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objection being of the same character. But in the Dionysopolitan inscriptions to which I have alluded the word occurs several times; and we have thus a proof that this Latin legal term had passed into the current conversational language of the almost wholly uneducated peasants who wrote the inscriptions. Some of these inscriptions belong to the second century, and may be taken as affording a presumption that the word was naturalized among the Greek-speaking orientals even as early as Ignatius. I think that this fact was communicated to the bishop in time for his second edition; it formed the subject of some of the latest letters that passed between us.

It is impossible to conclude this paper without mentioning the great importance of carrying out such a minute and careful study of the references in Acts to Asia Minor as Canon Hicks has initiated in *THE EXPOSITOR*. Such a study is only now becoming possible, owing to the progress of discovery; and every new exploration adds to the stock of material which can be applied to the criticism and elucidation of our literary material.

W. M. RAMSAY.

#### ON THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN TO JEWISH WORSHIP.

THE recent publication of the Abbé Duchesne's valuable work entitled *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien* can hardly help directing attention afresh to the interesting question of the connexion between Jewish and Christian worship. Much has been already written on the subject, but nevertheless it can hardly be said that the exact relation between the two has been conclusively determined. Considerable light has been thrown on it by the writings of Bickell and others; but the information contained in

their works does not seem to have filtered through into the various handbooks on the English Prayer-Book, which are now so numerous ; and there is still room for a careful treatise on the subject, written, not only with adequate knowledge, but also with careful discrimination between what is certain and what is merely conjectural.<sup>1</sup> The fault that has hitherto marred so many investigations of the question is, that they have been undertaken in order to establish a preconceived theory, and that a misplaced ingenuity has been suffered to usurp the place of serious argument and solid proof. In the present article the writer will not make any ambitious attempt to supply the want, or to cover the whole field. It is not proposed even to enter on the Temple worship, or on the very interesting question, raised by Bickell, of the connexion of the eucharist with the passover. A much more limited subject for inquiry is all that can here be touched upon ; *viz.* To what extent has the service of the *synagogue* affected Christian worship? If any certain conclusion can be arrived at on this point, then the ground will be cleared for further investigations, and attention may afterwards be concentrated on the remaining points to which allusion has been made. Ever since the publication of the late Archdeacon Freeman's learned work on *Principles of Divine Service*, it has been generally accepted that it is in the office for the canonical Hours that traces of the synagogue worship of the Jews must be sought. A supposed parallel drawn between the "Eighteen Prayers" of the synagogue and the introductory part of the Greek offices is thought to establish a connexion between the two, a connexion that is admitted by the late Mr. Hotham in his article on psalmody in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*

<sup>1</sup> Of Mr. Baring Gould's volume entitled *Our Inheritance*, which I have only recently seen, I will say no more, than that it does not supply the want alluded to in the text.

as well as by Mr. Burbidge in his useful work on the *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*. Speaking of the common prayers (as distinct from the liturgy) of the early Church, the last-mentioned writer says: "The resemblance of these services to the synagogue worship can be clearly traced, as might be expected when it is remembered that for many years the Church consisted principally of Jews." And again: "Praise, hearing, and prayer formed the main divisions of the common prayers of the Christians, as they had done in the synagogue services of the Jews."<sup>1</sup>

The parallel drawn by the archdeacon between the Eighteen Prayers and the opening of the Greek offices is ingenious, but it is scarcely satisfying; and, apart from the doubt which hangs over the antiquity of the Eighteen Prayers, the theory founded on the supposed resemblance breaks down utterly when once it is realized that the Hour services of the Christian Church were essentially offices of praise, consisting mainly of psalms, and originally containing no lessons; while the synagogue service of the Jews was essentially didactic, and originally contained no psalms whatever.

