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THE  
LITURGY OF THE EIGHTH BOOK  
OF  
'THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS'

THE  
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OF  
'THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS'

COMMONLY CALLED  
**The Clementine Liturgy**

*Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes*

BY  
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LONDON:  
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## INTRODUCTION

THE most ancient extant complete Liturgy (using the term in its technical sense of the rites of the Celebration of the Lord's Supper) is that contained in the Eighth Book of *The Apostolic Constitutions*. It is frequently called *The Clementine Liturgy*, or even *The Liturgy of S. Clement*. These titles, however, indicate nothing more than the fact that this Liturgy is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which profess to have been put forth by S. Clement of Rome. The term *Clementine Liturgy* is thus open to the objection that it is likely to mislead ; but usage has sanctioned it, and the retention of the title, at least for want of a better, may be convenient.

Seven different documents lie at the disposal of the student who desires to form a correct estimate of the contents and value of the *Clementine Liturgy*.

1. The complete Liturgy, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book VIII. chapters 5-15.

2. A brief description of a similar rite, in *Apostolic Constitutions*, II. 57, 58.

3. Corresponding to 2 ; chapter 57 of a Syriac translation of the lost *Didascalia of the Apostles*, from which *Apostolic Constitutions* I.-VI. are derived.

4. Parallel with the Anaphora<sup>1</sup> of 1, but much

<sup>1</sup> See page 28.

briefly, an Anaphora in Statute 21 of the *Statutes of the Apostles*, the first portion of the *Sinodos*, a law book of the Abyssinian Church. Another Anaphora, presenting, in some parts, a close resemblance to that of the *Statutes*, is found in the *Ethiopic Liturgy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*.

5. Corresponding to 1, but presenting a mere outline of the rite; chapters 64-69 of the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*.<sup>1</sup>

6. Corresponding to the beginning of the Anaphora of 1; chapter 31 of the same *Canons*.

7. Corresponding to the same beginning of the Anaphora of 1; Canon 3 of *The Canons of Hippolytus*.<sup>2</sup>

Beginning with the first of the above documents, the complete Liturgy, it is evident that any correct estimate of the historical value and liturgical or doctrinal significance of the *Clementine Liturgy*, must be founded upon a right appreciation of the character, origin, and date of the document in which it occurs. It will, therefore be best to begin with a brief examination of *The Apostolic Constitutions*, and of the problems which they present.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*, it may suffice to say here that chapters 31-62 comprise a considerable part of *A. C. VIII.* 4-34, with many differences; whilst chapters 63-79 are a kind of abridgment of *A. C. VIII.*

<sup>2</sup> S. Hippolytus M., the so-called bishop of Portus Romanus, a writer of the early third century. He is probably not the author of the *Canons*, but they are Roman Canons of the end of the second, or beginning of the third century.

In connection with the above documents may be mentioned also the *Ethiopic* and *Arabic Didascalia*. Chapter X. corresponds to *A. C.*, I. 57, 58. But these documents are perhaps merely translations from the Greek *Apostolic Constitutions*.

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of brevity, the *Apostolic Constitutions* will be referred to by the initials *A. C.* The latest critical work on *A. C.* is F. X. Funk, *Die Apostolischen Constitutionen*,

1. The *A. C.* are a collection, forming a sort of manual of ecclesiastical law, and of Christian morality, doctrine, and ceremonial. The various elements are loosely arranged, and the tone of the whole is rather hortatory than strictly doctrinal, legislative, or liturgical.

The various injunctions are attributed to the Holy Apostles, sometimes speaking singly, and sometimes collectively. S. Clement of Rome is represented as transmitting their ordinances to the Church. No particular critical acumen, however, is required to perceive that the document is, as a whole, of an apocryphal character, and that its publication by S. Clement is as completely a fiction as the claim of its precepts to rest upon the direct authority of the Apostles.

Happily the sources from which the compiler, or compilers, drew portions of the work are not entirely unknown. Books I.—VI. are derived from the *Didascalía of the Apostles*, a lost work of the earlier part

Rottenburg, 1891. Four MSS. of *A. C.* are known to exist. W. At S. Petersburg, written in the year 1111.—X. At Vienna, fourteenth century.—Y. Also at Vienna, sixteenth century.—Z. Paris, sixteenth century. W. and X. belong to one family of MSS.; Y. and Z. to another. The *Editio Princeps*, Vienna 1563, Ex Officina Jordani Zileti, 4, indicated by Lagarde as T., is believed by him to have been based upon a MS. of the family of Y. Z., and to have been corrected "in not a few places" from a book similar to W. X.; "with the result that the value of the *Editio Princeps* is but small." The editor, Franciscus Turrianus, possessed three MSS., which he describes, somewhat vaguely, as (1) a fairly old MS. from a Calabrian monastery; (2) a Sicilian MS. given him by Antonius Augustinus, afterwards Bishop of Tarragona; (3) a much older and more accurate MS. from Crete. The last was the base of the text and Latin translation.

of the third century. Of this work a Syriac version, mentioned above, exists, to which further reference will be presently made. Book VII. 1-32 is derived partly from *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*,<sup>1</sup> an apocryphal work, recently recovered. The remainder of Book VII. is liturgical. Its source is unknown. Book VIII. 1-2 is perhaps based upon a lost work of S. Hippolytus, *Concerning Gifts*. Chapters 3-27 contain forms for conferring all the Orders, amongst which the liturgy occurs as the mass to be celebrated by a newly consecrated bishop. Chapters 28-46 are a collection of canons. When it is possible to compare the work with its sources some omissions and alterations are found, and an immense amount of interpolation.

When, where, and by whom was the work brought into its present form?

THE COMPILER.—The Epistles of S. Ignatius throw a side light upon the compiler, or last reviser of *A. C.* as we now possess them. As is well known, S. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, on his way as a prisoner to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom (A.D. 107, according to the best authorities), wrote epistles to various churches. To his genuine epistles others were subsequently added, and the genuine epistles were also interpolated, so that they now exist in a shorter genuine, and longer interpolated, form. The interpolator held peculiar theological views, and had a strongly-marked style, and his favourite views, words, phrases, and constructions all reappear in

<sup>1</sup> See Bishop Maclean's edition of *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, translated into English, with Introduction and Notes, by C. Bigg, D.D. London: S.P.C.K., 1921. Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, I. Leipzig, 1893, p. 515 sq.



