppressed, but to each section within a prayer also being assimilated to this form by the addition of a short concluding berakah, the content of which recalled and summarized the theme of the foregoing unit of prayer.... This concluding berakah generally termed the chatimah or seal was in the course of time even added to the opening paragraph of a prayer, which already began with a berakah. In other words, through the activity of the Rabbis all prayers became berakot. But these rules, etc. were not fixed in the first century and we need to be open to a diversity of prayer style and practice.

The Shemah (Give Handout on Shemah)

For domestic prayer, there was next, the recitation of the Shemah: In its fully developed form the Shemah consists of the Decalogue and Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41. The Mishnah assumed, as I said, that it is recited twice each day, M and E, accompanied by Berakot, two before it and one after in the morning, and two both before and after in the evening. Of particular

importance for Christian worship is the berakah Yotzer before the Shemah which contains the Qedussah or "Sanctus." Some scholars, most notably Bryan Spinks, have seen in this berakah Yotzer the origins of the use of the Sanctus in the Christian Eucharistic Prayer stemming from a Christianized form adopted from the Synagogue Service in Syria among Christians more Semetic in their background. See ApConst 7.

The Tefillah (Give Handout on Tefillah)

The Tefillah 'prayer' (also called the Amidah 'standing prayers' or Shemoneh Esreh ('18 berakot' or 'blessings'), according to the Mishnah is to be said three times each day - morning, afternoon, and evening, and as Bradshaw notes prayer 3 times a day seems to have been well-established in Judaism. But what the content of this prayer was is less certain. Only at the end of the 1st cent. was the number of berakot fixed at 18 (later 19) together with the general theme and order -- precise wording not established, and on Sabbaths and festivals a different order consisting of 7 berakot was substituted. See Bradshaw, Daily Prayer, p. 17: **Read Quote**. In other words, first came the obligation to mention certain things in the prayer, then from the third century onwards the opening and concluding formulas of the prayers came to be fixed while the rest remained relatively free; different versions continued to exist side by side.

"Thus in the New Testament period a number of different orders of prayers were in use, having some features and subjects in common with one another, but not as yet restricted to ant definitive wording, structure, or liturgical form.

Quite possible that the twice daily recitation of the shema and the threefold tefillah reflect different practices of different groups later harmonized in the second century. (See Bradshaw, SEARCH, p. 20)

Grace at Meals (Give handout of Birkat ha Mazon)

An extremely important form of Jewish prayer is of course the blessings -- Birkat ha-Mazon -- pronounced before and after everything that was eaten, said both by individuals when eating alone and by one on behalf of the others when eating together. B-h-M; grace after meals; No text given in the Mishnah but it is referred to as comprising three berakot - a tripartite structure: a berakah for the gift of food; a hodayah for the gift of land, the covenant and the law; and a supplication for mercy on the people, the city of Jerusalem, and the temple. An old form regarding general structure and themes but not necessarily a standardized form in the first century. Has been of extreme importance in the discussion of the evolution of the eucharistic prayer. Some scholars would see this as THE parent of the Christian anaphora -- but one must be careful about assuming this.

3. Other Jewish Practices

Year - Passover -- Closely related to Grace at Meals (Give Handout on Passover)

Problem, of course, is that Passover probably does not become a true domestic ritual until after the destruction of the Temple.

Influence on Christian Baptismal Practice -- Hard to tell; See Initiation notes

Ordination -- In spite of Beckwith, there seems to be no certainty regarding the ordination of rabbinic disciples. The term rabbi itself did not come into use until after the destruction of the Temple in AD70, and although individual rabbis subsequently did appoint their disciples themselves, if there was any liturgical ceremony associated with it, we don't know anything about it.

4. Conclusion

Although Jesus was a Jew and the first Christians Jewish, the nature of Jewish liturgical sources suggests that we need to be very careful about seeing a "Jewish" origin to every element of Christian worship. We simply don't know enough about it -- and what we do know and what we have is too controverted to allow us to make many definite conclusions. What we encounter in Jewish liturgical sources -- as within Christianity as well -- is a religious tradition in development. That is, we can't go back to some pristine moment in which the tradition WAS because what we encounter is in flux and already in a later developed form. In the end we must be satisfied with a kind of general correspondence -- because we don't know if the form which it finally attained was even the most influential form for the early Church. We must remember that there existed great fluidity and variety and that what we see is the fixing and standardization of a form that the Rabbis decided upon.

CLASS/LECTURE #3: "Worship in the New Testament"

Intro. The New Testament nowhere prescribes particular forms for Christian worship other than, of course, the command to baptize and to do the Eucharist as the anamnesis of Christ. But no prescriptions as to how one is to obey these commands are given. Indeed, according to John 4, Christian worship is to be worship in "Spirit and Truth." Because of this lack of prescription great caution must be taken with the New Testament in relationship to worship, just, as we have seen, great caution must be urged concerning Jewish liturgical sources. Nevertheless, what light does the NT shed on the major acts of Christian worship?

1. Initiation (Do this on basis of initiation notes)

Christian baptism, as witnessed to in the New Testament accounts of Jesus' own baptism in the Jordan by John the Baptizer (Matt. 3:13-17; Mk. 1:9-11, Luke 3:21-22; and Jn. 1:31-34), finds its immediate origins in the baptismal practice of John himself. But from where John derived his baptismal practices or how he himself became a "baptizer" are not certain. Traditional scholarship tended to locate the origins of his practice as coming either from what was considered to be parallel Jewish "baptismal" rituals performed among the Essene community at Qumran near the Dead Sea or from the tradition of Jewish "proselyte" baptism as an initiatory rite for Gentile converts to Judaism. But differences between John's once-for-all baptism and the repeatable Qumran washings and the fact that the documentary evidence for Jewish proselyte baptism is later than the known existence of Christian baptism makes it difficult to maintain either as definitive sources. Alternatively, together with a number of Old Testament prophetic texts that speak of God's new creation and restoration as beginning with a divine washing away of sin (e.g., Isaiah 1:16-17 and Ezekiel 36:25-28), Adela Collins has suggested that John's "baptism of repentance" was a ritually enacted prophetic sign which anticipated the very coming of God in human history and the ultimate cleansing with water which would inaugurate the new creation of God itself.¹ This was no repeatable immersion of ritual or cultic purity. Nor was John's baptism a way to make Jewish converts out of Gentiles. What John proclaimed, anticipated, and ritually enacted, in typical prophetic fashion, was the dawning of God's decisive intervention in history, the beginning of God's cleansing, restoration, and transformation of God's people.

Nevertheless, based possibly as well on Jesus' own baptismal practice (John 3:22, 26, and 4:1) in continuity with John's practice, and in general continuity with an overall context of ritual washings and bathing customs within first-century Judaism,² new converts to Christianity, apparently, at least, from the first Christian Pentecost on (Acts 2:38-42), were initiated into

¹ See Adela Collins, "The Origin of Christian Baptism," in LWSS, pp. 46-47.

²In addition to Ibid., pp. 35-47, see Gordon Lathrop, "Baptism in the New Testament and its Cultural Settings," in S. Anita Stauffer (ed.), *Worship and Culture in Dialogue* (Geneva: LutheranWorld Federation, 1994), pp. 23-31.

Christ and the Church by a ritual process which included some form of “baptism” with water. This process, of course, will eventually be based in the command of the risen Jesus himself (Matt. 28:19). Unfortunately, the New Testament records little detail about this baptismal practice or what additional ceremonies may have been included. While we might assume that some kind of profession of faith in Jesus as Lord was present, we do not know, for example, if any particular “formula” -- e.g., “I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” from the dominical command for baptism in Matt 28:19 or, “in the name of Jesus” (Acts 3:6) -- was employed or even if these were actually “liturgical” formulas to be recited at baptism or merely catechetical-descriptive formulas about baptism.³ Nor do we know precisely how baptisms were regularly administered (by immersion, complete submersion, or pouring),⁴ whether infants were ever candidates for baptism in the New Testament period,⁵ what kind of preparation may have preceded adult baptism, whether anointings were already part of the process, or if occasional references to the apostolic conferral of the postbaptismal gift of the Holy Spirit (cf. Acts 8 and 19) were regular features of baptismal practice in some early communities or exceptional cases due to particular situations. The account in Acts 8, for example, appears to be concerned with the conversion and Christian initiation of Samaritans, whose conversion and initiation came about not by or under the direction of the Jerusalem apostles, but through the mission of Philip. So, by having the apostles Peter and John go to Samaria to lay hands on these converts, Luke may well be underscoring one of his key emphases in Acts, namely, that all Christian missionary work must somehow be subordinated to or ratified by the apostles in Jerusalem themselves. Along similar lines, the context and situation in Acts 19:1-7 concerns those who had received only John's baptism, not Christian baptism. Such situations as these can hardly be seen as reflecting any sort of normative pattern, but, rather, specific and unique occasions.⁶ Indeed, had postbaptismal handlaying related to the gift of the Holy Spirit been an “apostolic” and regular baptismal practice, it is difficult to understand why that practice does not continue everywhere in the rites of the first few centuries. For that matter, Martin Connell’s recent study of footwashing in the Gospel of John suggests that among some early Johannine communities it was not baptism at all but a footwashing ceremony that

³See L. Hartman, “Into the Name of the Lord Jesus”: Baptism in the Early Church, Studies of the New Testament and Its World, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997).

⁴See S. Anita Stauffer, “Cultural Settings of Architecture for Baptism in the Early Church,” in Idem (ed.) Worship and Culture in Dialogue (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1994), pp. 57-66.

⁵See the classic debate on infant baptism by Kurt Aland, Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? (London 1963), and Joachim Jeremias, The Origins of Infant Baptism (London 1963). Kurt Aland,

⁶See the summary of scholarly approaches in Kilian McDonnell and G.T. Montague, Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 31-39

constituted the “rite” of Christian initiation,⁷ and, hence, the possibility emerges that many of the ceremonies which came to be attached to baptism as additional or supplementary rites (e.g., handlaying, anointings, footwashing) once constituted complete rites of initiation, perhaps even without the water bath, in some early communities.

If liturgical clarity and precision with regard to initiation rites is not present in the New Testament, the New Testament does provide a rich collection of baptismal images and metaphors. Among these are: forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38); new birth through water and the Holy Spirit (Jn. 3:5; Titus 3:5-7); putting off of the “old nature” and “putting on the new,” that is, “being clothed in the righteousness of Christ” (Gal. 3:27; Col. 3:9-10); initiation into the “one body” of the Christian community (1 Cor. 12:13; see also Acts 2:42); washing, sanctification, and justification in Christ and the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6:11); enlightenment (Heb. 6:4; 10:32; 1 Peter 2:9); being “anointed” and/or “sealed” by the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. 1:21-22; 1 Jn. 2:20, 27); being “sealed” or “marked” as belonging to God and God's people (2 Cor. 1:21-22; Eph. 1:13-14; 4:30; Rev. 7:3); and, of course, being joined to Christ through participation in His death, burial, and resurrection (Rom. 6:3-11; Col. 2:12-15). Two of these will stand out with particular emphasis within the developing liturgical traditions: Christian initiation as new birth through water and the Holy Spirit (John 3:5ff.); and Christian initiation as being united with Christ in his death, burial, and resurrection (Rom. 6:3-11). Around these, several of the other New Testament images will eventually cluster as specific rites to accompany baptism.

2. Eucharist

A. Passover, Last Supper, Institution Narratives

Scholars still debate whether or not the Last Supper was, in fact, the celebration of the Passover. According to the Synoptic tradition it was, but according to the Gospel of John it was not, for Jesus was crucified at the time during which the Passover lambs were being sacrificed in the temple in preparation for it. Hence, Jesus as “Lamb of God” and the Last Supper in John includes the washing of feet and the command to love. (John 6 places a dominical “institution” in the context of a feeding miracle -- See R. Brown's work on John). Various explanations have tried to harmonize these. Annie Jaubert ([The Date of the Last Supper](#)) - Jesus followed a different calendar (Essenes) and so ate the Passover on Tuesday or that John's Gospel reflects the tradition of the Sadducees whereas the Synoptics that of the Pharisees. But we have no evidence in support of these conjectures. Scholars also debate the reliability of the institution narratives themselves as to whether or not they reflect an accurate historical record of the Last Supper. Did the historical Jesus in fact hold a Last Supper with his followers and did he “institute” the Eucharist, or is the Eucharist

⁷Martin F. Connell, “[Nisi Pedes](#) , Except for the Feet: Footwashing in the Community of John's Gospel,” [Worship](#) 70, 4 (1996): 20-30.

itself a post-resurrection apostolic development? Scholars line up on either side of this. Most, however, would agree that the particular shape given to these narratives is the result of post-Easter liturgical development. In other words, rather than telling us what happened "on the night in which Jesus was betrayed," they tell us more about what the shape of the Eucharistic Meal was in the communities of the Synoptic Gospels and in Paul. Not what Jesus did but what these early churches came to do as his "remembrance" which then shaped the way in which they told the story. NOTE: this does not mean that these Words of Jesus were spoken within the context of the celebration, i.e., as part of the prayer over bread and cup or as a "distribution" formula, but that they reflect the shape and action of the meal which is celebrated and shared. The use of these words in a eucharistic prayer is to come only later in history.

If the narratives of the Last Supper reflect an historical core and if the Synoptics are correct in asserting that it took place in the context of the Jewish Passover, then the following **may** be the way in which it took place:

Passover Ritual

Blessing over the first cup
Hors d'oeuvres (herbs and sauces)
 Explanation (haggadah) by the head of the house
 First part of the Hallel (Pss. 113-114)
 Second cup
 Blessing over the unleavened bread
 Passover Lamb
 Blessing (Birkat ha-mazon) over the third cup ("the cup of blessing")
 Second part of the Hallel (Pss. 114-118 or 115-118)
 Praise over the fourth cup

The NT narratives fit easily into this framework with Jesus taking bread and blessing God over the unleavened bread, and "after supper" taking the cup (the third cup) and praying the Birkat ha-mazon (with its Passover embolism in which God is asked to "remember" the Messiah).

Those who do not accept the historical reliability of the Last Supper as a Passover Meal have suggested alternatively that Jesus and the 12 were celebrating a Kiddush meal -- but there was probably never any such thing; others have seen it as a haburah meal, a Jewish meal 'invested with religious solemnity, which might be held by a company of friends.' But again, these kinds of meals were held exclusively in connection with circumcisions, weddings, and funerals and so do not really provide an answer. Still others have suggested that

it was a zabah todah (sacrifice of praise, translated by eucharistia in some versions of the LXX) which included a communion meal and a joyful proclamation of what God had done. But here again evidence is lacking. As Bradshaw notes these explanations have arisen in part because later eucharistic prayers did not retain the berakah form thought to be standard in first-century Jewish prayer and opted instead for hodayah/eucharistia. But Jewish meal prayers were not standardized in the first century and hodayah/eucharistia could be used in contexts other than the zabah todah. Whether there was a Last Supper is open to debate, if there was, whether it was a Passover Meal is not clear in spite of the Synoptics. And even if it were, there is nothing exclusively Passover oriented remaining in the early eucharistic celebrations -- (why not only a once-a-year celebration?). The most we can say is that there is a Passover context and some Passover implications surrounding the Eucharist but beyond this we don't know. And, further, our information about the Passover as a domestic family meal -- such as seems suggested by the Synoptics -- dates to a time period after the destruction of the Temple and, once again, the textual evidence of the Passover seder is much much later in history. (If time rant and rave about Christians celebrating "Passovers" during Holy Week).

B. Eucharistic Celebration in the NT

Whether the LS was the Passover or not, the NT does provide some evidence for its celebration and interpretation in the life of the primitive Xn communities, but we don't know enough to be able to generalize for all the communities. What we have primarily is Luke-Acts and the possible references to liturgical practices are difficult to interpret and so liturgical practice is hard to reconstruct.

Breaking of bread references

Does the Emmaus account (Luke 24) for example, refer to the pattern of Scripture and Meal known to the Lukan community or does it not?

Does the reference to the "breaking of bread" at Troas (Acts 20:7-11) at midnight after Paul's lengthy sermon reflect regular practice and, in any event, which evening is meant, Saturday or Sunday?

Do the references in Acts 2:42, 47 actually refer by "breaking of bread" to the eucharist? Does 47 mean a "daily eucharist" or does it simply mean the gathering of the community to eat? If it means eucharist it could not have lasted past 70 A.D., the destruction of the Temple.

Meaning of the Eucharist

But what about the interpretation of the eucharist?