It is to be regretted that too often the mistake has been made of comparing the synagogue service of post-Talmudic times with that of the Christian Church, and that little attention has been paid to the original authorities of an earlier age, which enable us to get behind the Talmud, and trace out the main features of the synagogue service at the time of the rise of the Christian Church. The earliest notices that have come down to us are those in the New Testament and in the writings of Philo. There is the closest possible agreement between both these authorities in regard to the character of the service which they describe. It was scarcely *worship* in any true sense of the word. The main features of it were (1) the reading

<sup>1</sup> *The Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, pp. 13, 14.

of the Scripture; and (2) the exposition or sermon. In almost every instance in which it is mentioned in the gospels that our Lord entered into the synagogue, it is added that He *taught* there.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion there is a somewhat fuller notice: "He came to Nazareth, where He had been brought up: and He entered, as His custom was, into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Isaiah. . . . And He closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on Him. And He began to say unto them, To-day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears."<sup>2</sup> Here we have, first, the reading of the Scriptures; secondly, the sermon. Precisely the same thing meets us in the Acts of the Apostles. St. Paul and St. Barnabas "went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation (*λόγος παρακλήσεως*) for the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said," etc.<sup>3</sup> The reading of the prophets "every Sabbath" is referred to later on in the same chapter;<sup>4</sup> while in chapter xv. St. James speaks of the law as being "read in the synagogues every Sabbath."<sup>5</sup> But in no single instance is there the slightest allusion to *psalmody* or even to *prayer* as forming part of the synagogue service; for the notice in St. Matthew vi. 5 clearly refers to *private* prayers said in a public place, and not to the united devotions of the congregation. Quite in harmony with the notices in the New Testament are those in the writings of Philo. Three brief accounts are given in various parts of his works, and in none of these

<sup>1</sup> See St. Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xiii. 54; St. Mark i. 21, vi. 2; St. Luke iv. 15, 31, vi. 6, xiii. 10; St. John vi. 59.

<sup>2</sup> St. Luke iv. 16-21.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xiii. 14-16.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Acts xv. 21.

is there mention of anything but the reading of Scripture, and the sermon or exposition. The fullest description is that found in a fragment preserved by Eusebius in the *Præparatio Evangelica*. It runs as follows :

“What then did the lawgiver appoint for these seventh days? He decreed that men should assemble, and sitting together in a decent and orderly way, should listen to the laws, that none might be ignorant of them. And indeed they always do assemble and sit together with each other; . . . and one of the priests or elders present reads the sacred laws to them and expounds them severally until it is late and evening draws on.”<sup>1</sup>

The second passage in the treatise *De Septenario* simply speaks of the instruction in “prudence, temperance, fortitude, justice, and the other virtues” which is given every Sabbath;<sup>2</sup> while the third passage, which refers especially to the Essenes, says that one takes the books and reads them, and another of the most learned expounds.<sup>3</sup>

Coming down to a later period, we find that a passage in the Talmudic tract *Megillah* enumerates the various parts of synagogue worship as follows: the recitation of the *Shema*, prayer, the reading of the law, the reading of the prophets, and the blessing of the priests.<sup>4</sup> The recitation of the *Shema*, with which the service commenced, was of the nature of a creed rather than a prayer. Schürer thinks that it “undoubtedly belongs to the time of Christ”;<sup>5</sup> but, with one possible exception,<sup>6</sup> there is no allusion to its use in the New Testament. Of the *Shemoneh Esreh* (the Eighteen Prayers) Schürer says that “it must have virtually attained its present form about A.D. 70-100, and

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, VIII., vii.

<sup>2</sup> *De Septenario*, c. vi.

<sup>3</sup> “Quod omnis probus liber,” c. xii. Cf. Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, VIII., xii.; and cf. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 76, where the passages are quoted in full.

<sup>4</sup> *Megillah*, iv. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Schürer, ii., p. 77. The *Shema* consists of Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, Num. xv. 37-41. Its recitation is referred to by Josephus, *Ant.* IV., viii. 13. See Schürer, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> St. Jas. ii. 19.

its groundwork may safely be regarded as considerably more ancient.”<sup>1</sup> It is then quite possible that to the Scripture reading and the sermon some few prayers were added, even in the earliest days. But if so they must have occupied an entirely subordinate position; and there is, I believe, no notice of psalmody as forming any part of the synagogue service until post-Talmudic times.<sup>2</sup> Anyhow the notices in Philo and the New Testament are conclusive that *instruction* rather than prayer or praise was the main object for which the Jews met together in their synagogues.