*A. C.* This has led competent critics to the conclusion that Pseudo-Ignatius, as this writer is usually styled, was the reviser who brought *A. C.* into the present shape. He was not the first compiler. He may have had before him an older version of the whole, or he may have added Books VII. VIII. to a previous collection comprising only I.–VI. But whatsoever hypothesis is assumed, he certainly freely revised and interpolated the whole.

He was an unorthodox divine, but he was not an Arian. He dwells strongly on the subordination of the Son to the Father,<sup>1</sup> and he denies the existence of Our Blessed Lord's Human Soul.

PLACE.—The work was probably written in Syria, and in or near Antioch. The principal grounds for this opinion are the following. In V. 14, 17, 20, a Syro-Macedonian calendar is found. The forty days of Lent are reckoned as preceding Holy Week (V. 13). This custom extended from Constantinople to Phœnicia. In VII. 46, and VIII. 10 precedence is given to Antioch, and Pseudo-Ignatius takes a particular interest in the towns dependent upon that city. The principal source of the canons is the Council of Antioch (341). The *Clementine Liturgy* indisputably resembles the Antiochene Liturgy, the parent rite of the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. John Chrysostom.

DATE.—Dates have been assigned to the work as early as 340, and as late as 400. The mention of Christmas (unknown to S. Epiphanius, 375) on the one hand, and the fact that monks are only once mentioned,<sup>2</sup> on the other, are inconsistent with these extremes. The ecclesiastical organization corre-

<sup>1</sup> See a passage in the *Liturgy*, p. 61.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 69.

sponds with that of the *Canons of Laodicea* (about 363). These facts, with some others of less importance, favour a date about 370-380.

The *A. C.* may, therefore, be described as a compilation brought into its present shape by Pseudo-Ignatius, probably at or in the vicinity of Antioch, in the second half of the fourth century.

To return to the Liturgy. It has been already mentioned that this is a mass to be celebrated by a newly consecrated bishop, and that it belongs to the Antiochene norm. The correspondence of its general arrangement, and of its various parts, with other Liturgies indisputably belonging to that norm, renders its liturgical affinity certain. The fact that Pseudo-Ignatius was a forger, and one who dealt very unscrupulously with the documents lying before him (the Liturgy everywhere exhibits his peculiarly marked style) detracts greatly from its historical value. Even if it be pleaded that in altering and interpolating, Pseudo-Ignatius in no way exceeded the privileges of a bishop of the fourth century, this makes little difference, as there is no evidence that the Liturgy was ever publicly used, or even intended for public use. On the other hand, it is certain that Pseudo-Ignatius used documents belonging to an age anterior to his own, and that he should do so was consistent with his design.<sup>1</sup> His work was a deliberate

<sup>1</sup> "In order to support his fiction that the Liturgy had been set forth by the Apostles, the compiler would not have ventured to reproduce a formulary drawn up in his own times. Perhaps soon after the Nicene Council, certainly in the time of Basil, the Liturgy underwent modifications. The compiler, contrariwise, went back to the old Liturgy and gave it out as Apostolic." —Prof. Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 232.

falsification, but his aim was to produce a book that would present the appearance of apostolic antiquity. Under such circumstances it seems not unfair to assume that the original of the *Clementine Liturgy* belonged to a date distinctly anterior to 370-380. It was possibly some old version of the Antiochene rite, but how long before 370-380 it may have been written must remain, so long as no further evidence is forthcoming, an unanswerable question.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst it is evidently very difficult to say what additional value is added to the Liturgy by the supposition that its original was of greater antiquity than at first appears, it is certain that its pretence of being an antiquated rite has conferred upon it one advantage—it has remained exempt from the modifications which have always affected liturgies in constant use. No new ceremonies have been added in the course of the centuries, and nothing that it once contained has been consigned to oblivion. Whatsoever the value of the document may be, we have it practically such as Pseudo-Ignatius left it.

Also its entirety gives it distinct value. In fact its entirety constitutes its principal historical value. Untrustworthy in details, it is as a whole an invaluable clue to the interpretation of early liturgical

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Probst asserts a very high antiquity. He says—“We find not only nothing in the Liturgy which compels us to consider it subsequent to the second century, but much that compels us to assign it to the beginning of that century.”—*Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 287. But Prof. Probst does not succeed in proving his case. A careful perusal of the passages in which he sees allusions to the Liturgy, and even quotations from the *Thanksgiving*, will immediately show that he has been by far too ready to see allusions and quotations in passages that merely present coincidences.

allusions. When fragments of the Liturgy can be recovered from the writings of the early Fathers they afford evidence of a more trustworthy kind than that given by the *Clementine Liturgy*. But such evidence is, in every case, fragmentary. No other complete Liturgy is forthcoming before the time of S. Gelasius, who was Pope 492-496.<sup>1</sup>

The six other documents enumerated above add little to the evidence afforded by the complete Liturgy, but they throw some light upon the value of that evidence, they sometimes suggest explanations of difficulties presented by certain passages, and they sometimes show how the older documents were interpolated and amplified.

2. *A. C. II. 57, 58.*—Like the complete Liturgy, this description of the rite has been interpolated by Pseudo-Ignatius. But as *A. C. I.—VI.* are undoubtedly older than VII. VIII., the original evidence of these chapters must be considered to belong to an earlier date. Their contents are interesting, and occasionally helpful. A complete translation of them is given in Appendix I.

3. Chapter 57 of the Syriac *Didascalia of the Apostles.*—This document has a double interest. It belongs to the first half of the third century, and exhibits *A. C. II. 57, 58*, in a much earlier form; and it shows distinctly the character of the interpolations subsequently made. A complete translation is given in Appendix II. (See Paul Anton de Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*, Leipzig, 1854, and a Greek "reconstruction" of the original

<sup>1</sup> The Liturgies of S. Basil and S. John Chrysostom, still in use in the Greek Church, were, in their original forms, of course older than the *Sacramentary* of S. Gelasius. The oldest versions at present extant belong to the ninth century.

in C. C. J. Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. p. 278. London, 1854.)

4. The Anaphora in Statute 22 of the Ethiopic *Statutes of the Apostles*.—This, like the *Clementine Liturgy*, follows the rite of the consecration of a bishop, and represents the mass to be celebrated by the newly consecrated bishop. Unlike the *Clementine Liturgy*, it has the appearance of a rite at some time in actual use. This is the one document which supplies really independent evidence parallel with that part of the complete Liturgy to which it corresponds. Whether it is translated from a Greek, or from an intermediate Coptic document appears to be open to discussion; but it is not derived from *A. C.*, but, either mediately or immediately, from some older document which formed the base of the *Clementine Liturgy*. Bunsen considered it the most ancient of all liturgies; but the determination of its real date depends upon a somewhat greater knowledge of the history of Ethiopic Literature than we at present possess. The text of *Ludolfus* (a Latinized form of Leutholf) seems to be at places unsatisfactory, and his Latin translation is free. A complete translation of *Ludolfus' Ethiopic*, with one or two corrections from MSS. in the British Museum, is given in Appendix III. (See *Iobi Ludolfi ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam Commentarius*, p. 323. Frankfort a. M. 1691.)