(1) Apparently, acc. to 1 Cor. 11, the euch. was long celebrated within the context of a community meal; but this was not without its problems. Paul says (1 Cor. 11:21) that "one goes hungry and another becomes drunk". His solution? If you are hungry, eat at home (11:34). The meal did become detached, apparently in late NT times for Jude 12 condemns those "are blemishes on your love feasts, while they feast with you without feat. By the second century this love-feast or agape seems to have become a Sunday evening meal - ca. 112 Pliny tells the Emp. Trajan that Christians were willing to give up meeting for "ordinary and harmless food" although quite unwilling to give up their morning assembly.

Gregory Dix on the 7 and 4 action shape of the Eucharist. It was Dix who argued that the early euch. in conjunction with a meal had a 7 act. shape: "taking" bread, "blessing" God, "breaking" bread, and "sharing" bread before the meal. After the Meal: "taking" cup; giving "thanks", and "sharing" the cup. When the full meal becomes displaced these 7 actions become merged into four and joined to the synagogue service:

Taking bread and cup -- origins of Offertory
 Blessing/Thanksgiving -- Eucharistic Prayer
 "Breaking" -- fraction rite
 Sharing bread and cup -- communion

Ingenious and highly influential (foundation for much of modern revision of rites -- but not all that clear; problematic - hard to derive entire liturgical "shape" out of this, especially "taking" = Offering; Great Entrance in Byz. tradition is not an offering. And "Breaking" = developed fraction rite (e.g., to this day in the Coptic Orthodox Church - fraction goes with distribution (communion) as communion is distributed.

(2) Frequency of the eucharist is hard to determine, although at least weekly seems to be the consensus of scholars.

(3) Precise Form(s) and who presided at it even harder to determine. Paul argues for an order to the assemblies in 1 Cor. 14.

(4) Wide range of interpretations:

Focus on the community; each. binds them together but also excludes them from compromise with evil. "I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons (1 Cor. 10:21-22). Participation in the eucharist excludes involvement in social evils.

Eucharist = giving thanks, a central dimension; thanksgiving made in commemoration of God's act in Christ. Pauline and Lukan accounts use the word anamnesis. Difficult to translate: focus seems to be the making present again of something now past -- the saving reality of a past event, now present; standing in the presence of what God has done and experiencing anew its saving power.

Communion -- "Coming into union" with the risen Christ. "The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16)

No explicit references to each. as sacrifice in the NT; but the work of Christ treated as sacrificial (esp. Hebrews). IN puts focus on "body given, blood shed" -- certainly a sacrificial connotation; the eucharistic meal certainly has sacrificial overtones

3. Other Elements of NT Worship

A. Hours (See TAFT, LHEW, I)

The NEw Testament certainly shows us a Church at prayer by: (1) giving references to Jesus and others at prayer; (2) exhortations and commands to pray; (3) instructions on how to pray; and (4) actual prayers and hymns. Further, Acts 2:15 (Pentecost), 3:1, 10:9, and 16:25 give indications of early Christians following set periods for prayer but we don't know the content of this prayer. Whether public or private also difficult to determine. Prayer services which included "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" are possibly indicated in some places (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16). Christians of course, are commanded to pray persistently and to "pray without ceasing" (1 Thess. 5:16-18)

Closely related to all this are the numerous hymn texts scattered throughout (e.g., the Canticles of Zachariah, Mary, Simeon in Luke; perhaps the prologue to John; the Christ hymn in Phil. 2:5-11; Rev. is full of songs, etc. While we need to be careful about these -- and so avoid what Bradshaw has called "panliturgism" that is to see liturgy everywhere (e.g., the structure of the Gospels designed with preaching in mind and hence as reflecting a lectionary arrangement; or reading the Letters as pre-baptismal catechesis, or that the outline of Revelation was suggested by the order of the paschal liturgy -- it remains true that these probably do reflect the sort of liturgical material to which the NT Christians were accustomed

Perhaps we should also include the creedal phrases "JEsus is Lord," greetings such as "Grace to you and peace," etc.; doxologies and blessings ("The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ....."); and exclamations ("Come, Lord Jesus"; "Abba, Father" and even the Jewish word "Amen." And, of course, THE prayer which JEsus taught - The Our Father (See J. Jeremias, The Prayers of Jesus)

Also, the references to the Kiss of peace may suggest liturgical usage in some instances. A friend of mine has argued that in four of Paul's letters mention of the kiss at the close suggests a liturgical rubric.

B. Year

Difficult also to determine is the liturgical cycle or calendar from the NT. Sunday: The Lord's Day. Only 3 texts -- all problematic -- which may allude to the Christian observance of Sunday: Acts 20:7-12 (morning of the 1st day of the week Paul breaks bread -- an allusion to Sunday and Eucharist or to eating? ; 1 Cor. 16:2 "put aside and save whatever extra you can on the first day of the week"; and Rev. 1:10 (John was "in the Spirit" on the Lord's Day. Also need to take into account the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus on Sunday. Quite possible that they point to Sunday observance; but does the eucharist emerge from the post-resurrection meals shared by Jesus with the disciples; or, perhaps better, do the post-resurrection meal stories themselves emerge out of the

eucharistic celebrations of the early Christians? W. Rordorf, who accepted the former explanation, also suggested that the term "Lord's Day" itself was the result of the "Lord's Supper" being celebrated on it.

Clear evidence for Pascha/Easter and Pentecost only emerge in the second cent. BUT

Perhaps 1 Cor. 5:7-8 suggest a yearly Easter as a Christianized Passover. But if so, it is a unique reference and the development of the yearly cycle comes later. A reference to Pentecost in 1 Cor. 16:8 seems purely incidental.

Is there any such thing as a Lectionary in the worship of the NT? -- Of course not, but it seems quite likely that at least the Letters were intended to be read at least publicly, if not in worship.

C. Ministry (See R. Brown, The Churches the Apostles Left Behind; as well as his Priest and Bishop)

It is also difficult, of course, to derive the later structure of ordination and ministry -- such as the so-called classic --but 2nd century -- three-fold pattern of bishops, presbyters, and deacons from the NT documents. While the terms are there they do not indicate different levels of ministry. Instead, what one finds therein is a great variety of different ministries, presumably structured on a pragmatic basis. The 7 are chosen (Acts 6:4) to enable the 12 to devote themselves to prayer and serving the word. A variety of ministries, different charisms of the Spirit seem to be the earliest level in the churches founded and/or visited by Paul.

Even the term "priest" is not used for any individual in the NT. Rather, the entire community is a "priestly people" a "royal/kingly people". A certain priority is of course given to the 12 and to other "apostles" such as Paul. But there are other gifts whose selection also comes from the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:28)

Other leaders come about through human selection; references abound to such offices as elders, presidents, teachers, overseers or bishops, assistants or deacons.

Those chosen to lead the community might be recognized by various ritual acts. In the case of the 7, the act was the laying on of hands with prayer; Barnabas and Saul are "set apart" with a hand-laying after prayer and fasting; the author of 1 and 2 Tim. exhorts him to "rekindle the gift of God that is within you through the laying on of hands".

NT implication is that ministry stems from gifts and calling, both given by Spirit. Some may be formally recongnized -- others just recognized. (SEE SOL, pp. 344-45).

That this changes in the later NT period (cf. the Pastoral Epistles and The Johannine Letters) toward a more centralized structure seems clear. But even so, our first reference to what comes to be called the monarchical episcopacy is (early) second century (Ignatius of Antioch) and it certainly does not appear as a universal characteristic. Church of Rome probably still governed by committee of presbyter-bishops (1 Clement)

4. Conclusion: NT, while not totally silent, does not provide the firm foundation from which to project later liturgical developments. As with the Jewish sources we must be content therefore to remain agnostic about the roots of many liturgical practices we observe clearly for the first time in later centuries. What we dare not forget is the pluriform character of the NT in relation to doctrine and practice - hence we can speak of various christologies, ecclesiologies, etc.

CLASS/LECTURE #4: Principles for Reading and Interpreting Ancient Liturgical Sources:

Intro. Before entering the study of the Sources for the history of Xn liturgy, it is necessary to look at method. How do we make sense out of the partial and fragmentary character of our early liturgical sources? How do we put together the jigsaw puzzle of liturgical history without having at our disposal all the pieces of the puzzle? Or, how do we connect the dots on a page; or paint the paint-by-number picture without the numbers?

1. Anton Baumstark's "Laws" of Liturgical Evolution; the Comparative Method.

The real pioneer in the study of liturgical history was, of course, Anton Baumstark. Baumstark developed a series of principles or laws of liturgical evolution that are still highly influential in that school known as "Comparative Methodology." Assuming a linear (straight line) and one directional understanding of historical development, Baum. maintained that liturgical evolution ran from **(1) earlier variety to later uniformity; and (2) austerity or simplicity and brevity to richness and prolixity.** Hence, by the law which requires that liturgical evolution should proceed from the simpler to the more complex, we shall deem the more austere the more primitive. But in spite of the statement about early variety he denied it implicitly by stating that those elements common in several rites -- especially if they have parallels in the liturgy of the Synagogue -- are to be regarded as primitive; and those found only in one or a few rites as more recent. (But why couldn't they be reflecting an ancient pattern preserved only in one tradition?)

Two basic Laws governed the process: **(1) Law of Organic Development - new additions to the liturgy at first took their place alongside more primitive ones, but in the course of time caused them to be abbreviated or even disappear completely (e.g., non-biblical hymnody replacing biblical texts/allusions); (2) Primitive conditions are maintained with greater tenacity in the more sacred seasons of the Liturgical Year -- e.g., ancient customs preserved on more solemn occasions: No Gloria in Lent; the Prayers of the Faithful on Good Friday (but not in use the rest of the year).** Three other laws are added: **(1) The older a text is the less it is influenced by the Bible, and the more recent it is the more symmetrical it is; (2) the later a text is the more liturgical prose becomes charged with doctrinal elements (e.g., the use of the term Theotokos in the anaphora); and (3) certain actions which are purely utilitarian by nature may receive a symbolic meaning either from their function in the liturgy as such or from factors in the liturgical texts which accompany them** (best example is probably the Great Entrance in the Byzantine Liturgy -- utilitarian function of

getting the gifts to the altar which later becomes the burial cortege of Christ and even anticipates the anaphora).

Some kind of comparative methodology is necessary -- problem with Baumstark is the absolute character he assigns to them as "scientific laws." Bernard Botte here: "The first duty of the historian is always to respect the factual datum even when no place for it can be found in the scheme of a preconceived theory." Great problem in liturgical scholarship -- ignore the facts in favor of the theory. Hence, if one believes that the definition of Eucharist, e.g., requires the presence of the Institution Narrative, then something which might be eucharistic, but does not have the narrative, is ruled out from consideration.

2. The Ten Commandments of Bradshaw

Takes Botte's caveat seriously, and suggests, much more modestly, the following ten principles as the starting point for our task of connecting the dots or putting together the puzzle. Get students to list these and comment upon them

A. What is most common is not necessarily most ancient, and what is least common is not necessarily least ancient

B. The so-called Constantinian revolution served as much to intensify existing trends as it did to initiate new ones

C. Authoritative-sounding statements are not always genuinely authoritative.

D. Legislation is better evidence for what it propose to prohibit than for what it seeks to promote.

E. When a variety of explanations is advanced for the origins of a liturgical custom, its true source has almost certainly been forgotten.

F. Ancient Church orders are not what they seem

G. Liturgical Manuscripts are more prone to emendation than literary manuscripts

H. Liturgical Texts can go on being copied long after they have ceased to be used.

I. Only particularly significant, novel, or controverted practices will tend to be mentioned, and others will probably be passed over in silence; but the first time something is mentioned is not necessarily the first time it was practised.

J. Texts must always be studied in context.

Conclude with statement about variety and multi-formity -- which only gradually becomes standardized and unified later; probably through the result of: (1) assimilation to the rites of major Sees; (2) doctrinal controversies.

PRE-NICENE LECTURE

Intro. In the first three centuries, the Xn movement spread throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. Christians were to be found mainly in the cities: Christianity was thus primarily an urban phenomenon. (Original meaning of "Pagan" paganus -- rural)
Major conflicts -- with Jews, with gnostic varieties of Christian faith, and with secular authorities -- forced the movement to define itself, especially in the latter half of the second century, and thus to begin canonizing its own Scripture and line of authoritative tradition, called apostolic succession -- especially as that comes to be expressed in the development of what is called the "monarchical" episcopacy. It is quite probable that in a large city like Rome, several Christian language groups with varying practices existed at least up until the end of the second century. Justin Martyr, e.g., was of Syrian origin and yet lived in Rome and attempted to describe Christian worship and theology for the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It is also quite probable that the diverse cultures in which Christians found themselves inspired different ways of ritualizing their experience of God. Therefore, as I have been suggesting already, the attempt to find the "original source" of a liturgical form is often fruitless. Of course, some common elements can be discerned: e.g., the necessity of the water rite of baptism for initiation and the celebration of the ritual meal called the Eucharist but even here again variety, not uniformity, appears to be the norm.

Christian worship was also primarily a "private" as opposed to a "public" affair -- this does not mean that it was individualistic; rather, Christians as members of an illicit religion were forced to meet in private homes rather than in public temples or meeting halls. Pre-Nicene worship, therefore, is shaped by its domestic setting. Very few examples of places for Xn worship have been unearthed for this period -- but those that have been found point to such a private setting.

Also, a principal characteristic of Pre-Nicene worship was its improvisational nature. WE have very few written texts for this period; prayers were offered freely though according to a defined structure. Even the Eucharistic prayer was improvised (see Didache, Justin, ApTrad, and the work of A. Bouley, From Freedom to Formula). Similarly, the texts we do possess are not full liturgies in the modern sense of a book but rather collections of prayers without or with very few directions/rubrics -- such as we find in what is called the early "Church Orders."

Xn Initiation:

Our earliest extra-biblical sources for the rites of Christian initiation provide only a few more, albeit important, details. Chapter 7 of the (probably Syrian) late-first or early-second century proto-church order called the Didache directs that, after instruction (presumably the kind of ethical formation supplied by chapters 1-6 of the document) and one or two days of fasting on the part of the candidates, baptizers, and community alike, baptism is to be conferred in cold running (i.e., 'living') water. The Didache instructs that if neither cold nor

warm running water is available, then water is to be poured over the head of the candidate, accompanied by the trinitarian formula of Matt. 28:19. Only the baptized, we are instructed further in chapter 9, are to receive the Eucharist.

In the middle of the second century at Rome, chapters 61 and 65 of the First Apology of Justin Martyr not only corroborate the information provided by the Didache but add some other elements:

(Chapter 61): ...those who believe in the truth of our teachings and discourses promise that they can live in accordance with it. Then they are taught to pray and, while fasting, to ask God for the forgiveness of their past sins. We, for our part, pray and fast with them....Next, we bring them to a place where there is water, and they are reborn in the same way as we ourselves were reborn before them. That is to say, they are cleansed with water in the name of God the Father and Master of the universe, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ said: "Unless you are born again, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven"....Upon the person who wishes to be reborn and who repents of his sins, we invoke the name of God the Father and Master of the universe....We call this washing an "enlightenment", because those who are taught as we have described have their minds enlightened....(We also invoke) upon the person who is enlightened and cleansed the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and the name of the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets foretold the entire story of Jesus.

(Chapter 65): After we have thus cleansed the person who believes and has joined our ranks, we lead him in to where those we call "brothers" are assembled. We offer prayers in common for ourselves, for him who has just been enlightened, and for all...everywhere....When we finish praying, we greet one another with a kiss. Then bread and a cup of wine mixed with water are brought to him who presides over the brethren.⁸

Because Justin refers in the above description to what may be called 'credal' language, it is not clear if a baptismal formula is intended or if he is alluding to an early example of the Western three-fold profession of faith as constituting the 'formula' of baptism. At the same time, while it is often assumed that Justin describes Roman liturgical practice, his theology of baptism as 'new birth' and his reference to baptism as 'enlightenment,' characteristic emphases in the Christian East, may reflect an Eastern Christian tradition (Justin, after all, was from Flavia Neapolis in Syria) or, possibly, a Syrian community at Rome. Nevertheless, the overall ritual pattern described by him underscores that some kind of prebaptismal 'catechesis' (instruction) preceded baptism and that this entire process of becoming a Christian culminated in the sharing in the prayers, kiss, and Eucharist of the community.

It is only in the early third century, where a more complete picture of the variant processes of early Christian initiation begins to emerge. Here, we begin to see detailed evidence of several additional ritual elements. But the extent to which any of these elements are present will vary according to liturgical tradition.