It should be added, that these meetings were not held daily, but only on the Sabbath (on which the principal service was in the morning) and on Monday and Thursday; whereas of course the Hour Services of the Christian Church are essentially *daily* offices. And thus a further argument arises against the theory which would trace their origin back to the worship of the Jewish Church. The truth is, that the Hour Services differ in every possible way from the original synagogue service; and it is hopeless to attempt to establish the slightest connexion between the two.

<sup>1</sup> Schürer, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Psalmody was of course prominent in the *Temple* worship. But it is curious how little evidence there is of its use among the Jews in formal worship elsewhere, although it is commonly taken for granted that it entered largely into it. Bishop Lightfoot in his note on Colossians iii. 16 says, “Psalmody and hymnody were highly developed in the religious services of the Jews at this time.” It seems audacious to question this, but the passages which the bishop quotes from Philo scarcely bear out his assertion. The first of them (*In Flacc.*, 14) refers to a special occasion only; the others (*De Vita Cont.*, §§ 3, 10, 11) speak of none but the Therapeutæ; and even here, that from § 3 does not allude to public worship, while that in §§ 10, 11 is descriptive merely of what took place on their great festival, at the festive meal. The origin of the psalmody of the early Church deserves fuller investigation than it has yet received. The notices of it in the New Testament refer more directly to social life than to public worship—see Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16 (1 Cor. xiv. 26 is perhaps an exception, unless it is taken of the *Agape*)—as does the well-known passage in Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. xxxix.

Are we then compelled to abandon altogether the idea that the worship of the synagogue has influenced that of the Christian Church? Such a conclusion by no means follows, for traces of its influence may be sought in an entirely different quarter; and I cannot doubt that those scholars<sup>1</sup> are right who have recently maintained that the "Liturgy of the Catechumens" preceding the "Liturgy of the Faithful" is little more than the synagogue service adapted to the use of Christians.

To establish this it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the history of the infant Church as contained in the Acts of the Apostles. The system followed by the early Christians in the matter of public worship is there not obscurely indicated. Attendance at the Jewish services was maintained as long as possible; but from the very first it was of course supplemented by "the breaking of bread" *κατ' οἶκον*. In Jerusalem it was the worship of the Temple at which Christians were present. "Day by day continuing steadfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people."<sup>2</sup> This continued attendance at the Temple service is further implied in the whole account of St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, and the language used by St. James in his advice to the Apostle.<sup>3</sup> But it was evidently an impossibility for any but the comparatively small number of Christians in Jerusalem itself. Outside the holy city, Christians, like the Jews, had to be content with the services of the synagogue, which, as we have already seen, were of an entirely different character, the object of these gatherings being rather instruction than worship. That Christians would be present at these is taken for granted by St. James in the words with which

<sup>1</sup> As the Abbé Duchesne, *Les Origines*, p. 45, sq.

<sup>2</sup> Acts ii. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xx. 20-59.



he ends his speech at the Council of Jerusalem: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath."<sup>1</sup> The whole point of the remark is, that there is no fear of the Gentiles being ignorant of the provisions of the law, because they hear it read weekly; and the words would have no force whatever unless the Apostle could assume as a matter of course their presence in the synagogue. So also throughout the narrative of St. Paul's missionary labours, it is implied that Christians continued to take part in these services as long as it was possible for them to do so. At Berea apparently the whole Jewish community was won over *en masse*, and without any breach of continuity the synagogue became Christian.<sup>2</sup> This can hardly have been quite an isolated instance. The same thing probably happened in other places as well. In many places, however, after a time hostility was aroused, and the Christians were forced to withdraw. Very instructive is the account of what took place at Ephesus. There the Apostle "entered into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading as to the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus."<sup>3</sup> The expression employed, ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητάς, clearly implies that some definite and formal action was taken by the apostle. Hitherto the disciples had heard the Scriptures read and the sermon preached in the synagogue. This was to continue no longer, and the followers of "the Way" were in a body withdrawn by their leader.<sup>4</sup> The action thus taken can have been no isolated one. If there were some com-

<sup>1</sup> Acts xv. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xvii. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xix. 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> One is irresistibly reminded of the account of John Wesley's separation from the Moravians.