Amongst the various liturgies extant in Ethiopic, but whether all still in occasional use or not does not appear, is one bearing the title *The Liturgy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. Portions of the Anaphora of this Liturgy present so close a resemblance to the Anaphora of the *Statutes of the Apostles* that some connection between the two documents is self-evident. At places the two texts

agree *verbatim*; whilst the fact that in others phrases and words are occasionally transposed, or slightly varied, might indicate independent translations from a common original. If this Anaphora is another version from the original Greek it adds a valuable morsel of independent evidence respecting a very ancient document. In any case it deserves some attention, as the Anaphora occurs here not imbedded in an ancient canon, but as a part of a rite at some time if not still in occasional use. The text will be found in *Testamentum Novum Romæ*, 1548, p. 168, and in *Ludolfus, op. cit.* p. 343. A translation of it will be found in Appendix III., following the translation of the Anaphora of the *Statutes*.<sup>1</sup>

5. *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*, cp. 64-69.—This document is a mere outline of the Liturgy of *A. C.* VIII., and is very brief, extending to scarcely a hundred lines, and containing little besides rubrical directions. As the evidence points to its being derived from *A. C.*, from which it differs very slightly, it affords little evidence of either value or interest. At places it seems, however, to offer solutions of difficulties which occur in the Greek. Wherever it presents a reading at variance with *A. C.* VIII., mention has been made of it in the notes accompanying the Liturgy. (See P. A. de Lagarde, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 249. Göttingen, 1883.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The document suggests many questions which cannot be discussed here. A little more space than it may perhaps deserve has been devoted to it, chiefly because its similarity to the Anaphora of the *Statutes* does not seem to have been hitherto remarked.

<sup>2</sup> For a translation of the whole, see F. S. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i. *Eastern Liturgies*. Oxford, 1896, p. 464. The present writer takes this opportunity of acknowledging his great obligations to this most valuable work.

6. *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*, cp. 31.—This document is merely a brief offertory rubric, and the opening versicles and responds of an Anaphora. It corresponds almost *verbatim* with the Greek of the complete Liturgy, and is probably, but not certainly, older than *A. C.* Its chief interest lies in the fact that it corresponds to the parallel passage of the *Canons of Hippolytus*. A translation of it has been placed in a note accompanying App. IV. (See P. A. de Lagarde, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 249. Göttingen, 1883.)

7. Canon 3 of the *Canons of Hippolytus*.—These Canons exist only in an Arabic translation of a translation. Canon 3 contains the prayer for the consecration of a bishop, and is followed by an offertory rubric, the beginning of an Anaphora, and a consecration of oil (to be compared with that in the Ethiopic), and of comestibles. This is the most ancient of the documents, and represents the earliest extant germ of the Liturgy of *A. C.* VIII. 5–15. A translation of it is given in App. IV. (See H. Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des Orientalischen Kirchenrechts: Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 47, etc. Leipzig, 1891.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> The documents 2–7 are above arranged in the order in which they can be most conveniently studied in connection with the complete Liturgy. If it be considered desirable to read them rather in chronological order, they should be re-arranged thus: a first group; (7) *Canons of Hippolytus* (App. IV.); a document subsequent to the Canons, and containing an Anaphora is apparently lost; (4) *the Ethiopic Anaphora derived from the lost document* (App. III.); the *Clementine Liturgy* derived from the same lost document. To this first group belong also the two Sahidic documents (5 and 6), but it is difficult to say whether they are derived from the lost document or from *A. C.* The origin of *the second group* is the lost *Didascalia of the Apostles*. (3) The Syriac *Didascalia*

It will be thus seen that the evidence afforded by the earlier documents, with which the Liturgy of *A. C. VIII.* is undoubtedly connected, does something, though much less than could be wished, to restore the historical value of the Liturgy, so seriously impaired by the falsifications of Pseudo-Ignatius. Further corroborative evidence of the trustworthiness of the Liturgy as a whole, and of some of its details may be gathered from a careful co-ordination of the scattered, and often vague, allusions of the earlier Fathers; and these may legitimately next claim attention.

Only those passages may be legitimately adduced which belong to a period anterior to 350; and all these, with the solitary exception of the passage in S. Justin Martyr's *Apology*, are of a more or less fragmentary character. If it should appear strange that they are so, and that the oldest extant complete Liturgy should belong to a date so late as the second half of the fourth century, it must be remembered that this is partly explained by that rigorous concealment of the Christian mysteries (*disciplina arcani*) which was a stringent rule of the Early Church. "The Apostles and Fathers," says Saint Basil, "who from the beginning gave prescriptions concerning the Church, guarded the dignity of the mysteries in secrecy and silence."<sup>1</sup> S. Athanasius similarly writes, "It is not permitted to describe the mysteries to those who are not initiated;"<sup>2</sup> and many similar passages might be adduced from other

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(App. II.) and (2) *A. C. II.* 57, 58 (App. I.), are both derived from the lost work, the former in the third, the latter in the fourth century.

<sup>1</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Apologia contra Arianos*, 11.



early Christian authorities.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with this principle allusions of any sort to the Eucharistic rites are, in the sermons and writings of the first ages, rare and guarded. After the persecutions had ceased, as Christianity began to win the favour of the Empire, this discipline of secrecy, as might be anticipated, fell gradually into desuetude. Thus a complete Liturgy occurring in a book of the latter half of the fourth century appears just at the date when the first publication of such a document might be expected.

The fragmentary evidence of the early writers belongs to different ages, and to very different regions; and a clearer and more correct view of it can be obtained by taking the authorities one by one, than by inquiring what different writers have at different dates said about the various portions of the Liturgy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here naturally suggests itself the interesting question whether the Liturgy was unwritten, and handed down only by oral tradition. But a discussion of the various views which have been put forward, and of the passages (all of disputed signification), on which those views are based would by far exceed the limits of the present work. Probability seems to point to some gradual crystallization of local traditional forms, never altogether exempt from modifications; and it is worth while to observe that the *intentional* modification of a familiar prayer seems inconceivable without the use of at least partially written formularies.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the evidence, and, it must be confessed, a little more than the passages quoted will always warrant, is thus collated, after a previous discussion of the evidence of the several writers, in the Third Part of Prof. Probst's *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*. In addition to the collected evidence here given in the preface, isolated passages of authors from whose works no connected record of their liturgies can be constructed have been placed in the notes on the Liturgy.