In early Syrian documents -- the Didascalia Apostolorum and the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles -- a pattern of initiation appears to exist wherein the baptism of Jesus is seen as the primary paradigm for Christian baptism and the theology of baptism flows from the 'new birth' focus of Jn. 3. While these documents place minimal stress on catechesis, there is a strong emphasis on a prebaptismal anointing of the head (and, eventually, the whole body), interpreted as a 'royal' anointing by which the Holy Spirit assimilates the candidate to the kingship and priesthood of Christ, baptism accompanied by the Matthean trinitarian formula,

⁸Deiss, 1979: 91-2.

and the concluding reception of the Eucharist.⁹ It is also possible, but by no means proven, that one of the principal occasions for initiation in the early Syrian tradition was January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany, interpreted, primarily, as the Feast of Jesus' baptism.¹⁰ Several scholars have also suggested that early Egyptian initiation practice provides a close parallel to that of Syria in this time period,¹¹ although in Egypt it appears that candidates for baptism were enrolled on Epiphany and then baptized forty days later, with catechetical instruction given during a fast associated with Jesus' own forty-day fast in the wilderness.¹²

Western sources of the third century provide alternative patterns to the early Syrian, and possibly Egyptian, practice. In North Africa, Tertullian's De baptismo (ca. 200) describes a ritual process which included 'frequent' prebaptismal vigils and fasts, a renunciation of Satan, three-fold credal profession of faith in the context of the conferral of baptism, a postbaptismal 'christic' anointing related to priesthood, a handlaying 'blessing' associated with the gift of the Holy Spirit, and participation in the Eucharist, which also included the reception of milk and honey, as symbols of entering into the 'promised land'.¹³ Tertullian's description is corroborated generally a bit later in North Africa by Cyprian of Carthage,¹⁴ and for Rome, presumably, in the Apostolic Tradition, ca. 215, ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome.¹⁵

According to the Apostolic Tradition, prebaptismal catechesis was to last for 'three years' and included frequent prayer, fasting, and exorcism, with entrance into the 'catechumenate' itself accompanied by a detailed interrogation of the motives and life-styles of those seeking admittance. For those eventually 'elected' to baptism, the rites themselves took place at a Saturday night vigil, and consisted of a renunciation of Satan, a full body anointing with the 'oil of exorcism', a three-fold, credal interrogation accompanied by the three immersions of baptism itself, a postbaptismal anointing by a presbyter with the 'oil of thanksgiving', an entrance into the assembly, where the bishop performed a hand laying with prayer and a second anointing, and, after the kiss, the sharing of the Eucharist, including the cup(s) of milk and honey referred to by Tertullian. Since authorship, date, provenance, and influence of this church order are all subject to intense scholarly debate today, the details provided by it must be received with due caution. It is possible that several of these elements, e.g., the 'three year catechumenate' and the episcopal anointing, reflect later (fourth-century) additions or interpolations.¹⁶ Nevertheless, although the earliest extant text of the Apostolic Tradition (mid-fifth century in Latin) does not interpret the bishop's handlaying prayer and anointing as 'giving' the Holy Spirit, subsequent versions of the document will do precisely that and, at least at Rome, the association of these episcopal acts with the conferral of the Holy Spirit will become a characteristic emphasis.

Along with these specific ritual details, third-century sources also show that infant baptism, including infant communion, was being practiced widely. Tertullian strongly

⁹Winkler, 1982 and 1995.

¹⁰Merras, 1995: 164ff.

¹¹Kretschmar, 1963; Bradshaw, 1988: 5-17; Johnson, 1995a: 5-16.

¹²Talley, 1986: 194-213.

¹³Whitaker, 1971: 7-10.

¹⁴Whitaker, 1971: 10-12.

¹⁵Cuming, 1976: 15-22.

¹⁶See Bradshaw, 1996a: 3-17.

cautions against it (De baptismo 18). Origen calls it an 'apostolic custom' (In Rom. com. 5, 9). The Apostolic Tradition makes provision for those 'who cannot answer for themselves'.¹⁷ And Cyprian gives a theological defense based on the inheritance of the 'disease of death' from Adam (Ep. 64). Similarly, Tertullian is the first author to express a preference for initiation taking place either at Easter or during the fifty days of Easter ('for then was accomplished our Lord's passion, and into it we are baptized...').¹⁸ It may be that something similar is intended in the Apostolic Tradition, but since this document only refers to initiation at a Saturday night vigil, there is no compelling reason to assume that it is the Easter vigil which is meant.

Eucharist

Stemming from Jesus' table companionship with 'tax collectors and sinners' as the celebration of the in-breaking of the eschatological 'reign' or 'kingdom of God,' his several feeding miracles, the Synoptic (Matt.26:26-29; Mk. 14: 22-25; and Lk. 22:14-20) and Pauline (1 Cor. 11:23-26) accounts of his 'Last Supper', the meal contexts of his post-resurrection appearances (cf. Lk. 24 and Jn. 21), and the continued meal customs of the apostolic Church (Acts 2: 42, 46), the central practice of early Christian worship was the 'breaking of bread,' 'Lord's Supper,' or 'Eucharist' celebrated in obedience to Jesus' command to 'do this' table ritual as his 'memorial'. Whatever may have constituted the diverse culinary contents of such 'eucharistic' gatherings early on (bread, wine (or water!), cheese, milk, honey, fruits, and/or fish), or whatever the precise order may have been,¹⁹ our earliest documents (1 Cor. 11 and Didache 9 and 10) confirm that the 'Eucharist' was, initially, a literal meal, held most likely in the evening within a domestic, i.e., 'house church', setting, with the contents of the meal provided by members of the assembly themselves. [See Illustration 3]

By the middle of the second century the 'meal' itself had become an occasional evening service called the agape, with only the specific ritual sharing of bread and cup in the context of praise and thanksgiving now transferred to Sunday morning and remaining as the central focus of worship. Again, it is Justin Martyr in chapter 67 of his First Apology, who provides our earliest overall description of what constituted this Sunday morning worship. According to him, this celebration consisted of:

Assembly

Reading (from the writings of the prophets and 'memoirs' of the apostles, as long as time permitted)

Exhortation (or Homily) by the 'president' (proestos)

Prayers offered in common

Kiss

Presentation of Bread and Mixed Cup (wine and water)

Thanksgiving Prayer over the Bread and Cup (prayed extemporaneously by the president (or proestos) to God, through Christ, in the Holy Spirit) the

'Amen' by the assembly

Sharing the Meal

¹⁷Cuming, 1976: 18.

¹⁸Whitaker, 1971: 9.

¹⁹McGowan, 1995: 551-55.

(Deacons' take the eucharistic gifts to the absent)
Collection (for the poor, orphans, and widows)

Whether the 'Reading' and 'Exhortation' stem from the fusion of a Jewish synagogue-type service with the eucharistic action or was included as part of the meal setting from the very beginning remains debated. Nevertheless, the ritual skeleton provided by Justin is discernable in every Christian eucharistic tradition thereafter.

Although Justin is clear that the 'Eucharistic Prayer' or 'anaphora' (prayer of offering) was extemporized by the presider, some models for this prayer are provided in other documents of the first three centuries. Just as Jewish meal prayers (i.e., the Birkat-ha-Mazon) 'remembered' God's saving acts in history and 'invoked' God's continued presence and the fulfillment of those saving acts, so anamnesis (remembrance of Christ) and epiclesis (invocation) would come to characterize early Christian eucharistic praying in texts such as the meal prayers in Didache 9 and 10 (Syria), the Strasbourg Papyrus (Egypt), that of Addai and Mari (Syria), and the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition.²⁰ The anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition already includes both a brief 'narrative of institution' (i.e., the words of Jesus at the Last Supper) and an explicit epiclesis of the Holy Spirit in relationship to the reception of the 'fruits' of communion, but other extant anaphoral texts and fragments display no evidence that these elements were a regular feature of early eucharistic praying. Since it is usually assumed that such elements were not incorporated into the anaphora until the fourth century, it is possible that their presence in the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition are fourth-century additions. Within the first three centuries, then, the institution narrative itself may have functioned as a 'distribution formula' at the sharing of communion, or, alternatively, as part of catechesis on the Eucharist.²¹

Whatever the liturgical use of the 'institution narrative' may have been, it did not function as a 'consecration formula' for the setting apart of the bread and cup. What 'consecrated' the bread and wine was the prayer of thanksgiving (eucharistia) itself. Nevertheless, that Christians of the first three centuries understood the eucharistic bread and wine to be identified in a rather realistic manner with the 'body' and 'blood' of Christ is also clear. So Ignatius of Antioch (ca. AD 98-117) can refer to the Eucharist as the 'medicine of immortality' (To the Ephesians 20.2) and can draw a christological parallel between the incarnation of Christ and the Eucharist, indicating that certain 'Docetists,' who denied the reality of the incarnation, also abstained from the Eucharist because 'they do not acknowledge the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ...' (To the Smyrnaeans 7.1). Justin Martyr notes that the Eucharist is not 'common bread or common drink' but the 'flesh and blood of [the] incarnate Jesus',²² and Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 180) asserts that 'the bread...when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two realities, the earthly and the heavenly'.²³ If a short time later, Tertullian can refer to the bread or wine as the 'figura' (figure) of the body or blood of Christ (Adv. Marc. 4, 40), this should not be interpreted as a repudiation of realistic in favor of symbolic language,

²⁰For texts see Jasper and Cuming, 1987: 23-4, 53-4, 42-4, and 34-6.

²¹Kilmartin, 1974: 268-87.

²²Deiss, 1979: 92.

²³Power, 1991: 15.

but within an overall philosophical context where 'symbol' participates in the reality being signified.

Related to this is the early Christian notion of the eucharistic action as the Church's 'sacrifice' or 'offering', an association made as early as Didache 14. Viewed as the fulfillment of the 'pure sacrifice' of Malachi 1:11 the earliest interpretation of this 'sacrifice' appears to have been the 'offering' of prayer and thanksgiving as the Church's 'bloodless' offering of praise in contradistinction to the 'blood' sacrifices of Judaism and the religions of the Greco-Roman world. Its relationship to the Eucharist thus had to do with the great 'eucharistia,' the prayer 'offered' over the bread and cup.

Suggested by the fact that early Christians themselves still brought gifts of bread, wine, and other food to the Eucharist both for eucharistic use and distribution to the poor, and by a response to Gnostic dualism and denial of the overall importance of the material world, the 'eucharistic sacrifice' came to be seen as somehow embodied in these material 'gifts'. Hence, the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition can refer to the bread and cup as the 'oblations' which the Church now 'offers'. At the same time, Cyprian of Carthage draws a parallel between Christ's own sacrifice and that which is offered in the Eucharist by the 'priest' (i.e., bishop), 'who discharges the office of Christ,' and states that the latter is done 'in commemoration' of the former (Ep. 63:14).

With regard to this, one must proceed cautiously. Recent scholarship has argued that early eucharistic use of sacrificial terminology was a deliberate attempt to subvert the religious meaning of sacrifice altogether and to assert that the Christian sacrifice is no cultic sacrifice at all but the 'offering' of praise and thanksgiving leading to and expressing the priestly life of the community in its ethical service to the poor and in grateful response for God's own gifts.²⁴ What is 'offered' in the Eucharist, then, 'is what the New Testament has Jesus order us to offer: the memorial of his own self offering',²⁵ that is, the liturgical doing of the Eucharist in obedience to his command.

Apart from its common celebration on Sundays it is not clear how often the Eucharist may have been celebrated throughout the first three centuries.²⁶ Practice undoubtedly varied from place to place. In some places the Christian fasting days of Wednesdays and Fridays (Didache 8) may have concluded with a public service of the Word and the reception of communion from the reserved Eucharist (Alexandria) or became occasions for the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy itself (North Africa). Occasional celebrations in cemeteries, at the tombs of the martyrs, in homes, prisons, and elsewhere are known to have become so common in North Africa that by the middle of the third century Cyprian can refer to a 'daily' celebration at Carthage. And local expansions of liturgical calendars from the end of the second century on to include the 'anniversary' days of martyrs' deaths also contributed to a growing eucharistic frequency in the early churches. There is also concrete evidence (Tertullian in Ad uxorem 2. 5) that Christians regularly took enough of the eucharistic elements home with them each Sunday in order to be able to receive communion at other times during the week, a practice that would persist for several centuries both among the laity and within monastic circles.

²⁴Daly, 1978; Lathrop, 1993: 139-58.

²⁵Taft, 1996: 45.

²⁶Taft, 1984: 62.

Daily Prayer

Christians of the first three centuries, whether in private, with family members, or in small gatherings, also knew a regular pattern of prayer at several intervals throughout the day. Again, however, there is no single pattern which can be taken as universally normative. Rather, the New Testament mandates to 'pray always' (1 Thess. 5:17) and to 'sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs to God' (Col. 3:17) resulted in various patterns within the early Christian communities. Didache 8, for example, directs that Christians are to pray the 'Our Father' three times each day. Other sources (Clement of Alexandria and Origen) also know a three-fold daily pattern (morning, noon, and evening, with an additional period during the night), others (Tertullian) emphasize a two-fold pattern of morning and evening as 'official' or 'statutory' prayers ('*legitimae orationes*'), and still others (e.g., the Apostolic Tradition) know an 'horarium' which consists of a five-fold pattern: morning, third hour, sixth hour (noon), ninth hour, and evening, with an additional period during the night. In addition to this, the Apostolic Tradition also refers to morning assemblies for 'instruction' and evening gatherings for the communal *agape*.

Traditional scholarship sought to demonstrate that daily morning and evening prayer were 'public' liturgical gatherings in direct continuity with Jewish synagogue practice, with prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours added as 'private' occasions.²⁷ Recent scholarship, however, has shown that Jewish patterns of prayer were themselves also quite diverse and that the most that can be said of the relationship is that both Jews and Christians prayed at fixed times.²⁸ If any pattern is the 'original' Christian practice, it is probably the three-fold one but this was organized differently within the early communities. In some places the pattern was correlated with the natural divisions of the day (morning, noon, and evening) and in others in relationship to the divisions of the work day throughout the Roman Empire (i.e., at the third, sixth (noon), and ninth hours). What sources like the Apostolic Tradition demonstrate, therefore, is probably a conflation or synthesis of these two three-fold patterns to form the 'classic' horarium known as the 'liturgy of the hours'.²⁹

Unfortunately, we know very little about the contents of daily prayer in the first three centuries, though we can certainly assume that psalms, readings from Scripture, and hymns were frequently used. It is possible that Psalm 141, with its reference to the 'evening sacrifice' (Ps. 141: 2) was already a regular feature of evening prayer (at least in Egypt) but this is not known with certainty.³⁰ Rather than emphasizing specific contents, from early on the principal focus of prayer at these fixed intervals was seen as an expression of eschatological watchfulness and readiness (cf. Col. 4:2 and Eph. 6:18), an expectant and continual 'vigil' (cf. Matt. 25:1-13; Mk. 14: 32-37; and Lk. 12:32ff.) for the imminent return of the Lord.³¹ Together with this, and ultimately replacing it in overall emphasis, daily prayer, like the Eucharist itself, came to be seen as part of the spiritual 'sacrifice of praise' expressing the self-offering of Christians in their lives of service to God.

Liturgical Year

²⁷Dugmore, 1964.

²⁸Taft, 1986a: 3-11.

²⁹Bradshaw, 1996b: 70.

³⁰See Johnson, 1995a: 40-42.

³¹Taft, 1986a: 15ff.

Sunday is the original Christian feast, and, although the precise relationship between Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath remains a subject of scholarly debate for the New Testament and earliest periods of history,³² by the middle of the second century Sunday has become the Christian day for the liturgical assembly. Several New Testament terms and other designations become closely attached to it: the 'Lord's Day'; the day of 'resurrection'; the day of 'encounter' with the risen Lord through Word and meal; the 'day of light' (as the first day of creation now associated with the 'light' of Christ); the 'eighth day' (i.e., the day of new creation beyond the seven-day cycle); and the day of the 'epiphany' or manifestation of the Church. As neither the Christian Sabbath nor a 'little Easter', Sunday becomes not the commemoration of a past event -- e.g., the resurrection -- but the icon of ongoing and present 'communion' with the risen Lord.