munities like that at Berœa, where the Jewish synagogue passed with no perceptible break into a Christian Church, there must have been many more where expulsion by the Jews, or (to avoid this) voluntary withdrawal on the part of the Christians, necessitated fresh provision being made for the instruction of the infant Church in the Scriptures. The faithful already had their Eucharist, possibly still daily, more probably, as seems to be implied by Acts xx. 7, every Lord's day. What then could be more natural than that they should supplement this by a service such as that to which they had been accustomed in the synagogue, a service open to all, and consisting mainly of Scripture and instruction? The only serious questions that would arise would concern the frequency of such a service, and the hour at which it should be held. Convenience would decide this last point by suggesting that it should be held immediately before the Eucharist, to which it presently came to be regarded as almost a part. The *frequency* of the service would be a matter requiring more consideration. The synagogue service was not confined to the Sabbath, but was held on Monday and Thursday as well. The Christians already assembled regularly on Sunday for "the breaking of bread." To this day therefore the preparatory service of instruction was transferred as a matter of course. Conservatism, however, would lead many to desire to retain it on the *Saturday*, the Jewish Sabbath, as well; and hence the observance of this day, as well as of the Sunday, was not unusual in the early Church, the Eucharist being celebrated in connexion with this preliminary service as on Sunday.<sup>1</sup> The meetings on Monday and Thursday were probably transferred to Wednesday and Friday, the "station days" of the early Church,<sup>2</sup> which, as we see from the *Ἀιδαχή*, were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Council of Laodicœa, canons xvi. and xlix. ; *Apost. Const.*, II., lix., VIII. xxxiii. ; Socrates, V. xxii., VI. viii. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, XX., c. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *De Oratione*, c. xiv.

observed as fasts in very early times.<sup>1</sup> In many Churches the Eucharist was also celebrated on these days, as well as on Sunday; but in Alexandria we learn from Socrates that “on Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures were read, and the doctors expounded them; and all the usual service was held, except the celebration of the mysteries.”<sup>2</sup> This custom, Socrates expressly tells us, was of great antiquity, and the fact of its lingering on to the fifth century is a remarkable instance of a survival, for it clearly represents the original synagogue service transferred to the use of the Christian Church. In the way thus indicated it appears probable that there originated the “Liturgy of the Catechumens,” which, as Mr. Hammond remarks, was “chiefly didactic in its scope and preparatory to the second solemn service,”<sup>3</sup> to which it was more or less closely united. All our earliest notices of it agree in representing it as consisting mainly, if not exclusively, of Scripture lections followed by a sermon, and thus corresponding exactly with the service of the synagogue. Justin Martyr, it will be remembered, has in his first *Apology* given two distinct accounts of the Eucharist. In chapter lxv. he describes the service as it was performed when a newly baptized convert was to be admitted to his first communion. In chapter lxvii. he gives the well-known account of the ordinary Sunday service of the faithful. There is however a remarkable difference between the two accounts. Let us transcribe them both for purposes of comparison.

Chapter lxv. “But we, after we have thus bathed him who has been convinced, and has assented to our teaching, bring him to those who are called brethren, where they are met together, to offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves, and the baptized person (*τοῦ φωτισθέντος*), and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good

<sup>1</sup> *Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, c. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. xxx.

citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with everlasting salvation. When we have ended our prayers we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those whom we call deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion."

Chapter lxxvii. "On the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then when the reader has finished, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise in common, and offer up prayers, and, as we said before, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought forth, and the president in like manner offers up prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (*ὡς ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ*), and the people express their assent by saying the Amen. And there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons."

It is easy to see how closely these two accounts correspond in the main outline of the service which they describe. But it is equally noteworthy that it is only the ordinary Sunday service which is described as beginning with the Scriptures and the sermon. There is no mention whatever of these in the earlier account, but apparently they proceeded straight from the baptism to the prayer in common preceding the offering of bread and wine. Hence we may fairly gather that the connexion of the preliminary portion with the Eucharist proper was somewhat loose, and that it was no necessary part of it: a fact which may reasonably be urged in favour of the view that it was in its origin distinct. Further, it must not be overlooked that Justin's language in describing this preliminary service corresponds with sin-