Whether it is possible to refer certain elements of the earliest

The earliest, and in some respects the most important of all early allusions to Christian worship, is the *locus classicus* of S. Justin Martyr († *circa* 166), in his *First Apology for the Christians*, presented to Antonius Pius (139). This connected description of a Liturgy of the second century is so circumstantial that some critics have regarded it as an evidence that the *disciplina arcani* belonged to a later date.

In chapters 61–64 S. Justin has mentioned baptism, and given some explanation of its meaning. He continues, in c. 65 :

“After thus washing him who has been persuaded, and has assented to our teaching, we lead him to those who are called brethren, where they are gathered together, and where we are about earnestly to make united prayers for ourselves and for him who has been illuminated, and for all others everywhere, that we may be counted worthy, learning the truth, and being upright in our works, to be found keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Ceasing from our prayers we salute one another with a kiss. Then bread, and a cup of water and wine are brought to him who presides over the brethren. And he taking it sends

liturgies to the rites of the Paschal Supper must remain for the present an open question. If the Rabbinical tradition may be trusted, those rites contained three ceremonies that re-appear in the earliest liturgical records—washing of the hands, a long thanksgiving preceding the breaking of bread, and a prayer of thanksgiving after the last cup.

Both the possible connection of the Eucharistic rites with those of the Paschal Supper, and the whole evidence of the early writers will be found discussed more fully than is here possible in F. E. Warren,—*The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*. S.P.C.K.

up praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And he makes at great length a thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίαν*) for that we have been counted worthy to receive these gifts from God. And when he finishes the prayers and the thanksgivings all the people present acclaim, 'Amen.' But Amen in the Hebrew language signifies, So be it. After he who presides has given thanks, and all the people have said 'Amen,' those who are among us called deacons give to every one of those present to partake of the bread and wine and water over which thanks were given, and bear them away to those who are absent. And this food is called by us Eucharist (*εὐχαριστία*), of which it is not right for any one to partake, excepting the man who believes that the things taught by us are true, and is washed with the washing which is for the remission of sins and regeneration, and so lives as the Christ committed unto us. And similarly as Jesus Christ our Saviour being made flesh was incarnate for our salvation, so we are taught also that the food which is offered in thanksgiving by the prayer of his word (by which [food] our flesh and blood are nourished), is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. For the apostles, in their memoirs, which are called gospels, have handed down that Jesus thus gave them command; that taking bread he gave thanks and said, 'Do this in remembrance of me, this is my body:' and likewise taking the cup, gave thanks and said, 'This is my blood:' and that he gave to them alone. And the evil demons imitating this have taught that the same should be done in the mysteries of Mithras. For you know, or may learn, that in the mysteries of initiation the bread and the cup of water are set forth with certain forms of words.

“But we, from that time, ever keep one another in mind of these things. And such of us as have possessions, help all who want; and we are always united. And in all our oblations we praise the maker of all things through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called Sunday, an assembly is made of all who dwell in cities or in the country, and the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read as time permits. Then, when the reader stops, he who presides makes an admonition and exhortation to the imitation of these good things. Afterwards we all arise and utter prayers, and, as I said before, when we cease praying, bread and wine and water are brought. And he that presides utters prayers likewise, and thanksgiving to the best of his ability. And the people acclaim saying the Amen. And a distribution is made and a reception by each one of those things over which thanksgiving was offered. And it is sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons.”

From the next authority, Clemens Alexandrinus († 220?), it is possible to gather allusions only. This author mentions:

Lectio.—(*Stromata*, VI. 14; *Pott.* p. 797; *Co-hortatio*, p. 93.)

Sermon.—(*Paedag.* III. 11, p. 300.)

Prayers, perhaps Eucharistic.—(*Stromata*, VII. 7, p. 853.) But there is no indication of the place of these prayers, supposing them to belong to the Liturgy.

Kiss of Peace.—(*Paedag.* III. 11, p. 301.)

After the kiss of peace the offertory of bread, and wine mixed with water.—(*Stromata*, I. 19, p. 375; *Paedag.* II. 2, p. 186.)

A Hymn to the King of all, probably equivalent

to the Thanksgiving.—(*Cohortatio*, p. 92.) An allusion to the Tersanctus in connection with the Thanksgiving is doubtful. (*Stromata*, VII. 12, p. 880.)

Breaking of bread "according to wont," and :

Eucharist to be administered to the communicants not to be taken by them.—(*Stromata*, I. 1, p. 318.)

Tertullian (160?—240?) alludes to :

Scriptures, psalms, sermons, prayer ; occurring presumably in the order in which they are mentioned.—(*De Anima*, 9, p. 225.) That some prayers were said with extended arms, others kneeling with striking on the breast, and downcast eyes, may be implied by *Adv. Marc.* III. 18. After baptism the neophytes first prayed with the open hands (*De Bapt.* 20). The catechumens prayed kneeling (*Ibid.*).

The Kiss of Peace.—This occurred in the Mass of the Faithful. No kiss of peace was given on Good Friday. (*De Oratione*, 18.<sup>1</sup>)

The Tersanctus is mentioned, *De Oratione*, 3. Perhaps an allusion to its occurrence in the Liturgy may be implied.

Consecration.—(*Adv. Marc.* IV. 40.)

Intercession.—(Probably alluded to, *Apol.* II. 30.)

Amen, said by the people.—(*De Spectac.* 25.)

Lord's Prayer.—A careful perusal of *De Oratione*, c. 9, and the following chapters with their allusion to the kiss of peace, leads to the conclusion that Tertullian is referring to the use of this prayer in the Liturgy. If that be so, this is the earliest mention of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy.

<sup>1</sup> The passage *Ad Uxorem*, II. 4, referring to a woman kissing one of the brethren, might refer to the kiss of peace. There is no evidence, however, that this kiss was the one in the Liturgy.

Communion.—The Sacrament was received only from the hands of the celebrant. (*De Corona*, 3.) The communicants received in their hands. (*De Idolatria*, 7.) Under certain circumstances the faithful took the sacrament away to communicate themselves, fasting, at home. (*Ad Uxorem*, II. 5.)