Christians of the first three centuries also knew an annual feast called Pascha as the celebration of Jesus' death and resurrection. Recent scholarship has argued that the most primitive celebration of Pascha (possibly reflected already in the New Testament itself) was an all-night vigil held by Christians in Asia Minor on 14 Nisan, the day of Passover in the Jewish calendar and the day of Jesus' death according to the New Testament (and the equivalent of either March 25 or April 6, according to some early calendars), which culminated in the celebration of the Eucharist at 3:00 am.³³ Eschatological in orientation as a vigil awaiting the return of the Lord, the overall emphasis of this 'Quartodeciman' ('fourteen') Pascha, assuming that Pascha had been derived from paschein ('to suffer'), was the death of Christ, the true Paschal Lamb, and there is no record of baptisms ever having been part of the celebration. The fourth-century historian Eusebius describes a second-century 'paschal controversy' between these 'Quartodecimans' and Rome over whether or not the Pascha was to be celebrated on a calendrical date or at a Saturday to Sunday vigil after the Jewish Passover, a practice presumably followed by churches elsewhere (Egypt and Jerusalem). Although this question was not completely resolved until the Council of Nicea (AD 325), the Sunday celebration of Pascha, preceded by one, two, or even six days of fasting, would become normative practice by the end of the second century. Along with this, a Sunday paschal celebration, with its natural associations of Jesus' resurrection, and Egyptian theology (Clement and Origen), which interpreted pascha as 'passage', would suggest eventually that the celebration of Pascha itself was not only about the 'passage' of Christ from death to life but Christian participation in this 'passage' through baptism and Eucharist. Hence, in some places (North Africa and Rome), the Paschal Vigil would soon become the prime time for baptism.³⁴ A nascent 'paschal triduum' (primarily fasting from Friday through the end of the vigil), Holy Week (the association of specific days with events in Jesus' last week), Lenten season (at least at Rome and possibly only three weeks in duration), and a fifty-day paschal season called 'Pentecost' (from Pentecoste or 'fifty'), in which, like Sundays themselves, both fasting and kneeling were forbidden, are also discernable in this time period, although they are not yet fully liturgicized according to any particular scheme.³⁵

Traditional scholarship has assumed that the other annual feasts of Epiphany (January 6) and Christmas (December 25) were fourth-century innovations brought about by Christian

³²Bacchiocchi, 1977.

³³Talley, 1986: 1-32.

³⁴Bradshaw, 1995: 137-47.

³⁵Talley, 1986: 33-7.

adaptation of various pagan solar festivals, with Epiphany developing as the feast of incarnation in the East and Christmas in the West. More recently, Thomas Talley has argued that the origins of both are to be located in this pre-Nicene time period.³⁶ Their dates, according to Talley, are based on a deliberate calculation which sought to correlate the date of Jesus' death (March 25 or April 6) with his conception leading to a celebration of his 'birth' nine months later on December 25 (possibly celebrated already in third-century North Africa) or January 6 (the date chosen throughout the East). Such calculation, Talley argues, corresponds to an ancient practice which related the death days of illustrious people, including even the Patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible, with their birth days since their lives were thought to have had an exact number of years. While it is probably true that the principal focus of such feasts was a unitive celebration of Jesus' 'beginnings', i.e., his birth and/or baptism, it is quite possible that these dates were also selected for the beginning of an annual course reading of particular Gospels. As such, reading Mk. 1 on January 6 in Egypt would naturally bring to expression Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, whereas in Jerusalem, also on January 6, the first chapters of Matthew would suggest a focus on Jesus' nativity and the visit of the Magi.

The final type of feast to be noted in this period is that of the martyrs, celebrated on the anniversary of their deaths, i.e., their natale, or 'heavenly birthday'.³⁷ Intensely local in character, these feasts were tied inseparably to a community's possession of a martyr's tomb, remains, or relics around which the community would assemble. Only later, as relics were 'transferred' to other churches, would the martyr cult spread. As those who had given the ultimate 'witness' in the face of persecution the martyrs became concrete signs of Christ's own passion and were regularly believed to have been accorded immediate entrance into heaven. Hence, the veneration of the martyrs as faithful disciples of Christ and prayers asking for their intercession also became characteristic emphases.

ORDERS

5. Orders:

a. Development of monarchical episcopacy to combat heresy; apostolic tradition increasingly becomes focused in the apostolic succession of bishops (Irenaeus of Lyons) - increasing use of sacerdotal language for bishop

b. But other orders included

Didache exhorts the community to "elect for yourselves bishops and deacons" but also speaks of prophets and teachers.

ApTrad, of course gives detailed ordination rites but provides latitude: confessors = presbyters; no ordination for widows, readers, virgins, subdeacons, and healers

³⁶Talley, 1987: 79-134.

³⁷Brown, 1981.

ApTrad - bishop is ordained by other bishops but "chosen by all the people...named and accepted by all." Bishop and other presbyters lay hands on presbyters; bishop alone lays hands on deacons.

Didascalia Apostolorum - includes ordination of women deacons; necessary for the pre-baptismal rite of full-body anointing

In general - ordination rite consisted of two parts: (1) the election of the candidate; and (2) the prayer for the bestowal of the gifts needed to fulfill the particular ministry. Don't confuse this with democracy. Rather, election was understood as the means by which God's choice of a person for a particular office was discerned and made manifest. It was GOD who chose and ordained through the action of the church. Such discernment of the divine choice might even override an individual's perceived lack of a vocation -- the direct contrast to the way we do things now -- "interior call" today viewed as primary. Discernment of the Church seen as primary in the pre-Nicene (and post-Nicene) period.

CLASS/LECTURE #5: Liturgy in the Pre-Nicene Period: An Overview

Intro. In the first three centuries, the Xn movement spread throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. Christians were to be found mainly in the cities: Christianity was thus primarily an urban phenomenon. (Original meaning of "Pagan" paganus -- rural) Major conflicts -- with Jews, with gnostic varieties of Christian faith, and with secular authorities -- forced the movement to define itself, especially in the latter half of the second century, and thus to begin canonizing its own Scripture and line of authoritative tradition, called apostolic succession -- especially as that comes to be expressed in the development of what is called the "monarchical" episcopacy. It is quite probable that in a large city like Rome, several Christian language groups with varying practices existed at least up until the end of the second century. Justin Martyr, e.g., was of Syrian origin and yet lived in Rome and attempted to describe Christian worship and theology for the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It is also quite probable that the diverse cultures in which Christians found themselves inspired different ways of ritualizing their experience of God. Therefore, as I have been suggesting already, the attempt to find the "original source" of a liturgical form is often fruitless. Of course, some common elements can be discerned: e.g., the necessity of the water rite of baptism for initiation and the celebration of the ritual meal called the Eucharist but even here again variety, not uniformity, appears to be the norm.

Christian worship was also primarily a "private" as opposed to a "public" affair -- this does not mean that it was individualistic; rather, Christians as members of an illicit religion were forced to meet in private homes rather than in public temples or meeting halls. Pre-Nicene worship, therefore, is shaped by its

domestic setting. Very few examples of places for Xn worship have been unearthed for this period -- but those that have been found point to such a private setting.

Also, a principal characteristic of Pre-Nicene worship was its improvisational nature. WE have very few written texts for this period; prayers were offered freely though according to a defined structure. Even the Eucharistic prayer was improvised (see Didache, Justin, ApTrad, and the work of A. Bouley, From Freedom to Formula). Similarly, the texts we do possess are not full liturgies in the modern sense of a book but rather collections of prayers without or with very few directions/rubrics -- such as we find in what is called the early "Church Orders."

1. Christian Initiation

The earliest attestation to Xn baptism outside of the NT is found in the proto-church order called the Didache (or "teaching" of the 12 apostles), most likely a Syrian document of the late first or second-century. Here Christians are instructed to baptize after instruction and one or two days of fasting for both the candidates and for those who are to perform the baptism. Baptism itself is to be performed in cold running water, but if neither cold nor warm running water are available, then water may be poured over the head while the trinitarian formula is recited. Only the baptized are to be admitted to the Eucharist. Similar info. is provided by Justin Martyr in the mid-second century in Rome. Justin adds that baptism is called photismos because the baptized are those whose minds have been enlightened. Similarly, Justin makes clear that the culmination of the rite is the first time participation in the Eucharistic meal.

Whether other practices -- e.g., anointing, handlaying, etc. - accompanied the baptismal ritual in the earliest period we do not know. Are the NT references to sealing, etc. metaphors or allusions to actual practice? But in that document known as the Apostolic Tradition, ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome and so assumed to be reflective of at least one community in Rome in the early third century -- we find an elaborate interrogation of the candidates (called "catechumens" in Greek for "hearers"); a 3 year process of preparation (for the audientes) including prayer, fasting, and exorcisms; and baptism on the night between Saturday and Sunday. The rite itself included:

- prebaptismal renunciation of Satan
- a full-body anointing with the oil of exorcism
- immersion in the water three times accompanied by creedal interrogations
- anointing of the body with "oil of thanksgiving"
- (after being clothed and led to the assembly):
- handlaying by bishop with prayer

further anointing on the forehead
 Then: exchange of kiss with bishop
 common prayers
 kiss of peace with all
 celebration of the eucharist

The elements of this structure, though not without some significant differences, are broadly corroborated by the earliest Latin writer from North Africa in the early third cent., Tertullian.

This three-fold pattern: Baptism -- Anointing -- Eucharist, however is not the only pattern discerned in the Pre-Nicene period. Evidence from Syria (the Apocryphal Acts) shows a pattern of anointing -- baptism -- eucharist in which there is no postbaptismal anointing. Furthermore, this prebaptismal anointing does not signify exorcism and purification BUT rather assimilation to the royal-messianic anointing of Jesus at the Jordan. Something similar seems to have been in vogue in the earliest rites of the Egyptian tradition as well. In other words, the pre-Nicene churches knew several theological models for and different ritualizations of Christian initiation.

2. Eucharist

It is impossible to tell with any great degree of certainty how often the Euch. was celebrated in the pre-Nicene period, because frequency seems to have varied from place to place. [See TAFT, BEW, p. 61]: By the middle of the 2nd cent. Sunday and Eucharist appear to form a unity universally as the celebration of the presence of the Risen Lord amidst his own, a presence that signifies the arrival of the New Age. And it is generally agreed that everyone present communed. Although this was initially the only COMMON Eucharist, it was customary for the faithful to take from it enough of the gifts for communion during the week. Such a practice lasted among the laity until the 7th cent, and even longer in monastic circles.

In addition there were "occasional" eucharistic celebrations for special groups and for varied purposes: at the graveside, at oratories in honor of martyrs, in prisoner's cells, in private homes. In No. Africa these "special" eucharists were so common that Cyprian of Carthage (+ 258) refers to priests celebrating daily probably to accommodate not only this demand but so that Christians facing persecution might not be without the Eucharist. But this type of "small-group" euch. must not be confused with the "private" mass that appears only later in history.

By the end of the 2nd cent. we also see a filling out of community worship. Masses are celebrated at martyr's tombs on the anniversary of their victory.

Saturday is gradually assimilated to Sunday, and by the 4th cent. has acquired a eucharistic celebration everywhere except Rome and Alexandria. And the weekly "stations" or fast days on Weds. and Fridays -- first indicated in the Didache -- have already become eucharistic days in No. Africa in the time of Tertullian.

The first description of a eucharistic liturgy clearly separated from a full meal and joined to a service of readings is found in Justin Martyr. In his description of the Sunday Assembly we see the following structure:

Readings
 Preaching
 Common Prayers
 Kiss of Peace (?)
 Presentation of Bread and Wine
 Eucharistic Prayer
 Communion

The readings were taken from both the Hebrew Scriptures and the "Memoirs of the Apostles." The "president" extemporized the Euch. Pr.

Of course the greatest amount of scholarly attention regarding the Pre-Nicene Eucharist has centered on the origin, nature, and development of the Euch. Pr. or "ANAPHORA" (prayer of offering in Greek). Most scholars, of course, are generally agreed that such prayers have their origins in Jewish prayers, but since the rabbinic sources postdate the NT, there is little agreement as to precisely how they developed from them. For the greater part of the past century, attention has centered primarily on the Birkat - ha- Mazon as this "source" but, as we have seen, it is far from clear. Just as Judaism itself had a variety of prayer-forms, so we should expect also that the early Christian traditions prayed in a variety of different ways; some of course reflecting their Jewish roots; others reflecting other styles and other models.

One of the major scholarly questions has been the function of the Inst. Narr. in the eucharist, which in later Western theological thinking came to form the central and "consecratory" part of the eucharistic prayer. But some of our earliest anaphoral examples either do not contain an inst. narrative at all (Didache 9-10, Strasbourg papyrus) or its assumed presence is questionable (Addai and Mari). Rather, thanksgiving (or praise) to God for Christ is joined with petition for the coming of the kingdom. Confessional theological positions often dictate the manner in which evidence is used and conclusions made. It must be remembered that our sources for the pre-Nicene period are limited and these sources stem from a period during which the improvisation of the prayer was the norm.

3. The Liturgical Year

In many ways the early Xn calendar reflects Christianity's Jewish roots. The major feasts of Pascha (Easter) and Pentecost are transformations of Jewish festivals. The celebration of the Lord's Day correlates with the 7-day rhythm of the Sabbath. The fast days of Wednesdays and Fridays -- later called *stational days*, days on which an assembly took place -- were distinguished from the Jewish fast days of Mondays and Thursdays (but may have been an adoption from Qumran practice).

The earliest Xn feast, of course, is Sunday, and it seems clear that the Sunday observance of JEsus' death and resurrection, the weekly Pascha, was universal by the middle of the second century.

Hence, primitive Xn week - Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

The annual Pascha took place in conjunction with the Jewish Passover and the first groups to celebrate this, most probably in Asia Minor, did so on the 14 Nisan [**Max - see SEARCH**] - hence they were called **Quartodecimans**; celebrating Pascha on whatever day of the week 14 Nisan fell. The 4th cent. Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea relates a controversy late in the 2nd century over this observance between Rome, which may have celebrated on a Sunday, and the Quartodecimans. It is quite possible, however, that Rome and other churches only observed the weekly Pascha and that this controversy is concerned with whether or not to celebrate an annual Pascha at all. Rome and most others chose Sunday as the day for celebrating it -- but the final decision as to how this Sunday was to be determined was not made until the Council of Nicea (AD 325)

Paschal celebration lasted fifty days in the pre-Nicene period - culminating with the 50th day (**Pentecoste**), A period of continuous joyful celebration in which neither fasting nor kneeling were allowed.

Lent -- Hard to determine its existence, shape and character in the pre-Nicene period. At Rome, and probably elsewhere, the preparation period for Xn initiation was probably 3 weeks. As Pascha becomes the principal occasion for initiation (early in Rome and No. Africa) this fast was added to the already existing fast for Pascha, several days or even a week. Thomas Talley has argued that the 40 day Lenten fast before Pascha actually has its origins in an Alexandrian fast that began on January 7 -- the day after Epiphany with the principal focus being Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan, i.e., the beginning of Mark's Gospel -- and imitated the fast of Jesus in the wilderness according to the chronology of Mark's Gospel. This fast led to initiation being celebrated in mid-

February, not at the annual Pascha (Still today in the Coptic Church baptisms not celebrated at Easter)

Christmas in the Pre-Nicene Period? A matter of debate. Traditional theory: Christmas and Epiphany as 4th century Christian adoptions of pagan solar festivals (Sun god). But again Talley has argued for a pre-Nicene origin unrelated to pagan cult in the attempt to correlate Christ's birth/conception chronologically with his death, which in some traditions was dated to March 25 (add 9 months = Dec. 25) and in others to April 6 (add 9 months = January 6). Whether pre- or post-Nicene, the earliest stage of both Xmas and Epiph. seem to have a unitive celebration of the incarnation (comprising both birth and baptism). The same can be said for Pascha, which celebrated not only Christ's resurrection but his passion as well.

The Martyrs: Another important element was the observance of the memorials of the saints. As already noted, the martyrs were remembered with the celebration of the eucharist at their graves on the yearly anniversary of their "birth" - **Natale** day. The pre-Nicene origins of saints' days appear to be strictly local, and often tied to the possession of relics by their own community [evidence in the Martyrdom of Polycarp] Martyrs also viewed as the prime embodiment of the paschal mystery of Christ's death and resurrection.

Dix's Theory of the Sanctification of Time: it was Dix who thought that the lit. year was primarily the creation of the 4th cent. Jerusalem church under Cyril of Jerusalem. Prior to the 4th cent. in his opinion, the pre-Nicene church had an eschatological view of time so that historical dates and feasts were of little importance -- 4th cent. resulted in an "historicized" concept of time which led to the establishment of feasts. A very influential theory only Partially true. Things do change after Constantine, but as Robert Taft and John Baldovin have shown, eschatology and history are not mutually exclusive and the mere fact that Christianity is an historical faith leads to a concern with historical time: e.g., the Quartodecimans celebrating on the day of Passover; the chronology of Christ's birth hinted at in Talley's calculations, the martyr's days, etc.