gular exactness to the language used by St. Luke in his notice of the synagogue service in Acts xiii. In both we have first the reading of the Scriptures ("the law and the prophets" in the synagogue, the "memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets" in the Christian Church); and in both this is followed by the exhortation or sermon, and this is all. In later times fresh material was introduced into the Liturgy, and prayers and litanies preceded the Scripture reading and the sermon; and though the essentially *didactic* character of the service was never entirely lost, yet it was somewhat obscured by the additional matter introduced. The "little entrance" became a prominent feature, as well as the singing of the supplicatory *Trisagion*; while (latest insertion of all) the Creed found a place after the Gospel, at least in some of the Western Liturgies.<sup>1</sup> But of all this there is no trace in our earliest authorities. They speak of nothing beyond the Scripture reading and instruction as being contained in the Mass of the Catechumens. The so-called *Apostolic Canons* condemn "those of the faithful who enter and hear the holy Scriptures, but do not stay during prayer and the holy communion,"<sup>2</sup> the prohibition being evidently directed against those of the baptized who departed with the catechumens, and to the same effect speaks a canon of the Council of Antioch in 341.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, it is remarkable how closely the so called "Clementine Liturgy," which Mr. Hammond thinks "represents fairly the pre-Constantinian liturgy of about the middle of the third century,"<sup>4</sup> corresponds with the description given by Justin Martyr. This so-called liturgy is preserved in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which how-

<sup>1</sup> The Creed was not inscribed into any Liturgy before the fifth century. Its position after the Gospel, which was general in the West (except in Spain), was not adopted in the East, where it occurs later on in the service.

<sup>2</sup> *Apost. Canons*, x.

<sup>3</sup> Canon xxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. xxxviii.

ever requires to be supplemented by the description of the introductory portion of the liturgy in book ii. Taken together, the two passages furnish us with a complete view of the whole service. In book viii. the account of the eucharistic service follows immediately upon the description of the consecration of a bishop, and begins thus :

“ After the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospel, let him that is ordained salute the Church, saying, ‘ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all ’ ; and let them all answer, ‘ And with thy spirit. ’ And after these words let him speak to the people the words of exhortation ; and when he has ended his word of doctrine, all standing up, let the deacon ascend upon some high seat, and proclaim, ‘ Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers stay. ’ ”

Then follow the prayers for the dismissal of the catechumens, energumens, etc. ; after which there is a Litany for the faithful, corresponding to Justin’s prayer *in common*.<sup>1</sup>

Here it will be noticed that the dismissal of the catechumens, etc., follows immediately upon the conclusion of the sermon. The same fact is seen also in book ii. There the directions are given at greater length for the reading of the various books of the Old Testament, a Psalm being apparently sung after two lections from the Old Testament ; and then follow directions for reading of the Acts, the Epistles and Gospel ; after which the account proceeds to say :

“ In the next place, let the presbyters, one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and in the last place the bishop, as being the commander. ”

And then immediately follows the dismissal of the catechumens.

“ After this let all rise up with consent, and looking towards the East, *after the catechumens and penitents are gone out*, pray to God, ” etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apost. Const.*, book vii., c. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Apost. Const.*, book ii., c. lvii.

These various notices, and the facts here collected together furnish, it must be admitted, no inconsiderable amount of evidence in favour of the view that *Missa Catechumenorum*, of which our ante-communion office, with the Epistle and Gospel and sermon, is the lineal descendant, is really nothing but the service of the Jewish synagogue transferred to the use of the Christian Church.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

## THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

### II.

(1 COR. xv. 42-44.)

By the help of analogies from nature the Apostle has been able to meet three difficulties attending the belief that there is a resurrection of the dead. The dead rise, he had said; and it followed that, so rising, they must have bodies, for without a body no man can be thought of as existing. The first difficulty therefore had been, With what kind of body do the dead come? How can they be thought of as having bodies at all, when the bodies which they possessed during the life in which we knew them have returned to corruption? If they may have bodies, had been the second difficulty, will these bodies be adapted to the condition of a heavenly world? If they will be so adapted, had been the third difficulty, and thus be so different from what they were, can personal identity have been preserved? These three questions have been answered, and the application has now to be made in a more positive treatment of the subject.

This application is made at ver. 42: "So also is the resurrection of the dead"; that is, the resurrection of the dead follows the same order and law as may be seen in