S. Cyprian of Carthage († 258) mentions :

Gospel read from a pulpit which all could see.—(*Epist.* 33 ; *Epist.* 34.)

Those who had lapsed prayed prostrate.—(*De Lapsis*, I and 5.)

Prayers for the unity and welfare of the faithful.—(*Epist.* 68.) For those who had given alms (*Epist.* 60) ; but in what part of the Liturgy not specified.<sup>1</sup>

The chalice was mixed.—(*Epist.* 63.)

“Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord.”—(*De Orat. Dom.* 10.)

Thanksgiving.—(A possible allusion : *Epist.* 58.) S. Cyprian distinctly calls the thanksgiving “*Praefatio.*” (*De Orat. Dom.* 10.)

At the Consecration and Oblation the priest did the same that Christ did.—(*Epist.* 63.)

Prayers after Consecration perhaps implied.—(*Epist.* 64, 66.)

Lord's Prayer.—(*De Orat. Dom.* I.)

Communion.—The priest administered the Host, the deacon the Chalice. (*De Lapsis*, 4.) Children were communicated. (*De Lapsis*, 2 and 4.) Those too young to take solid food received the Consecrated

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Probst (*Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 221) mentions prayers for the Bishop of Rome. S. Cyprian's letter to Pope Lucius (*Epist.* 58) is patient of this interpretation. But the passage seems to refer rather to Lucius' exile than to prayer for him in his official character.

Wine only. (*Ibid.* 4.) Communicants received in their hands. (*Epist.* 36; *De Lapsis*, 3 and 4.) Those who were for any reason unable to communicate took away the Sacrament in a box (*arca*) to be subsequently received. (*De Lapsis*, 4.)

A recently recovered, early liturgical document of signal interest and importance is a small book—*Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*—found at Mount Athos, and published in 1899. S. Sarapion, or Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, was consecrated by S. Athanasius about 340. S. Anthony, in 356, bequeathed to him one of his sheep-skin cloaks. But the date of his death is unknown. His Book of Prayers contains both an Anaphora and Communion prayers, at the beginning of the collection, and, at the conclusion, other eucharistic prayers preceding the Anaphora. It thus presents an almost complete, and indisputably authentic, Liturgy of the middle of the fourth century. The whole work should be read and compared with the *Clementine Liturgy*.<sup>1</sup>

From the Catecheses, or catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem (*circa* 315—*circa* 386), delivered at Jerusalem 347, it is possible to gather a tolerably complete idea of the Liturgy as celebrated in the Church of Jerusalem at that date. The following portions of the service are all more or less clearly indicated, and the sequence of the various rites is described. S. Cyril is expounding the Mass of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Early Church Classics : J. Wordsworth, *Bishop of Salisbury*. *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*. S.P.C.K., 1899. For the Greek text see Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*. G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche Liturgische Stücke*. Leipzig, 1899.

Faithful to which the catechumens were about to be admitted. With the Mass of the catechumens they were already familiar.<sup>1</sup>

Lessons.—(IV. 1; XIV. 24.) No mention of psalms.

Gospel.—(VI. 29.)

Sermon.—(*Procat.* 11.) No allusion to any other parts of the "Mass of the Catechumens."

Washing of the Hands.—(XXII. 2.)

Kiss of Peace: "Then the deacon proclaims, Salute one another."—(XXIII. 3.)

"I lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. It is very meet and right."—(XXIII. 4. 5.)

"After this we mention heaven, and earth, and sea, sun, moon, and stars, and all creatures reasoning and unreasoning, visible and invisible; Archangels, Powers, Dominions, Principalities, Virtues, Thrones, many-faced Cherubin . . . and . . . Seraphin which say, Holy, Holy, Holy."—(XXIII. 6.)

The Words of Institution.—(XXII. 11.)

The Invocation that the Holy Ghost may descend upon the gifts, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ.—(XXIII. 7.)

The Intercession for the living and the dead (XXIII. 8. 9), concluded with the Lord's Prayer, to which all the people answered, Amen.—(XXIII. 11-18.)

The Elevation.—The priest says, "ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ." The people answer, "There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ."—(XXIII. 19. 20.)

Communion Psalms, lxxiii. and xxxv. are sung.—(XXIII. 20.)

"Meanwhile coming to the Holy Altar of God,

<sup>1</sup> See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i. p. 464. where all the quotations are given at full length, accompanied by valuable notes.



approach not with hands outstretched, nor with open fingers, but making the left hand a throne for the right, as about to receive a king, and hollowing the palm, receive the Body of Christ saying the Amen. Then carefully consecrating the eyes with the touch of the Holy Body receive it, taking care that none of it fall to the ground. Then approach also the cup of the Blood, not stretching out the hands but bending and in an attitude of adoration and worship, saying the Amen, be sanctified partaking of the Blood of Christ. And moreover touching with the hands the moisture remaining upon thy lips, sanctify thy eyes and forehead and other senses."<sup>1</sup>—(XXIII. 21. 22 ; XVIII. 32.)

Thanksgiving after Communion.—“Then awaiting the prayer, give thanks to God, who hath counted thee worthy of so great mysteries.”—(XXIII. 22.)

S. Cyril of Jerusalem died *circa* 386, and thus survived the date which may be with fair probability assigned to *A. C.* The evidence of the next authorities on liturgical questions, S. Basil the great (329–379), S. Gregory of Nazianzum (330–390), and S. Gregory of Nyssa (331–395) is evidently subsequent to 350.

If the evidence of S. Justin, Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyprian, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, be now compared with the *Clementine Liturgy*, it will be found that the structure of the Liturgy, and many of its

<sup>1</sup> A curious passage in the recently recovered *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* is not here added, as it rather creates new difficulties than throws any light upon the early Eucharistic rites. The passage will be found in pp. 60–65 and 71 of ‘Early Church Classics’: *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* . . . By C. Bigg. London : S.P.C.K. Bishop Maclean criticises Dr. Bigg in his revised edition,

details, are supported by sound historical evidence, and that the falsifications of Pseudo-Ignatius have apparently affected little beyond the text of the devotional forms.

The Liturgy commences without any title, being a continuation of the rite of consecration of a bishop. It divides itself naturally into two parts technically known as "The Mass of the Catechumens" and "The Mass of the Faithful," but no indications of any divisions, nor any titles of the different parts of the rite occur in the document itself.

"The Mass of the Catechumens" begins with Lections from the Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. No hint is given of what particular portions were read, nor of their length; and no *mention is made of psalmody*, which is elsewhere mentioned as accompanying this part of the rite. Before the sermon the Bishop, who is celebrant, salutes the congregation with "The Grace of our Lord, etc.," to which the congregation respond. The sermon ensues.