4. Hours [See TAFT, LHEW)

Very little again can be said with certainty about the nature of corporate liturgical prayer in the pre-Nicene period. Various set times are recommended in different sources: on rising, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours; on retiring; and at night. In addition, some writers mention mealtimes and cockcrow. Tertullian speaks of morning and evening as legitimae orationes (official or statutory prayers) but Cyprian of Carthage speaks in a similar way about prayer at the 3, 6, and 9 hours. Current reforms in all our churches have bought into Tertullian's view; supposing that morning and evening were celebrated in common in the pre-

Nicene period and that the other "little hours" were additions. Oldest Eastern sources (Didache, Clement of Alexandria and Origen) speak of prayer 3 times a day (Morn, Noon, Evening); North African sources - Morning, 3, 6, 9, evening. Oldest pattern probably 3-fold together with prayer at night (what else do you do before T.V., between sun down and sun rise?). Different ways of structuring the day -- natural rhythm: morn/noon/evening; or divisions of the Roman work day (3,6, 9 hours) Probably conflated in 3rd cent. North Africa.

Content: Not completely sure but biblical psalms and hymns likely; evening lamp, psalmody, and prayer.

5. Orders:

a. Development of monarchical episcopacy to combat heresy; apostolic tradition increasingly becomes focused in the apostolic succession of bishops (Irenaeus of Lyons) - increasing use of sacerdotal language for bishop

b. But other orders included

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ApTrad - bishop is ordained by other bishops but "chosen by all the people...named and accepted by all." Bishop and other presbyters lay hands on presbyters; bishop alone lays hands on deacons.

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CLASS #6: Student Presentations on Didache and Justin**MAX - Prepare handouts and brief comments on Strasbourg papyrus and Addai and Mari for comparative purposes**

Make sure on Didache that student presentations hit: "Two Ways" catechesis, baptism, whether or not 9-10 are eucharistic, and bishops, deacons, prophets and teachers

On Justin -- problems: two liturgies (baptismal euch. and normal Sunday Euch.)

Hit: "president"; did Justin's rite have an institution narrative?

Strasbourg -- complete anaphora or not?

Addai and Mari -- original 3-fold or 2-fold structure?

SEE NOTES FOR BOTH IN BRADSHAW.

CLASS # 7: Student Presentations on Tertullian (Hours and Baptism), Ap. Trad. (Initiation, Ordination, Eucharist), and Didascalia (general overall importance)

LECTURE/CLASS #8: Liturgy in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Period: An Overview

WORSHIP, PRACTICE AND BELIEF FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICEA TO THE DEATH OF AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Intro. The fourth-century imperial acceptance of Christianity brought about profound changes in the way that Christians worshipped. Though these changes have at times been exaggerated we can discern some major shifts that are attributable to what may be called either the Constantinian revolution or "evolution." G. Winkler calls this so-called classic period "the first era of liturgical reform."

First - the scale of Xn worship was transformed from the mainly domestic setting of the early Church to the great basilicas and shrines funded by the emperor and other wealthy benefactors. Basilicas were particularly important, for they signified the the move of Christian worship from private space to public space. The basic basilican form was that of a public meeting place - as imperial court, court of justice, assembly hall, etc. The basilica is usually a longitudinal building with a row of columns on each side of the interior supporting clerestory windows, terminated in a semi-circular apse; the bishop simply took the place of the judge on the throne in the apse, flanked by presbyters. In front of him stood the altar table; first wood, later stone. Eventually low screens railed in a space in front of it for the singers, and an ambo (pulpit) accomodated readings; rest was open congregational space where the people stood, usually divided by sexes. For well over a 1000 years the posture of worship was standing. Preaching done from the throne until the locus shifted to the pulpit (John Chrysostom is credited as being the first to preach from the ambo rather than the chair). Baptisteries frequently built as separate buildings nearby; often on the model of a mausoleum with pool at the center. Shrines for relics took on a similar form when relics began to be moved from place to place from the fifth century on.

Also, rapid growth in ceremonial in this period; many aspects of the imperial court were adopted -- incense, processional lights, and ceremonial fans becoming common. The result of all this, at least in the major cities, was what Aidan Kavanagh has called "Liturgy on the town:" the use of public streets and places as well as shrines and basilicas for an OPEN manifestation of Xnity as now the dominant religious force in the society. Similarly, different churches and shrines were increasingly employed for liturgy on different feast days and fast days creating systems that have been called "Stational Liturgy." Very important -- refer to J. Baldovin's major study.

Second, this period marks the standardization/fixity of written liturgical texts and forms. The large number of converts to the faith diluted the quality of its leadership, and this, as well as growing concern over orthodox teaching vs. heresy, especially in the Arian crisis and its aftermath, encouraged the writing down of set texts for liturgical use.

Third, we must note the creation of monasticism, attentive to contemplation; this resulted in attitudes to Christian worship that were, of course, to be of permanent significance.

Fourth and finally, a very important factor in the development of Christian liturgy in the fourth cent. and beyond is the origin of what is called THE ROMAN RITE. For the first time in the latter half of the fourth century do we find Christian liturgical texts in Latin; hence the development in the West of a liturgical ethos different from the Greek-speaking East. Furthermore, in this "classic" period, we find the development of the gradual growth of various influential liturgical centers -- the traditional Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople -- which consolidated local practices and led to the creation of what we still call distinct rites; that is, distinct ways of being Christian, i.e., living out one's ecclesial identity through distinct forms of liturgy, canon law, spirituality, etc.

Initiation

As a result of 'mass conversions' in the wake of Constantine's own conversion, the subsequent legalization and eventual adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, and the trinitarian and christological decisions of the first ecumenical councils, several changes in the practice of Christian initiation occur during the fourth and fifth centuries. Thanks to the extant catechetical homilies of the great 'mystagogues' (e.g., Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia for the East, and Ambrose of Milan for the West) the practices of Christian initiation in this period are easily reconstructed.³⁸ While some local diversity continued to exist, the following came to characterize the overall pattern in the Christian East: (1) the adoption of Paschal Baptism and the now forty-day season of Lent as the time of prebaptismal (daily) catechesis on Scripture, Christian life, and the Creed for the photizomenoi (those to be 'enlightened'); (2) the use of scrutinies (examinations) and daily exorcisms throughout the period of final baptismal preparation; (3) the development of specific rites called apotaxis (renunciation) and syntaxis (adherence) as demonstrating a 'change of ownership' for the candidates; (4) the development of ceremonies like the solemn traditio and redditio symboli (the presentation and 'giving back' of the Nicene Creed); (5) the reinterpretation of the once pneumatic prebaptismal anointing as a rite of exorcism, purification, and/or preparation for combat against Satan; (6) the rediscovery and use of Romans 6 as the dominant paradigm for interpreting the baptismal immersion as entrance into the 'tomb' with Christ; (7) the introduction of a postbaptismal anointing associated with the gift and 'seal' of the Holy Spirit; and (8) the use of Easter week as time for 'mystagogical catechesis' (an explanation of the sacramental 'mysteries' the newly initiated had experienced).

Although a similar overall pattern also existed in the West, Western sources display some significant differences. Ambrose of Milan, for example, witnesses to a postbaptismal rite of footwashing (pedilavium) as an integral component of baptism.³⁹ Some sources from Rome (e.g., the Letter of John the Deacon to Senarius⁴⁰) and North Africa (Augustine⁴¹) indicate the presence of three public scrutinies (including even physical examinations) held

³⁸See Yarnold, 1994.

³⁹Yarnold, 1994: 121-3.

⁴⁰Whitaker, 1971: 154-6.

⁴¹Whitaker, 1971: 103.

on the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent. And, thanks to an important fifth-century letter from Pope Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio,⁴² it is clear that at Rome itself the pattern of episcopal handlaying with prayer and second postbaptismal anointing, noted already in the Apostolic Tradition, was understood as an essential aspect and was associated explicitly with the bishop's prerogative in 'giving' the Holy Spirit.

The adoption of several of these ceremonies for the preparation and initiation of candidates was, undoubtedly, the result of the Church seeking to ensure that its sacramental life would continue to have some kind of integrity when, in a changed social and cultural context, where Christianity was now favored by the emperor, authentic conversion and properly motivated desire to enter the Christian community could no longer be assumed. Indeed, as the experience of Augustine himself demonstrates (Confessions 1.11), it became common in some places to enroll infants in the catechumenate and then postpone their baptism until much later in life, if ever. Similarly, as the rites themselves take on numerous elements which heightened dramatically the experience of those being initiated, the overall intent was surely to impress upon them the seriousness of the step they were taking.⁴³

It is not, however, only the baptismal candidates who regularly experienced this process. Egeria, the late-fourth century Spanish pilgrim to Jerusalem, records in her travel diary that, along with the candidates and their sponsors, members of the faithful also filled the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem [See Illustration 4] for the daily catechetical lectures of the bishop. 'At ordinary services when the bishop sits and preaches,' she writes, 'the faithful utter exclamations, but when they come and hear him explaining the catechesis, their exclamations are louder...; and...they ask questions on each point'. Further, during the week of mystagogy she notes that the applause of the newly baptized and faithful 'is so loud that it can be heard outside the church'. Because of this, she states that 'all the people in these parts are able to follow the Scriptures when they are read in church'.⁴⁴

Designed for adult converts, the ritual process of Christian initiation in these several sources was to be shortlived, due, in part, to its success in 'converting' the masses. The North African controversy between 'Pelagianism' and Augustine over the long-standing practice of infant initiation, and Augustine's theological rationale for infant initiation based on a theology of 'original sin', however, will lead to the catechumenate's further decline. At the same time, Augustine's lengthy battle with 'Donatism', over the Donatist practice of 'rebaptizing' Catholics and their insistence on the moral character of the baptizer in assuring the valid administration of baptism, will lead also to an 'orthodox' sacramental theology based on the use of proper elements and words with Christ himself underscored as the true sacramental minister. If Augustine himself knew an initiation rite similar to those summarized above,⁴⁵ his own theological emphases, born in the heat of controversy, would set the agenda for a later Western-medieval sacramental minimalism focused on 'matter' and 'form', the quamprimum ('as soon as possible') baptism of infants, and an objective sacramental validity ensured by an ex opere operato understanding.

Eucharist

⁴²Whitaker, 1971: 229-30.

⁴³Yarnold, 1994: 59-66.

⁴⁴Wilkinson, 1971: 144-6.

⁴⁵Harmless, 1995: 79ff.

"Nowhere did the post-Constantinian transformation of the scale of worship have a greater impact than on the eucharist'.⁴⁶ The shift from domestic to public space, signified by the adaptation of existing, and the imperial funding of, basilicas and shrines [See Illustrations 4 and 5], made possible the accommodation of large 'crowds' within Christian liturgical assemblies. So also the rites themselves expanded precisely at those points where greater order in the assembly was needed (i.e., at the entrance of clergy and community, at the presentation or transfer of the eucharistic gifts to the altar, and at the distribution of communion) with the result that diaconal directions (e.g., 'let us stand', 'let us kneel,' etc.), litanies, psalmody, chants, and prayers become regular elements. Documents (Apostolic Constitutions 8 and Egeria) also show that various categories of non-communing people -- e.g., catechumens, photizomenoi, and penitents preparing for reconciliation -- were regularly dismissed from the assembly with rites that included handlaying and prayer before the Eucharist proper began. In one of his homilies John Chrysostom laments not only that the liturgical assemblies are now filled with gossipers, revelers, and pickpockets but that even several of the faithful are leaving before the Eucharist, and, as a result, various dismissal rites for them are also added.⁴⁷ In the West such missa or dismissal rites would eventually suggest the term missa or 'mass' for the Eucharist itself.

If Eucharistic liturgies expanded at these points, however, they tended to contract at others. In the liturgy of the Word, for example, the number of biblical readings would gradually be limited to two in most traditions, and, generally, both would be from the New Testament. Nevertheless, preaching itself was anything but neglected. Eastern sources for this period indicate that several homilies would regularly be given at the Sunday Eucharist, with any presbyters present preaching first and the bishop last.⁴⁸

By far, one of the most significant developments in this period was the standardization of written texts of the anaphora, a process closely related to the need for liturgical texts to express orthodox teaching against trinitarian and christological heresy, and, undoubtedly, to the increasing lack of proficient and prayerful extemporizers.⁴⁹ Along with this, although the precise origins of their anaphoral use remains debated, the sanctus hymn of Isaiah 6,⁵⁰ the institution narrative and its accompanying anamnestic offering language,⁵¹ even 'consecratory' epicleses of the Holy Spirit, and numerous intercessions now become fixed structural components of these anaphoral prayers resulting from a process of 'cross fertilization', i.e., the borrowing of elements across ecclesial boundaries.⁵² The integration of these elements into specific anaphoras results in the classic anaphoral patterns of different traditions called, for example, 'West Syrian', 'Antiochene', or 'Syro-Byzantine' (e.g., the anaphoras known as 'St. Basil' and 'St. John Chrysostom'), 'Alexandrian' ('St. Mark'), and 'Roman' (the 'Roman Canon'). [See Illustration 6]

Together with this anaphoral development, a theological concern for 'consecration' of the bread and wine into the typos, antitypos, figura, or homoionoma of the body and blood

⁴⁶Baldovin, 1991: 168.

⁴⁷Taft, 1986b: 29-60; Bradshaw, 1996b: 66-7.

⁴⁸Bradshaw, 1983: 17.

⁴⁹Bouley, 1981.

⁵⁰See Spinks, 1991; Taft, 1991/1992; Winkler, 1994, 1996.

⁵¹Cutrone, 1990: 105-14.

⁵²Fenwick, 1986.

of Christ develops further as well. Cyril of Jerusalem attributes this to the activity of the Holy Spirit in the epiclesis,⁵³ and Ambrose of Milan, the first witness to the 'Roman canon', to the recitation of the words of Christ (the institution narrative) by the priest.⁵⁴ From this point on East and West will approach the question of eucharistic 'consecration' from these differing points of view.

Mystogogical teaching on the 'awesome' and 'fearful' nature of eucharistic participation, as well as non-communing attendance on the part of a now largely 'nominal' Christian assembly, will lead to, and be fostered by, allegorical interpretation of the liturgy itself as a kind of dramatic re-enactment of the life of Christ. Here various liturgical elements (e.g., the transfer of the gifts to the altar and the anaphoral epiclesis) become interpreted in relationship to moments in Christ's passion and resurrection.⁵⁵ Along with an increased theological emphasis on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist a split develops between the liturgy and communion reception to such an extent that the Eucharist becomes almost exclusively a clerical affair and eucharistic participation becomes focussed on individual contemplation of the 'meaning' of the ceremonies and symbols of the rite itself. Aided by the increase of anaphoral intercessions for a variety of different categories of people (living and dead) and other needs, the Eucharist was thus seen increasingly as being 'offered' for those 'needs'. But, to be fair, theology still stressed the 'commemorative' or 'memorial of Christ' aspect of the eucharistic 'sacrifice',⁵⁶ and for that matter, in spite of the preponderance of offering language in the 'Roman canon' the principal understanding even there is that of the Eucharist as the Church's great 'sacrifice of praise'.⁵⁷

Daily Prayer

During this period the patterns for daily prayer within the first three centuries evolve into different types of daily, public, communal prayer at morning and evening. Thanks to the seminal work of Anton Baumstark,⁵⁸ two types stand out with great clarity: cathedral and monastic. 'Cathedral prayer', so named because of the variety of ministries employed in its performance and on account of its interpretation as the priestly prayer of the whole Church in praise and intercession, made use of a number of 'select' elements and 'popular' ceremonies. The core of morning prayer was the daily use of Psalms 148-150 and either Psalm 63 or 51, and evening prayer regularly used the hymn Phôs Hilaron to accompany an evening ritual of lamp-lighting (lucernarium) -- the ultimate origins also of the candle lighting and Exsultet of the Easter Vigil liturgy -- as well as Ps. 141 (East) and Ps. 105 (West). Various litanies and lengthy prayers of intercession were regular components of both 'offices' and neither the reading of Scripture nor homilies were generally included. By the end of the fifth century, daily offerings of incense also become characteristic.⁵⁹

The 'monastic' type of daily prayer had its origins among the growing ascetical communities in the deserts of Egypt and Syria. If praise and intercession characterized the

⁵³Yarnold, 1994: 92.

⁵⁴Yarnold, 1994: 132-3.

⁵⁵See Yarnold, 1994: 216.

⁵⁶Bradshaw, 1996b: 55-6.

⁵⁷Jasper and Cuming, 1987: 164.