The "Dismissals" next follow. The Dismissal is a command to leave the church addressed by the deacon to some portion of the congregation disqualified from participation in a more solemn subsequent part of the service. In all cases but that of the first Dismissal, the Dismissal is preceded by special prayers for those about to leave, all of which present the same features, viz. an Ectene (a sort of litany, to which all the congregation, "and especially the little children," respond, "Lord, have mercy") recited by the deacon; a command from the deacon that those for whom the Ectene has been said should bend their heads for a blessing; and a prayer of benediction by the bishop. The prayer being concluded, those who have been blessed are dismissed by the deacon.

"Let none of the hearers, let none who are not of the faithful remain," is the deacon's first proclamation.

When these have departed the deacon proclaims, "Pray ye that are catechumens." The Ectene for the catechumens, the command, "Bend and receive a blessing," and the bishop's prayer of benediction for the catechumens follow. After which the deacon proclaims, "Go forth in peace, ye catechumens," and the catechumens leave the church.

The successive Dismissals of energumens, of the illuminated, and lastly of the penitents, follow with an exactly similar ceremonial.<sup>1</sup>

"The Mass of the Faithful" begins with a proclamation from the deacon, "Let none who are unqualified approach." This may be compared with the similar proclamation before the Dismissals, "Let none of the hearers, let none who are not of the faithful remain."

The prayer of the faithful, technically known as "Collecta" or "Synapte," ensues.—The ceremonial is like that of the prayers accompanying the Dismissals; a call to prayer, Ectene, and command to bend the head by the deacon, and prayer of blessing by the bishop. When early writers mention prayers or intercessions as offered in the course of the Liturgy, without any further indication of their place, it will be seen that it is impossible to say whether they should be assigned to the Synapte, or to some subsequent part of the rite.

The Kiss of Peace.—The congregation are saluted

<sup>1</sup> All the ceremonial of Dismissals subsequently fell into desuetude, and has, in consequence, almost entirely vanished from the Liturgies. The Litany and Dismissal of the Catechumens still remain in the *Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom*; and a Prayer for the Catechumens in that of S. Basil.

by the bishop with, "The peace of God, etc." The deacon bids all to give the kiss of peace. The clergy salute the bishop, the men the men, and the women the women. The place of the kiss of peace, before the offertory, where it is still found in all Eastern liturgies, instead of before the Communion as in the West, deserves to be observed.

The Offertory.—The children are gathered around the bema. Deacons guard the doors of the church. A subdeacon ministers at the washing of hands. (The deacon makes a proclamation that "Only the faithful are to be present, etc." This direction involves some difficulties which are discussed below.) The "gifts," bread, and wine and water, not specified in the rubric, are brought by the deacons to the bishop at the altar. Two deacons, with fans, ward off "small flying creatures." No prayers accompany any of the ceremonial of the offertory.

The "Anaphora," or offering up of the eucharistic sacrifice, now commences.—The various parts of the Anaphora are (1) the Thanksgiving, (2) the Consecration, (3) the Intercession. Before the commencement of the Anaphora the bishops and priests pray privately. The bishop then puts on "a splendid vestment," and standing at the altar, and making the sign of the cross, begins with, "The grace of our Lord, etc." "Lift up your minds, etc.," the congregation responding.

The Thanksgiving, identical with the Western "preface," follows.—This begins with a declaration of the Divine Majesty of God, and then proceeds to describe the creation, and the subsequent dealings of God with mankind and with His chosen people, up to the time of the triumphant entry of the latter into Canaan. The thanksgiving of the *Clementine Liturgy* is of enormous length. Perhaps this may be accounted

for by supposing that the thanksgiving was one of those portions of the Antiochene rite which St. Basil abridged,<sup>1</sup> and that on the other hand Pseudo-Ignatius has here indulged himself in a more than ordinary amount of interpolation, thus extending an ancient diffuse thanksgiving to this prodigious length. The hypothesis, however, of a lengthy ancient thanksgiving is not supported by the Ethiopic Anaphora. The thanksgiving is terminated by the Tersanctus.

The Consecration.—The bishop continues: "For Holy indeed art thou," and after setting forth the Incarnation and life of Christ, His passion, death, resurrection, and ascension, introduces the words of institution, "Anamnesis," by the clause, "Wherefore we having in remembrance the things which he for our sakes endured . . . fulfil his injunction, For he in the same night, etc."

Next follows an oblation of the elements, and after that the "Epiklesis," or "Invocation," that is, the

<sup>1</sup> The following fragment is attributed to S. Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, 434-446, who, as a young man, was a friend of S. John Chrysostom: "Many different pastors and teachers of the Church, who were followers of the Holy Apostles, left in writing versions of the mystical liturgies. The oldest and most celebrated of these are those which the blessed Clement, a pupil and follower of the coryphæus of the Apostles, made (which the Holy Apostles had committed to him), and that of S. James, who obtained by lot the Church of Jerusalem, and was appointed its first bishop. . . . When subsequently the great Basil perceived the negligence and imperfection of men, who shrank from the length of the Liturgy, he made its reading shorter (not because he himself considered it too extended), so as to cut off the occasion of weariness of those who took part in it and of the hearers." (S. Proclus, *De Traditione Divinae Missae*. Migne, P. G. LXXV. p. 849.) The writer's authority for the antiquity of the *Clementine Liturgy* may be nothing better than *A. C.*, but his explanation of the origin of the much shorter rite of S. Basil is interesting.

petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the gifts, "that he may declare this bread the body of Christ, and this cup the blood of Christ, that they who partake thereof may be strengthened, etc."

The Intercession ensues ; and it is remarkable that the Lord's Prayer does not occur at its close, where, from the evidence of earlier authors, it was to be expected. No entirely satisfactory explanation of this omission has yet been discovered (see page 32). At the end all the people say "Amen."<sup>1</sup>

After the "Amen" the bishop gives a blessing, and the "Inclination," a prayer during which the congregation stood with bent heads, ensues. In form this prayer is like the "Synapte," an Ectene recited by the deacon to which the people respond, and a prayer of benediction by the bishop. The Inclination contains a more direct prayer for the dead than the Intercession. The similarity of some of its petitions to clauses of the Intercession has been considered suspicious.

The Elevation.—The deacon bids the people attend ; and the bishop says, "The Holy Things unto the Holy." The people reply with a short hymn of praise.