⁵⁸Baumstark, 1958.

⁵⁹Taft, 1986a: 31-56.

cathedral office, the emphasis in the monastic office was on meditation and contemplation geared toward spiritual perfection in the monastic life. Whether prayed alone in cells or in community, the content of the monastic office was the Psalms, recited (or sung by a soloist with some communal response) in their biblical order, alternating with periods of silence, prostrations, and concluding prayers (John Cassian, Institutes II and III), and lengthy Scripture readings oriented toward the goal of 'ceaseless' contemplative prayer.⁶⁰

The influence of monasticism on ecclesial life in general during this period has profound consequences for the cathedral office. Not only were many of the leading bishops of this period monks themselves, but the development of 'urban' monasteries closely connected with local churches will lead to a 'mixed office' that combined both cathedral and monastic elements as well as the retention of the early pattern of prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours and at various intervals during the night.⁶¹ One of the best examples of this 'mixed office' in the West, is the influential Rule of St. Benedict, where morning prayer (lauds) is essentially a 'cathedral office', with the same psalmody assigned to every morning, and evening prayer (vespers) a 'monastic office', with Psalms 110-147 constituting a recurring weekly cursus recited in order, with four of these psalms assigned to each evening.⁶² In addition, while some non-biblical hymns make their appearance in the Eucharistic liturgy during these centuries in the East, the majority of early Christian hymns, including even the Gloria in Excelsis (Apostolic Constitutions 7), have their origins in this context of daily prayer. When, for example, Augustine describes the corporate singing at Ambrose's cathedral in Milan (Confessions 10) it is quite likely that what he refers to is some form of the 'Ambrosian' office hymns.⁶³

Liturgical Year

If these other rites achieve their 'classic' forms in these centuries, so too does the liturgical year become organized into its traditional fixed pattern. Together with the Nicene decision on the date for Pascha (i.e., the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox) and the widespread adoption of Paschal baptism, so a forty-day 'Lent' -- probably as a synthesis of the Alexandrian post-Epiphany, forty-day period of baptismal preparation and fast with other pre-paschal and/or pre-baptismal preparation periods elsewhere⁶⁴ -- makes its universal appearance as a time for the final preparation of baptismal candidates and penitents, and ascetical preparation for the faithful. Here as well, a fully-developed Holy Week and 'Paschal Triduum' is to be noted, with Egeria witnessing to a 'Palm Sunday' procession of palms and a Good Friday rite which included both the reading of John 18-19 and the veneration (kissing) of a relic of the cross, a relic closely guarded by deacons to ensure that none of the 'faithful' would bite off a portion and steal it.⁶⁵ Both celebrations would move from Jerusalem to the West, although at Rome 'Palm' Sunday would remain the day for the reading of the Matthean Passion (Matt. 26-27) and only in the Middle Ages would it acquire the palms procession. In none of the early traditions did Holy (Maundy) Thursday evening

⁶⁰Taft, 1986a: 57-73.

⁶¹Taft, 1986a: 75-140.

⁶²Fry, 1982: 42-6.

⁶³On music see Quasten, 1983.

⁶⁴Johnson, 1995b: 118-36; Bradshaw, 1995: 137-47.

⁶⁵Wilkinson, 1971: 137-8.

or Good Friday include a celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy. Rather, the Paschal fast itself began on Thursday evening and the celebration of the Eucharist was seen as incompatible with fasting.

The 'fifty days' of the Easter celebration also become fully liturgized during these centuries corresponding to the chronology of Luke-Acts. Although Pentecost Sunday was, originally, a unitive celebration of Jesus' Ascension and the gift of the Holy Spirit, by the beginning of the fifth century, the fortieth day of Easter has become the feast of the Ascension and Pentecost the feast of the Holy Spirit. In spite of an earlier tradition which forbade fasting and kneeling during the 'fifty days', some Western churches resumed both practices in the time between Ascension and Pentecost.⁶⁶

The Western celebration of Christmas on December 25 and the Eastern celebration of Epiphany on January 6 are adopted universally during these centuries. Whatever the ultimate origin of the dates for these feasts, influenced, undoubtedly, by the continuing popularity of the pagan solar cults and a concern for christological orthodoxy, Christmas becomes the universal feast of the incarnation par excellence and, at least in the East, Epiphany becomes limited to the celebration of Jesus' baptism. Although Jesus' baptism forms the content of Epiphany in some Western traditions as well, at Rome Epiphany focussed on the visit of the Magi as the manifestation of salvation to the Gentiles. A season of preparation for these feasts also begins to make its appearance in some sources but the full development of 'Advent' itself is a later phenomenon.⁶⁷

The filling out and universalizing of the 'sanctoral' cycle is also a characteristic of this period as relics of the martyrs and their cult now become increasingly 'transferred' to other churches. Together with martyr feasts, this period also witnesses to the inclusion on local liturgical calendars of influential bishops and ascetics as exemplary models of faith. Biblical saints, especially the Virgin Mary, after the proclamation of the Theotokos doctrine at the Council of Ephesus (AD 431), make their appearance as well. Often connected to the building and dedication of churches in her honor, the feasts of 'Mary Theotokos,' later her 'Dormition' (August 15), her 'Nativity' (September 8), the 'Annunciation' (March 25), and the 'Presentation' of Christ to Simeon and Anna (February 2) are well in place by the fifth century in the East. All four would be adopted subsequently by Rome, and, with the addition of a Roman feast on January 1, commemorating the Theotokos decree of Ephesus, would remain the only Roman 'marian' feasts until the fourteenth century.⁶⁸

Traditional scholarship has argued that the concern for dates, the multiplication of feasts, and the development of Holy Week in this period is the result of a new 'historicizing' mentality which replaced an earlier eschatological orientation.⁶⁹ But, in underscoring the concern for dates even in the pre-Nicene period (e.g., the 'Quartodeciman' Pascha and the dates of March 25 and April 6), recent scholarship has suggested that there is no necessary contradiction between 'history' and 'eschatology' and, thus, there is no reason to posit a new mentality to account for these developments.⁷⁰ Rather, in places like Jerusalem it would be natural to expect that Christians would want to visit the holy places and to celebrate there the

⁶⁶Cabié, 1964.

⁶⁷Talley, 1986: 135-155.

⁶⁸Cabié, 1986: 130-8.

⁶⁹Dix, 1945: 303-96.

⁷⁰Talley, 1986: 1-32; Baldovin, 1987: 102-4; Taft, 1984: 15-30.

events associated in Scripture with Christ's life. Especially with the imperial funding and building of basilicas at those places such development was inevitable.

Orders

Just a note on ordination here by way of conclusion: Leadership, of course, became more systematic and rigidly structured, and moved increasingly in a hierarchical direction. Exception was the earliest Irish church where Abbots were the chief authority figures, even over the large numbers of wandering bishops (example of Abbot Jerome vs. the American bishops on the preparation of the gifts). Prophets who figure so prominently in early documents disappear rather quickly in favor of a ministry of those in orders.

Major Orders: Documents of the classic period are consistent in maintaining ordination for bishops, presbyters, and deacons. What is intriguing, however, is the variety in other offices. So, e.g., ApConst. includes a rite for the laying on of hands for a deaconess; TestDom subdeacons are ordained; readers are not; CanHipp both subdeacons and healers are ordained. EuchSarap credits God with creating orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Deacons are likened to the 7 in Acts, presbyters are called stewards (actually "rulers") and ambassadors, and the bishop is called the successor of the apostles and the Shepherd of God's flock. Also we see a shift in emphasis: increasingly the ritual of prayer and imposition come to be thought of as that which "gives" or bestows the gift of office; election merely as preliminary to the real act.

CONCLUSION

The story of Christian worship, practice and belief in the first five centuries of the common era is one of development, change, accommodation, and adaptation. From diverse and multiple origins and theologies, the Church emerges at the end of this period with a rather homogenous liturgical structure, style, and theological interpretation. If some important and distinctive elements still remain within the various traditions, the challenges of doctrinal heresy and the changed socio-political climate of the immediate post-Constantian era result, nevertheless, in relatively similar rites for initiation, Eucharist, daily prayer, and the liturgical year, as well as common perceptions about the meaning of those rites.

At the same time it should be noted, especially with regard to the challenges of doctrinal heresy, that worship was not only formed by but also helped in forming orthodox Christian teaching. Orthodox trinitarian and christological doctrine developed, in part, at least, from the Church at prayer, as the baptismal-creedal profession of faith gave rise to the 'official' creeds themselves, as prayer to Christ contributed to understanding his 'homoousios' with the Father, as the Holy Spirit's 'divine' role in baptism shaped the theology of the Spirit's divinity, and as early devotion to Mary as Theotokos gave rise to the decree of Ephesus. While 'orthodoxy' means 'right thinking', such 'right thinking' often developed from the doxology of the Church, where several of these doctrines were prayed liturgically long before they were formalized dogmatically.

So it has been ever since. The practice of Christian worship forms the belief of the Church ('ut legem credendi statuat lex supplicandi'). In turn, worship itself is formed further by that belief, and, further still, continues to form people into believers and disciples of the crucified and risen Lord.

Intro. The fourth-century imperial acceptance of Christianity brought about profound changes in the way that Christians worshipped. Though these changes have at times been exaggerated we can discern some major shifts that are attributable to what may be called either the Constantinian revolution or "evolution." G. Winkler calls this so-called classic period "the first era of liturgical reform."

First - the scale of Xn worship was transformed from the mainly domestic setting of the early Church to the great basilicas and shrines funded by the emperor and other wealthy benefactors. Basilicas were particularly important, for they signified the the move of Christian worship from private space to public space. The basic basilican form was that of a public meeting place - as imperial court, court of justice, assembly hall, etc. The basilica is usually a longitudinal building with a row of columns on each side of the interior supporting clerestory windows, terminated in a semi-circular apse; the bishop simply took the place of the judge on the throne in the apse, flanked by presbyters. In front of him stood the altar table; first wood, later stone. Eventually low screens railed in a space in front of it for the singers, and an ambo (pulpit) accomodated readings; rest was open congregational space where the people stood, usually divided by sexes. For well over a 1000 years the posture of worship was standing. Preaching done from the throne until the locus shifted to the pulpit (John Chrysostom is credited as being the first to preach from the ambo rather than the chair). Baptisteries frequently built as separate buildings nearby; often on the model of a mausoleum with pool at the center. Shrines for relics took on a similar form when relics began to be moved from place to place from the fifth century on.

Also, rapid growth in ceremonial in this period; many aspects of the imperial court were adopted -- incense, processional lights, and ceremonial fans becoming common. The result of all this, at least in the major cities, was what Aidan Kavanagh has called "Liturgy on the town:" the use of public streets and places as well as shrines and basilicas for an OPEN manifestation of Xnity as now the dominant religious force in the society. Similarly, different churches and shrines were increasingly employed for liturgy on different feast days and fast days creating systems that have been called "Stational Liturgy." Very important -- refer to J. Baldwin's major study.

Second, this period marks the standardization/fixity of written liturgical texts and forms. The large number of converts to the faith diluted the quality of its leadership, and this, as well as growing concern over orthodox teaching vs.

heresy, especially in the Arian crisis and its aftermath, encouraged the writing down of set texts for liturgical use.

Third, we must note the creation of monasticism, attentive to contemplation; this resulted in attitudes to Christian worship that were, of course, to be of permanent significance.

Fourth and finally, a very important factor in the development of Christian liturgy in the fourth cent. and beyond is the origin of what is called THE ROMAN RITE. For the first time in the latter half of the fourth century do we find Christian liturgical texts in Latin; hence the development in the West of a liturgical ethos different from the Greek-speaking East. Furthermore, in this "classic" period, we find the development of the gradual growth of various influential liturgical centers -- the traditional Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople -- which consolidated local practices and led to the creation of what we still call distinct rites; that is, distinct ways of being Christian, i.e., living out one's ecclesial identity through distinct forms of liturgy, canon law, spirituality, etc.

1. Christian Initiation

The 4th to the 6th centuries offer a rich mine of info. on the practice of Xn initiation. This is the era of the great mystagogiae -- explanations of the mysteries -- which provide both description of the ceremonies as well as theological reflection upon them. These were preached by bishops and presbyters as expositions of the sacramental events either before or after they took place. The four greatest mystagogical collections stem from the late fourth century and are those attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom (Antioch) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (Syria).

Lengthy prep. for initiation (catechumenate) seems to have flourished in the 4th century. But within a relatively short period of time infant, not adult initiation came to predominate, assisted in the West at least by the focus of Augustine on the transmission of original sin in his disputes with what was called Pelagianism. We have no idea, however, of whether or not the lengthy and elaborate catechumenate was ever more than an ideal for a limited number of people and we do have evidence of mass conversions and baptisms in this period as well. Don't romanticize this. The catechumenate -- which has become popular again today in all rites -- may have been the Church's last ditch effort to provide some rudimentary instruction in Christianity for the masses after the Peace of the Church and the changed situation brought about by the Emperors. In any case there seems to have been a stress on keeping the baptismal instructions as well as the rites themselves secret (the disciplina arcani) so as to increase their solemnity and importance. A certain air of what Alexander

Schmemmann has called a "mysteriological piety" -- absent it seems from the pre-Nicene period -- characterized the rites.

From the 4th century on, there is an increased attention on the period of immediate preparation for the rites of initiation. The candidates, called either photizomenoi or electi/compententes, gave in their names and were examined at the beginning of Lent; so the Lenten period after Nicea serves as a time of intense preparation by prayer, fasting, and instruction, culminating, at least ideally -- if not in reality everywhere -- at the Paschal Vigil.

This period also witnesses an elaboration of the initiation ceremonies: clothing with a new White garment, the giving a lighted candle, etc. Even more importantly, the prebaptismal anointing, which had originally a messianic/royal connotation in the Syrian tradition, now takes on a purificatory and exorcistic meaning there as we see in the early Western traditions, and gradually a post-baptismal anointing is adopted in the Eastern rites, which seems to take on the meaning earlier assigned to the prebaptismal anointing. In other words, the fourth century -- much like contemporary liturgical renewal -- begins to unify and standardize its initiation rites in similar ways, adopting and adapting the practices of the influential sees. The so-called "Golden Age" of the 4th century Fathers represents, therefore, mutual influence and mutual borrowing ---- much like modern liturgical rites all appear as variations on a common theme.

Even more significant are the theological commentaries. Explanation of the Scriptures that predominates is called "Typological exegesis" - images from the Hebrew Scriptures have found their true expression in Christian practice and in the rites themselves and these rites act as symbols or reflections of Christ. Similarly, in this period we find a renewal of Pauline thought- baptism as the symbolic participation in the death of Christ; also identification of the meaning of each aspect of the rite: postbaptismal anointing (East) and/or episcopal imposition of the hands (West) were related to the gift of the Holy Spirit. And in the Roman West, in the later medieval period, this of course will lead to a separate initiatory sacrament called "confirmation."

2. Eucharist

Nowhere did the post-Constantinian transformation of the scale of worship have a greater impact than on the eucharist. Large spaces and a large number of people led to expanding the rite especially at those places where movement took place: entrance, presentation of the gifts, and communion. While we might refer to a liturgical unit, in the words of E. Bishop of an **act** covered by a **chant** and concluded by a **collect**, it is at these actions -- called "SOFT POINTS" by Robert Taft that we note particular expansion for these elements had a tendency to expand with prayer and psalmody to cover a longer time needed for their

execution. Here is the reason for the expansion of both psalmody and litanies in the eucharistic rites of both East and West. Juan Mateos has shown -- example of Byzantine Liturgy's office of three antiphons before the Little Entrance

Before the 4th century there seem to have been several biblical readings prior to the reading of the Gospel. But in this period the number of readings became reduced to one, usually from the NT.

A. Classification of Rites

A certain settling in of the various traditions of the eucharistic prayer is also to be noted in this period.

Three major traditions in the East:

Antiochene (West Syrian)

Texts:

ApTrad.
Basil
St James
ApConst 8
12 Apostles/Chrysostom

Antiochene

Anaphoral Structure:

Preface/Praise
Sanctus
Post-sanctus
Institution
Anamnesis
Epiclesis
Intercessions
Doxology

Alexandrian East Syrian

Strasbourg
Sarapion
St Mark
Addai & Mari
St Peter (Sharar)

Alexandrian East Syrian

Preface
Intercessions
Sanctus
Epiclesis
Institution
Anamnesis
Epiclesis
Doxology

Western Rites:

Roman

Ambrosian

Gallican
follows WS

Mozarabic
follows WS

NOTE: E. Bishop: "Mystery never flourished in the clear Roman atmosphere, and symbolism was no product of the Roman religious mind....The genius of the Roman Rite,...is soberness and sense." Origins of the Roman **canon** traced back to the late fourth and fifth centuries; characterized by a predominance of sacrificial vocabulary, a split in the intercessions, with those for the living after the

Sanctus and those for the dead toward the end of the prayer; and a variable pre-Sanctus section (called the preface - meaning is not, "preliminary," but "to say something before others").

B. THEOLOGICAL POINT: 4th century also indicates a shift which will become highly important later on -- Cyril of Jerusalem refers to the activity of the Holy Spirit in all of the sacramental acts: "whatever the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed." Contrast with Ambrose of Milan -- "the priest no longer uses his own words, but he uses the words of Christ. Therefore the word of Christ makes the Sacrament"

3. Liturgical Year

A rather full development of what we know as the liturgical year came about in this classic period. The year becomes divided into two cycles: (1) Christmas, Epiphany, the feasts of saints and other feasts that depend upon a fixed date; and (2) Easter and the feasts and seasons dependent upon it, arranged acc. to the moveable date of Easter.

In the 4th cent., Christmas (originally Western) and Epiphany (originally Eastern) are adopted by the churches of the other region. While Epiphany remained the celebration of Christ's baptism in the East, the West (primarily in the Gallican traditions) it becomes the celebration of the baptism and of Christ's manifestation to the Gentiles (represented by the Magi) -- at Rome it is limited to the Magi alone. In most places major feasts were accompanied by an octave -- eight days of liturgical celebration, often employing different urban, stational, churches.

The annual date of Easter -- the first Sunday, after the first full moon, after the vernal equinox -- is decided only by the Council of Nicea; and it may be in conformity with this decision that the 40 day Lent we know becomes a universal custom. Paschal Baptism as an ideal norm may also be dated to the aftermath of the Council of Nicea. While in origin this 40 day Lent was a way for the whole church to participate in the preparation of candidates for baptism by prayer, fasting, and works of charity. Especially involved were those members of the community who were enrolled in public penance. As adult initiation became less frequent, the penitential practice of the greater community loomed larger in Lenten observance.

The full development of Holy Week itself is to be dated to this period - primarily as we know it in Jerusalem through the travel diary of the Spanish pilgrim, Egeria. Perhaps Jerusalem practice itself is the origin of the distinctive celebration of this week -- but as a pilgrimage center it is equally possible that various pilgrims brought their own liturgical traditions there to celebrate at the

very sites where the last events of Christ's life took place; celebrations greatly aided by the Imperial supported basilicas (Constantine and the Holy Sepulchre; Helena founds true cross; basilica at Bethlehem, etc.)

Ascension on the 40th day of Easter is also to be dated here; and thus the split up of the original unitive character of the 50 days of paschal rejoicing. By the 5th cent. in the West one finds some churches including fast days between Ascension and Pentecost; even later one finds an octave attached to Pentecost.

UNITIVE CHARACTER of the Paschal Mystery thus splintered into separate commemorations -- John 20 as sign of unitive character -- the risen Christ who is the crucified Christ (wounds in hand, side, and feet) breathes the Pentecost spirit upon the church. In one of his sermons, Augustine calls Easter a "Sacramentum" but Christmas a "commemoration." Leo the Great, however, calls the feast of Christmas the "sacrament of the incarnation.

Considerable in development also was the expansion of the cult of the saints to include nonmartyrs; primarily confessors. As we have seen the cult of the saints was originally tied to their relics -- tombs -- but as relics were transferred to other churches so also were the anniversary days; and ultimately this leads to a kind of universalization; celebrated whether or not they had any relics. Nevertheless, still a local character was retained. Indeed, even the saints of the Roman Canon are primarily -- with the exception of Mary and the Apostles -- bishops and martyrs especially associated with the Church at Rome. Earliest Marian feasts are found here as well as churches dedicated in her honor (Theotokos on August 15) -- S. Maria Maggiore dedicated by Pope Sixtus III (432-440).

4. Liturgy of the Hours

Ca. 337 Eusebius of Caesarea says: "Rightly, it is no ordinary sign of the power of God, that throughout the whole world, in the churches of God, hymns, praises, and truly divine delights are offered to God at the morning going forth of the sun and at evening time." Two types of Offices in the Fourth Century church are usually noted, thanks to the categories given them by Anton Baumstark: the **Cathedral Office** and the **Monastic Office**. Simply put, the **cathedral** office, by definition is popular prayer of the church assembled with its leadership. It is characterized by the use of psalms (often Ps. 63, perhaps 148-150 in morning and Ps. 141 in the evening) and hymns that correspond to the hour of the day, attention to ceremonial and ritual details like lights and incense, and the presence of the bishop as the presider over the prayer. **CONTENT** -- praise and intercession with very little, if any, didactic reading of Scripture. Again, clearest example is Egeria about whom we shall hear more later.

The second form, called **monastic**, originated with the ascetics of Egypt; a style of prayer leading more to contemplation with very little ritualization. Contents had little to do with the hour of the day but rather consisted consisted of psalms and other Scripture, an attempt to aid in the goal of continuous prayer. **See SEARCH, pp. 191-2 for Bradshaw's comments.**

Most of the developed offices in both East and West are of a type that mixes elements of each tradition. Best example in the West, of course, is the sixth-century Rule of St Benedict: Eight daily offices: matins/nocturns: middle of the night; lauds (upon rising), prime (shortly after lauds, suppressed only in the recent Roman reform), terce, sext, none, vespers (early evening), and compline (before retiring). It should be noted that the vast majority of non-biblical compositions called hymns originate not in the eucharist but in conjunction with the daily office.

5. Orders

Just a note on ordination here by way of conclusion: Leadership, of course, became more systematic and rigidly structured, and moved increasingly in a hierarchical direction. Exception was the earliest Irish church where Abbots were the chief authority figures, even over the large numbers of wandering bishops (example of Abbot Jerome vs. the American bishops on the preparation of the gifts). Prophets who figure so prominently in early documents disappear rather quickly in favor of a ministry of those in orders.

Major Orders: Documents of the classic period are consistent in maintaining ordination for bishops, presbyters, and deacons. What is intriguing, however, is the variety in other offices. So, e.g., ApConst. includes a rite for the laying on of hands for a deaconess; TestDom subdeacons are ordained; readers are not; CanHipp both subdeacons and healers are ordained. EuchSarap credits God with creating orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Deacons are likened to the 7 in Acts, presbyters are called stewards (actually "rulers") and ambassadors, and the bishop is called the successor of the apostles and the Shepherd of God's flock. Also we see a shift in emphasis: increasingly the ritual of prayer and imposition come to be thought of as that which "gives" or bestows the gift of office; election merely as preliminary to the real act.

CLASS 9: Nicene/Post Nicene Sources 1: Student Presentations:

CLASS 10: Nicene/Post-Nicene Sources II: Student Presentations:

CLASS 11: Nicene/Post-Nicene Sources III: Student Presentations:

CLASS/LECTURE 12 and 13: Liturgy in the Medieval Period I and II: An Overview: For sources bring to class Brightman, LEW; Mateos, LE TYPICON; Mateos, Taft, OCA volumes on ByzLit. Make some acknowledgement of Eastern sources being primarily studied, etc. by WESTERN Christians. For Bib. see SOL.

INTRO:

Medieval period is, of course, a vast period of time; roughly 600-1500; sometimes divided into two segments: Early Middle Ages from 604 (death of Greg. the Great) to 1085 (death of Gregory VII); Late Middle Ages (from 1085 to October 31, 1517 (Luther's 95 theses). Also plethora of liturgical sources.

Ever expanding geography: No. Africa and Spain were lost to the Muslims but Xnity expanded North and East. Missionaries reached Iceland ca. 980, eventually cathedral and parish churches established in Iceland. Northern Europe and Scandanavia were converted, Norway by the mid-eleventh cent, Sweden and Finland by the mid-twelfth. Progress to the East for the Orthodox churches also spectacular; conversion of Ukraine and Russia beginning in earnest in 988 under prince Vladimir. Great Schism of 1054 permamntly divided E and W and insult added to injury when western crusaders sacked Constantinople in 1204; Constantinople falls to the Muslims in 1453. West looks further westward, fulfilled in 1492 by contact with American civilizations.

Finally, cannot overestimate the import of the medieval period for even contemporary worship. M odern Protestant, Orthodox, and Catholic worship has been shaped by the medieval period. No way around it.

1. Life in the Middle Ages:

Medieval life has been described as being "nasty, brutish, and short". With poor nutrition, the average life span had shrunk to about 40, the average body size had also shrunk. Most people lived in villages of modest size; even large cities were tiny. Lit. life centered in the parish church, served by a priest or two and several in minor orders. Dioceses were vast north of Italy and the majority of people never got near a bishop (making "confirmation" the most neglected of all the sacraments" in the medieval periodl. Logistics of visiting as many as 800 parishes in a diocese, primitive conditions of roads, and the secular occupations of bishops made encounters with the average parishioner unlikely.

Life was frequently cut short because of civil turmoil (warring neighbors) and invasions. Much of Europe was organized to the fight crusades in the 12 and 13 centuries. Then imperial and national wars. Plagues also cut life short: the Black death of 1353 decimated the population; many villages never recovered.

Center of social stability, of course, was the monastery; many monasteries had a scriptorium where manuscript books were laboriously, and beautifully, copied and

produced. But monks were people whose prime occupation was worship. The daily and night office eventually took a major part of their time and became a worship style admirably fitted to their contemplative and meditative life.

Monks set the agenda for much of medieval worship and so we can speak of a monastic hegemony of liturgy: not only the daily office but in church music and architecture. The advent of the new mendicant orders - Franciscans, Dominicans, etc. -- in the 13th century brought about other changes especially in the liturgical books. Most liturgical changes in the M.A. seem to originate from the religious orders.

Of course from these communities and cathedral schools develops the medieval university and of course the ultimate rise of scholastic (school) theology (movement from patristic pulpit/catechesis/mystagogy to classroom intellectual endeavor. Important shift..

Liturgical role of Rome was far from deliberate. Because of the prestige accorded Rome as the burial place of the martyrs, Roman ways of worship were widely imitated. Essentially the Roman spirit, as we have seen, is one of soberness and conservatism. Pilgrims to Rome, however, came to see the pope and the principal station churches; so what they tended to take home were memories of papal ceremonial. Romanitas, became a common western practice but many practices originating north of the Alps were imposed on Rome itself during the tenth century and beyond when its influence was at a minimum. Monastic orders as well as the 13th cent. mendicants became effective means of propagating additions to Roman practice.

For the most part Rome took a hands-off approach; influence from respect rather than coercion. Charlemagne, like his father Pepin, sought to unify his empire around the Roman Rite, and appealed to Pope Hadrian for books, but received only one book and Rome was not all that helpful. Greg VII in his reform of the Roman Rite tried to suppress the Mozarabic Rite in Spain but with little success. Local rites were allowed to survive and they persisted. As late as 1549 Cranmer noted that England itself still had various "usages": Salisbury (Sarum), Hereford, Bangor, York, Lincoln.

A. EAST - BYZANTINE:

From the 7th cent. on, it is especially necessary to distinguish between E and W in dealing with the history of Xn worship. The new Rome, Constantinople, soon became preoccupied with the threat of Islam, which from the 7th cent on dominated the once-Xn Near East. Moreover in the wake of the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), eastern Xnity had experienced a split in its ranks with much of Syrian and Egyptian as well as Armenian Xnity belonging to the party called "Monophysite." To this day, however, there are 7 distinct Eastern Xn traditions: **Armenian, Assyro-Chaldean (East Syrian), West Syrian, Maronite, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Byzantine**. Because the Byzantine rite, that is, the rite dependent upon the city of Constantinople, is the dominant or largest of these traditions, we shall limit ourselves to this and specifically to Eucharist, initiation, and hours. The Byzantine Empire itself, it should be remembered, experienced

a massive struggle over iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries, a struggle that saw the monastic (or iconodule) party emerge as victorious.

Liturgy of the capital city of Constantinople had a major influence on the medieval development of the ByzRite. The city's local calendar, with its commemorations of special events in civic life, such as earthquakes and seizures, and its outdoor processional liturgy, a kind of "city as Church" mentality, centering on forums and major avenues as well as Justinian's Great Church (the Hagia Sophia) and a number of important shrines, were adapted throughout the churches of the Byzantine Rite. After the 11th cent. the once-popular outdoor processions were "miniaturized"; i.e., brought within the walls of the church, accounting for a good deal of the processional still in use in the contemporary Byz rite.

1. Terminology: Eastern Liturgical Books:

2. Eucharist

A. Mss. First textual evidence for the Byz. Liturgy is Codex Barberini gr. 336 (often abbreviated as Barberini 336) from about 800; contains both Liturgy of Basil and Liturgy of Chrys in that order; basically still the ByzRite today.

B. Texts:

Two anaphoral traditions become codified and used in the Byzantine Rite: The **Anaphora of St. Basil** (used today primarily during Lent), perhaps reworked by St Basil of Caesarea himself (See the work of J. Fenwick on Basil); and that known as **St John Chrysostom**, having its origins in an anaphora called the Syriac **Twelve Apostles**, and perhaps expanded by John Chrysostom himself (See the recent work of Taft on authorship). Structures are common West-Syrian pattern. Influence of Basil on current Rom E.P. IV and the so-called American Common EP.

C. Theological Commentaries: Rich theological commentary accompanied the development of the liturgy, particularly of the eucharist. These commentaries tended to understand the liturgy either as a mirror of the interior or spiritual life (after the mode of Alexandrian theology) or as a representation of the mysteries of salvation in Christ (Antiochene mode). These commentaries, originating actually with Cyril of Jerusalem's and Theodore of Mopsuestia's mystCats provide valuable information not only on the theological understanding but also the historical development of the EuchLit itself. Among the more important are those of Maximus the Confessor (mid-seventh) Germanus of Constantinople (mid-eighth), and Nicholas Cabasilas (mid-fourteenth cent.) **Max - give out comparative chart and discuss briefly.**

NOTE in particular: Prothesis/Proskomide; Great Entrance -- not offertory; but transfer of the Gifts interpreted allegorically

3. Initiation

In the East, generally speaking, the rites of initiation were held together at all costs. According to Barb. 336, infants were named on the 8th day after birth; on the 40th day they were ritually made catechumens and exorcised; water and oil are blessed; candidates are anointed with oil of gladness, baptized - fully immersed from head to toe - and receive an anointing with the sign of the cross and the words "the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit." Then the eucharist begins and the newly baptized are communed. As in the West, of course, Baptism of infants becomes the normal practice even if they could receive the wine alone; entire rite carried out by priest using oil blessed by bishop.

4. HOURS

Is a can of worms in the Eastern rites: just a few comments. Armenian and Assyro-Chaldean have retained many elements of the cathedral office; Assyro-Chaldean rite "remains the only church in Christendom...that has retained in parish worship the daily celebration of the integral cathedral cursus" (Taft). West Syrian and Maronites fused elements of both, while Coptic tradition has retained "pure monastic office" with Ethiopian maintaining both cathedral and monastic patterns in monastic communities and on the eve of each. in parishes. Current **BYZRite** owes more to monastic than cathedral tradition; this tradition stemming mainly from Palestinian monastery of St Sabas becomes the dominant form of liturgical prayer after the Latin conquest of Constantinople of the 4th Crusade (1204). Hence, "Byzantine synthesis" of various traditions. Rite itself accompanied by immense hymnic poetry; contrasting themes of light and darkness alternate in words and ceremonial; very ecstatic and joyful; widespread in use.

B. WESTERN -- ROMAN and NON-ROMAN RITES:

1. Eucharist:

A number of things need to be noted about the Eucharist in the Western Middle Ages.

A. Variety of Rites in the Medieval West:

Gallican	Mozarabic (Toledo)	Ambrosian (Still Rite of Milan)
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MAKE COPIES OF EPs from PEER on Gallican and Mozarabic sources.
Note similarity of structure to West Syrian/Antiochene type Eucharistic Prayers.