The Communion.—The bishop administers the Host, the deacon the Chalice. The clergy communicate first, the congregation in regular order according to their condition. During the Communion Psalm liii. is sung. The deacons remove the unconsumed elements to the sacristy. The rubrics which give directions for the Communion present some difficulty.

Giving of Thanks for Communion.—The deacon

<sup>1</sup> The Lord's Prayer is not contained in *Bp. Sarapion's Prayer-Book*.

bids the people pray; the bishop says a prayer of thanksgiving.

The Final Dismissal.—The deacon bids the people bend their heads for a blessing; the bishop says a prayer of benediction; and the deacon dismisses the people with, "Ye are dismissed in peace."

Thus the general form of the rite substantially agrees with the evidence of the earlier writers. It presents several difficulties, which will demand attention, but these, with the exception of the absence of the Lord's Prayer, in no way affect the general harmony.

The difficulties are (*a*) the deacon's proclamation preceding the offertory; (*b*) the omission of the Lord's prayer; (*c*) the similarity of certain clauses in the Intercession and Inclination; and (*d*) the rubrical directions respecting the order of communion. To these might be perhaps added the mention in one passage of S. Andrew, as the authority for the directions given. "After this, I, Andrew, the brother of Peter, say," "All standing up . . . let the deacon proclaim" (p. 38); in another of S. James, "And I, James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, command" (p. 52). But this ascription of one part to one apostle, of another part to another, and of the whole to the apostles collectively, may be regarded simply as a fiction; unless it indicates, as Brückner supposes, different originals, a question discussed below.

(*a*) The command given by the deacon, after the kiss of peace, and immediately before the offertory (p. 53), is apparently inexplicable. The deacon first prohibits the presence of the catechumens, hearers, unfaithful, and heterodox, all of whom have previously left the church. It has been suggested that the deacon's proclamation is a survival of an ancient

custom, anterior to the elaborate dismissals of various groups. But even this seems insufficient to account for its coming after the kiss of peace. Another difficulty is presented by the clause that follows, "Let none having ought against any ; let none in hypocrisy." Here it is possible to supply the verb, "be present," by which this difficulty would be removed. And this is the sense given in the passage in the Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons. But it seems more natural to suppose that the intention is, "let none having aught against any *give the kiss of peace*: let none give it in hypocrisy." That would mean that the deacon's proclamation is certainly misplaced, and should have come before the kiss of peace, instead of after it. And in the brief description of the rite in *A. C. II.* 57, 58, the deacon's proclamation is so placed. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Pseudo-Ignatius was describing a rite which was still in his day a living one, and he may be merely recording its inconsistencies.

(b) The absence of the Lord's Prayer from the end of the intercession is singular. May the inference be drawn that the Lord's Prayer was not everywhere a part of the Liturgy? Can its absence be explained by supposing that the text or texts used by Pseudo-Ignatius were imperfect? Or should it be supposed that the *disciplina arcani* led Pseudo-Ignatius to omit it? That in some localities at least it formed an integral part of the Liturgy long before this seems to be implied by the language of Tertullian. That the great act of Christian worship should have been habitually celebrated without it is hard to believe.

(c) The close resemblance of the petitions of the Ectene in the Inclination to certain clauses in the Intercession almost immediately preceding it, com-



pels a doubt whether two portions of the service so exactly alike actually followed one another. Professor Probst (*Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 277) mentions that he had come to the conclusion that the Inclination is an interpolation before he found that Daniel had placed it in parentheses. But the Ethiopic Anaphora shows the Inclination to be a very ancient part of the Liturgy. The problem therefore is not whether an Ectene should occur here, where it might be anticipated, but how its clauses come to correspond so closely with some of those in the Intercession.

(d) At the Communion, after an exact statement of the order in which the congregation are to communicate,<sup>1</sup> another rubric adds, "And let Psalm liii. be sung while all the *rest are communicating.*" Here again the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* remove the difficulty by a somewhat different arrangement of the rubric. Looking at the Greek text, a combination of two different rubrics, a longer one giving full directions for the order of communicating, and a briefer one mentioning the psalm to be sung, seems a possible explanation of the inconsistency. Were the rubrics derived from different sources? In other words, had Pseudo-Ignatius more than one text before him? Was one, or were both of his texts imperfect, and

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Probst believes that the words, "Then the presbyters . . . disturbance" (see p. 69), have been interpolated, and points out in support of his view that the verb is singular, and would naturally refer to the bishop alone. In connection with this view he refers to Canon XVIII. of the Council of Nicæa, which deals with an abuse which had crept in, of presbyters receiving the Eucharist from the hands of deacons. He very appositely suggests that the exact order in which all should communicate may have been inserted to provide against similar abuses. (See *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, p. 279.)

the compilation which he made from them carelessly executed? Or had he complete but divergent texts? The hypothesis of a plurality of texts is not an improbable one, and has been held to offer a satisfactory solution of several of the difficulties mentioned above. It is curious that Pseudo-Ignatius uses two different words for "bishop," ἐπίσκοπος and ἀρχιερεύς, and that he does this without any apparent reason for choosing either one term or the other.<sup>1</sup> This may have resulted from his having had one text in which the bishop was ἐπίσκοπος, and another in which he was ἀρχιερεύς. In making no attempt to bring small details of this kind into harmony, he would have been merely following the universal practice of the uncritical compilers of the date. And the theory of more than one original text offers so simple a solution of otherwise inexplicable problems that Professor Probst considers it certain that Pseudo-Ignatius had two different documents. Others have been disposed to think that the original documents were not two, but three. The limits of the present work forbid the discussion here of the grounds of the various hypotheses, but the conclusions arrived at may be briefly stated as follows. Probst—all after the beginning of the Inclination from a second document.<sup>2</sup> Brückner—second document begins, "I, James, the brother of John" (see p. 52): first resumed at beginning of Inclination.<sup>3</sup> A writer in *The Church Quarterly* of April 22, 1882—Prayers for the Illuminated interpolated from a second document, and all

<sup>1</sup> "High-priest" and "bishop" of the present translation everywhere correspond to ἀρχιερεύς and ἐπίσκοπος of the original. Should the former term for "bishop" seem strange, it may be mentioned that it is the one still used in the Ordinal of the Orthodox Church. (See *Euchologium*, p. 166. Venice, 1877.)

<sup>2</sup> Probst, *Lit. der drei ersten christ. Jahrh.* p. 255 and 278.