All of these "rites" of course will ultimately become supplanted by the "Roman" rite itself at least ideally in the M.A. but not actually until the Roman books issued by the Council of Trent. In today's Roman Rite, however, attempt has been made to respect the wider

Western as well as Eastern traditions of worship. (E.g., structure of EP 2 and 3 shows some relation to Gallican traditions and EP IV the anaphora of St Basil)

B. Roman Rite - Books:

(1) Sacramentaries: Earliest mass books in the West were prayers written out in various leaflets known as libelli. These collections, made originally by bishops, brought together the priest's prayers for a number of Sundays and feast days; most important and oldest of these libelli missarum is known as the Veronese or Leonine sacramentary: contains over 300 sets of mass prayers, some of which may date to the time of Leo the Great. When these libelli are sorted out so they could be used in the course of a year, they are known as sacramentaries, containing the necessary prayers for Mass, initiation, ordination, as well as for the office. Most important sacramentaries are of course the Gelasian and the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Emperor Charlemagne saw liturgical uniformity as a means to achieve unity in his empire and requested from Pope Hadrian I (772-795) an authentic Roman sacramentary but received a very incomplete copy of the Gregorian, known as the Hadrianum. One of Charlemagne's advisors, Benedict of Aniane (ca. 750-821) added a Supplement of prayers drawn from a variety of Gallican sources currently in use. In the 10th century these non-Roman materials from northern Europe found their way back to Rome thus producing what we know as the Roman Rite, but in actuality is a synthesized Romano-Gallican Rite. Such elements that we consider most characteristic of the so-called Roman Rite, e.g., ceremonial use of incense, multiplication of private prayers spoken by the priest in the Mass (among them, various apologiae, prayers of confession and unworthiness (confiteor - never a congregational prayer), the "offertory prayers," or the Orate fratres dialogue before the EP) are Gallican/Mozarabic additions to a Rite which by definition is characterized by sobriety and sense. (Their becoming congregational responses in the current RR is highly questionable -- as is the practice I've noted here of making some of them first-person plural (e.g., "May the Lord accept the sacrifice at **our** hands....." - a further degeneration, not originally a congregational act at all, but the private devotion of the priest between celebrant and assistants at altar -- better, perhaps, to omit it all together from the contemporary rite).

(2) Other Books:

a. Ordos (or Ordines Romani): collection of ceremonial directives on how to perform a particular rite. Collections of these ordines, many having their origin in Rome, began to circulate north of the Alps and became treated as authoritative documents on how to perform various rites according to the Rite of Rome. Many, if not most of these, were notes taken by pilgrims of things they had seen done in Rome, frequently papal services. Hence, many of these fit into the programs of Charlemagne. But uniformity was never achieved either in liturgical text or rubrics and a variety of -- perhaps as many as 200 -- local or diocesan uses continued until the end of the Middle Ages.

b. Lectionaries: originally "marginal notes" in biblical texts; then pericope lists of incipits and explicits; finally full lectionaries; note also evangelaries and epistolaries

c. Antiphonaries: collections of "mass chants" for cantor, schola, etc.

Important: Needed a great variety of books and ministers to celebrate the Eucharist -- but all of this will ultimately become collected together to form what we know as the **Missal** or **Plenary (Full) Missal** so that ultimately the celebrating community itself becomes unnecessary.

C. The Celebration and Perception of the Eucharist:

1. Architectural shifts: altar/table recedes further and further from view; lodged against East Wall; from 12th cent. on chief action glimpsed through the rood screen that separated nave from chancel was the elevation of the host, then finally also the chalice. Only then were other things placed upon or behind the altar. Host elevation decreed by bishop of Paris (Odo of Sully) as a way to avoid idolatry. Seeing this or "Seeing Mass" rather than hearing or celebrating becomes in the words of J Jungmann the "be all and end all of Mass piety" in the M.A. "Hold it higher" ; holes in walls of churches; church bells themselves ring drawing attention to those outside to come in. Thus, a significant transformation in liturgy in this period: from a more communally-centered sense of the divine presence to one that focused on the holiness of things, a certain reification or objectification of worship. Furthest development of this , course will come in the later M.A. (13th cent. on with the development of the Feast and procession of Corpus Christi; - see N. Mitchell, Cult and Controversy

2. Language: Mass remains in Latin; canon of the Mass becomes recited in silence (emphasis on withdrawing, shielding the sacred; 9th cent. development)-- people participate by joining in private devotions during the Mass -- without any necessary correlation to what is going on at the altar. Focus of devotions tended to be introspective and subjective, dwelling on the sins of the individual; very penitential in nature.

3. Reception of Communion: By the 11th cent. the use of unleavened bread for the host had become widespread and the placing of the Host on the tongue of the communicant; thus sharp distinction between clergy and lay; tied in with new view of ordination and rites of ordination -- the anointing of the priest's hands and the traditio instrumentorum in the rite of ordination; also must note the withdrawal of the Chalice (which by the way effectively puts an end to the practice of communing the newly baptized infants). Before received either via fistula or by intinction ; NOTE ALSO, doctrine of Concomittance: Whole Christ contained under one species; makes the reception of the cup unnecessary. **Frequency of Communion** -- for various reasons (penitential regulations, etc.) people stopped receiving frequently; perhaps four times a year (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, patronal feast of the parish) but Lateran IV, 1215, makes Easter duty mandatory -- you don't mandate something that it is already being done.

4. Development of the Private Mass:

As early as Augustine an emphasis on the need for further purgation and thus on prayers for the dead and the offering of the Euch for them. Greg. the Great's Gregorian Masses (30 consecutive Masses) and the development of the idea of purgatory big in the M.A. In middle Ages monks increasingly becoming clericalized; need to celebrate Mass. Hence multiplication of masses. German scholar Otto Nussbaum sees this as influencing the practice of the private mass. As people left endowments after their death, a corps of priests grew up to say mass for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed. Guilds could pay stipends for deceased members. No question but that a number of priests in the M.A. were simply "mass priests;" their sole purpose was to offer mass for various intentions. Private Mass, and the need for all the texts of the Mass to be collected together in one book also one of the factors which leads to the development of the **Plenary Missal**. The celebration the private mass in turn influences the "saying" of masses in silence and consequently will influence the community celebration -- ultimately, everything read or sung aloud by the appropriate ministers is simultaenously read by the celebrant at the altar.

5. Theological Reflection on the Eucharist:

Basically two types: commentaries and scholastic reflections:

a. Expositiones missae:

allegorical commentaries on the eucharist: Amalarius of Metz (9th cent.) and bishop Durandus of Mende (14th cent.) -- **SEE JUNGSMANN, MRR, vol. 1: 74-92.**

b. Scholastic Theological Reflection: Beginning with the 9th century theological treatises and controversies about the Euch: debate between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus, monks of Corbie in northern France over the symbolic versus real presence of Christ; 11th cent. debates between Berengarius of Tours and Lanfranc (Arch of Canterbury) - forces Berengarius to confess that the believer actually crushes the real body of Christ with his teeth -- ultimately leads to the terminology of "transubstantiation" at Lateran IV, 1215. This is the era of "bleeding host" stories, etc. Again, for an excellent treatment of this issue you simply must read N. Mitchell's Cult and Controversy. Whole thing is related to a change in the understanding of "symbol." Concentration more and more on HOW Christ is present in the Eucharistic elements; contrast between reality and symbol.

c. Eucharist as Sacrifice: a related issue of course is the notion of sacrifice of the Mass. Tied in with Anselmian notion of Atonement: debt owed to God by humanity but unpayable by humanity -- only the sacrifice of the God-Man is sufficient who can more than adequately satisfy for sin -- hence Mass as contact with Christ's perfect satisfaction of God's justice; so offered for that purpose. Focus on priests as offerers.

2. Initiation:

Slow but irreversible process of the "Dissolution or disintegration" of the classic unified rites of initiation into separate rites: baptism (*quam primum*), confirmation (ca. age 7 but most medieval Xns never got near a bishop), and first communion. What was originally held together in the Roman West becomes rent asunder in the later M.A. See **Initiation Notes**.

3. Hours:

Lit of the Hours in the Medieval West is what Taft has called the "monasticization" of daily public prayer; monastic prayer shaped that which was offered in the parishes. Even parish churches, after the 11th century, sprouted long monastic chancels with stalls on either side of a central aisle; parish clergy became expected to worship together "in choir" as though they were monks. Lit of the Hours becomes the province of professionals in Latin; done for the people by monks and clerics. Most important sign of these increasing monasticization or clericalization of the office is of course the 13th century development of what comes to be known as the **Breviary**. The **Breviary**, of course, contains everything needed for the Lit of the Hours -- Psalter, lectionary, Antiphonal, Martyrology -- just as the **Missal** contained everything needed for Mass. Development related to obligation to participate in Lit of hours: in early middle ages deacons and priests expected to participate in the choral office; originally no obligation to recite if impeded from attendance; but from monasticism obligation comes; also, even in monastic practice, those in infirmaries needed texts. The 13th century mendicant orders-- especially the Franciscans -- who unlike monks were not "stable" had a need to develop their own books that could be carried by these itinerant missionaries for both Office and Mass; they adopt books, the Breviary and Missal of the Roman Curia, i.e., the books and usages of the papal court and thus spread these books all over Western Europe. Popularity of the Franciscans -- Franciscans as preachers, attentive to the needs of people; people go to Franciscan churches and others adopt their books. Contributes ultimately not only to clericalization of office but also to privatization. Current **LH** not much of an improvement -- still basically a monastic model of private recitation.

Office itself becomes long and complicated affair: Other offices added to the daily cycle -
 - little office of the BVM; office of the dead recited after regular hours; increasing number of feasts of saints overcrowds the regular daily office -- inhibits participation in the office

For Laity: Rosary -- popular lay person's Psalter (150 prayers = 150 psalms); popularized by the Dominicans; also in Late M.A. Little Office of BVM and Dead translated into vernacular for devout lay people along with 7 penitential psalms -- main components of unofficial **Primers** - books for lay devotion.

4. Liturgical Year:

Week and year in place by the end of the 4th century --

By 7th century traditional "marian feasts" in the West; others increasingly added - Visitation and Conception of Mary -- not originally "immaculate conception" but through the Franciscans primarily this enters in -- opposed by both Bernard and Aquinas.

Trinity Sunday -- what some have called an "idea" feast rather than an event established in the 14th century but not w/out opposition.

Feast of Corpus Christi

Most important development was the multiplication of saints feasts which tended to crowd out the regular cycle; although curtailed somewhat by Gregory VII it did not take long for this to happen all over again -- wreaks havoc on the daily celebration of office and mass; calendar becomes increasingly complicated, encroaches upon the liturgy.

5. Orders:

Again, just a short note about ordination to conclude our brief look at the medieval period in the West. In the 10th cent. German sources led to the compilation of new ordination rites, built upon the earlier rites but with the addition of new ceremonies of Frankish-Gallican origin: anointing of the priests' hands, vesting, and the handing over of instruments symbolic of the office. Important document for this is the **Missale Francorum**. What is most important is that in scholastic theology these things, rather than the imposition of hands and prayer for the gifts necessary to do the task of ministry, now become seen as the essential matter for ordination. New book for use by bishops alone appeared called the **Pontifical**.

CLASS 14: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS ON MEDIEVAL WESTERN SOURCES

CLASS 15: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS ON MEDIEVAL WESTERN SOURCES

CLASS 16: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS ON MEDIEVAL WESTERN SOURCES

CLASS/LECTURE 17: Liturgy in the Churches of the Reformation: An Overview

The particular theological, political, cultural, and historical factors which contributed to bring about the sixteenth-century Reformation in the first place are several, well described elsewhere,^{iv} and, thus, beyond the limited scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is important to note generally that both ecclesial and social life in the late or high Middle Ages were ripe for some kind of far-reaching reform and renewal, one that would reach down to the very roots of western society and culture. As Herman Wegman notes:

...people were deeply disappointed in both church and state. The call for reform was widespread, especially for reform of the church. In making such a call people looked to the past. The early church was the ideal from which the church had now strayed, so far that nothing seemed to remain from that early period. Holiness, purity, poverty, zealous faith had all disappeared, or so it was thought. The humanists with their growing historical insight had a distaste for what we now call 'the Middle Ages.' They saw it as a barbaric time of bad Latin and impossible metaphysics. Especially the clergy and the pope were responsible for these ills. At the Councils of Constance and Basel this dissatisfaction and a certain kind of antipapalism had already appeared, but now this tendency was becoming much more evident. Certain forms of anticlericalism were to be found not only in the scholarly circles but also among the faithful. Savonarola brought the city of Florence into revolt against the pope and his 'clique,' i.e., the Curia, which consisted mostly of the pope's relatives. The people began to criticize just like the learned. The development of printing brought books onto the market and many people learned to read them. Once people began to pore over the works of someone like Erasmus, it was not long before they too became reform-minded. The church, which had for many years looked upon learning and scholarship as its monopoly, now lost claim and became the object of a bitter critique carried on by learning, once the church's handmaid.^v

Nationalism, the increasing loss of ecclesiastical and/or papal control of western Europe, the biting critiques of Humanist scholars and others, and the so-called "Gutenberg Revolution," i.e., the discovery of the printing press, and with it the possibility of mass-produced pamphlets and books, all contributed in bringing about the sixteenth-century Reformation. In such a changed historical context, the rites of Christian initiation inherited from the Middle Ages will themselves become either drastically reformed and reshaped, according to various theological perspectives, or, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, defended strongly at all costs against the attacks of the Protestant Reformers.

[B]ehind much of the reforming program of both the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation, was the emerging modern concept of the person as an autonomous individual. Whereas earlier and non-Western concepts of the person

tended to identify the person in terms of his or her place in the community, the modern concept of the autonomous individual makes the individual self the source of its values and its own identity. Hence we have the emphasis on individual conversion and commitment and on the education which would shape each individual to take his place in the Church or in society. Through diligent training of intellect and will, Catholics and Protestants alike believed, a new generation of committed individuals could be formed.^{vi}

As Gary Macy states so clearly:

Different churches retained different customs of the old medieval church, to be sure, and some of the churches, especially the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, treasured their continuity with the medieval centuries. Yet it is important to remember that *none* of the churches which emerged from this great upheaval can claim the past exclusively their own. *The modern Roman Catholic Church started in the sixteenth century just as surely as the Lutheran and Calvinist churches....[B]efore the reformation there were no Protestants, no Anglicans, no Roman Catholics. Christians were simply Christians - eastern and western Christians sometimes, but mostly simply Christians.*^{vii}

Guidelines for Student Presentations/Papers:

1. **Consult** with Instructor regarding principal focus of presentation and additional bibliography to be used **after!!!** doing initial research.

2. **Locate** and **bring** to class for "Show and Tell" the best **critical edition** of the document to be presented, even if the student does not have the proficiency to be able to read the document in its original language. **Critical edition** = text in its (usually) original language with textual apparatus listing variant readings and manuscripts.

NOTE: Students with knowledge of any of the various languages, especially Greek and/or Latin, are expected to make use of these languages in research and study of the sources.

3. Basic outlines of rites and handouts with English translations of the pertinent sections of documents to be discussed -- **if not already available** to the class in the required and/or recommended readings **or** in the paper itself -- are to be distributed. The paper should also include a **bibliography** of the texts consulted (including the proper citations of the critical editions of the source(s) used) and, when appropriate, some **biographical information** -- especially for Patristic and Reformation writers -- should be included. In addition to the paper to be handed in to the instructor for grading, **copies** are to be made for **everyone** in the class and distributed at the class session **prior** to the student's presentation so that all might prepare questions for the presenter. Such copies also will be of great benefit to all when preparing for Comps. and for future reference in teaching and ministry.

4. Presentations should be no more than about **20 minutes** -- sometimes even shorter -- in length so that plenty of time is allowed for discussion and additional comments by the class and instructor.

5. For **Patristic** and **Reformation** sources in particular, the **basic question** to be addressed in these papers/presentations is: What does this source **tell us** about the liturgies of Initiation, Eucharist (including both the rite and the eucharistic prayer/anaphora), Hours, Ordination, and Year? And how do we **receive** and **evaluate** what it tells us? **NOTE:** not all of these questions can be answered from every source.

6. For some **Medieval** sources -- if the assigned topic does not already specify the particular content (e.g., the development of the Breviary, Lectionary, Missal, etc.) -- the presentation might focus more on the general development, contents, and overall influence of the document(s) within liturgical history.

ⁱCited in R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington, D.C. 1984), p. vii [emphasis added].

ⁱⁱ*Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

ⁱⁱⁱ*Sacred Mysteries: Sacramental Principles and Liturgical Practice* (Mahwah 1995)
p. 165.

^{iv}Very good standard studies of this period, if now somewhat dated, include R. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston 1952); and O. Chadwick, *The Reformation*, Pelican History of the Church, vol. 3 (Harmondsworth 1968). For an excellent treatment of the theological and doctrinal issues in the Reformation see J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, (Chicago and London 1983).

^vH. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History* (Collegeville 1985), p. 298.

^{vi}Searle, "Infant Baptism Reconsidered," p. 377.

^{vii}Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom*, p. 135.