<sup>3</sup> Brückner, *In Theologischen Studien und Kritiken*, p. 1. 1883.

passages rubricated ἀρχιερεύς from a third document. Kleinert contends for a rubrical document, an ἐπίσκοπος document, and an ἀρχιερεύς document.<sup>1</sup>

A word should perhaps be said about certain expressions, not altogether in accordance with the orthodox terminology of the Church, which will be found in the Liturgy. Some of these represent the views of Pseudo-Ignatius. Thus the "service" of the Son is mentioned very emphatically (p. 61), and allusion to the Soul of the Christ is carefully omitted in the Consecration prayer. But some other expressions of dubious correctness may very well be survivals of a terminology anterior to the Nicene Council.

To form a just appreciation of a document open to serious impeachment is never easy. But perhaps a fair estimate of the value of the Liturgy of the Eighth Book of the *A. C.* might be stated as follows—

The document is to be accepted with reserve, on account of its having been re-written and interpolated by a notorious forger; but it has a distinct value on account of its being an entire Liturgy, untouched by subsequent changes of custom, at least a century older than any other, and in its general form, in agreement with the unimpeachable evidence of writers anterior to 350.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *In Theologischen Studien und Kritiken*, p 33. 1883.

<sup>2</sup> The *Clementine Liturgy* is very fully discussed in Prof. Probst's work, *Die Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1870, to which frequent allusion has been made in the notes. This book contains a vast amount of valuable information, but claims for the Liturgy both a greater antiquity and a higher importance than the evidence warrants. It is not safe to accept Prof. Probst's deductions from passages in early writers without examining the originals. The work contains no mention of the interpolation of *A. C.* by Pseudo-Ignatius.

# THE CLEMENTINE LITURGY<sup>1</sup>

## [MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS]

*Early in the morning let him [i. e. the newly consecrated bishop] be enthroned, in the place belonging to him, by the other bishops, all kissing him with the kiss in the Lord.<sup>2</sup>*

*And after the reading of the Law, and of the*

<sup>1</sup> Neither the Liturgy itself, nor any of its parts, has any title in the Greek text, in which it immediately follows the rite of consecration of the bishop. Titles of some of the prayers occur in some MSS., but only casually and inconsistently. For the sake of making the rite more easily intelligible titles have been added throughout the translation. They are enclosed in square brackets, so that they may be at once distinguished from the text. In the concluding rubric the Liturgy is called "The Mystical Worship."

The text translated is that of P. A. de Lagarde—*Constitutiones Apostolicae*, p. 239, etc. Leipzig, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> The opening rubric may be compared with that of the *Ethiopic Anaphora*, p. 79. That of the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* is—"Let one of the bishops place the sacrifice on the hands of him who has been consecrated, and let the bishops also seat him on the throne that appertains to him." And when they have greeted him with the greeting in the Lord, let them read in the Holy Gospels. (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, vol. i. p. 461.)

*Prophets, and of our Epistles, and of the Acts, and of the Gospels,<sup>1</sup> let him who has been ordained bishop salute the church, saying :*

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

*And let all answer : And with thy spirit.*

*And after the salutation let him speak to the people words of exhortation.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare the evidence of S. Justin and others above. The rubric seems to suggest that the lections were read as S. Justin records, "as the time permitted." Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) says : "We turn to the record of the Divine Scriptures accordingly as the exigencies of the time lead us to give any particular warning, or to call anything particular to mind." But he is referring as much to the sermon as to the lections, and his words must not be understood to refer to any selection of passages appropriated to different seasons of the Christian year. The ecclesiastical year is a development of the fourth century. Origen (*In Ezech.* Hom. 13) mentions that the sermon was at the discretion of the bishop, and, if the sermon and lections were connected, this would refer to the latter also. That the Gospel was not originally always read appears from Canon XVI. of the Council of Laodicea, "That on the Sabbath the Gospel shall be read after the other lections." The people stood during the reading of the Gospel. (*A. C.* II. 57.) No mention is made here of psalmody, respecting which Canon XVII. of Laodicea enjoins, "Psalms should not be sung one after another at the synaxes ; but a lection inserted after each psalm." It is hardly necessary to point out how closely some rites, or the rites on some days, reflect the ancient rule, with a number of lessons followed by portions of psalmody (tracts), epistle, gradual, Gospel. In the eastern rites the Alleluia takes the place of the Gradual, as in the west at Eastertide. Tertullian (*De Orat.* 29) mentions the Alleluia, but not in any apparent connection with this part of the Liturgy.

[THE DISMISSALS]<sup>1</sup>

*And when he has finished his words of instruction,<sup>2</sup> I, Andrew, the brother of Peter, say, "All standing up let the deacon, ascending some high place, proclaim":*

Let none of the hearers, let none who are not of the faithful [remain].

<sup>1</sup> The following portion of the Liturgy should be compared with Canon XIX. of Laodicea: "After the homily of the bishop, the prayer of the catechumens should be made, and when these have had hands laid upon them, and have gone out, there should be three prayers of the faithful—one, which is the first, in silence; but the second and the third should be made by response, and after this the Peace should be given." It will be observed that there is here no mention of prayers either of the energumens or of the illuminated. Of the various prayers for catechumens, energumens, illuminated, and penitents, which here follow, and form so material a part of the Mass of the Catechumens, no trace remains in any western Liturgy. In the Greek Liturgies of S. Basil and S. John Chrysostom, on the contrary, the prayer for the catechumens still survives in this place. The disappearance of the prayers is of course due to complete loss of all liturgical documents anterior to the date when they fell into desuetude. It is this loss of early documents that gives the *Clementine Liturgy* its value; and the complete form in which the Dismissals appear is both one of the most interesting features of the rite, and one of the strongest evidences of its real antiquity.

See observations in the preface, p. 26. The corresponding rubric of the *Sahidic Canons* is, "And when he has finished instructing, let the deacon ascend on a high place, and proclaim, 'Let no unbeliever remain here.'" (Brightman, p. 462.)

<sup>2</sup> The bishop's sermon appears to have been, at least, on some occasions a concluding sermon, "words of exhortation," from the presbyters having preceded it. (*A. C. II. 27.*) The people sat during the sermon. (Tertullian, *De Orat. 4.*) The bishop sat whilst he preached, as a symbol of his judicial authority. (*A. C. II. 11.*)

*And, silence being made, let him say, Pray ye that are catechumens.*

*And let all the faithful pray for them with devotion, saying, Lord, have mercy.<sup>1</sup>*

*And let the deacon perform his ministry for them, saying:*

Let us call earnestly upon God for the catechumens.

That he who is good, and the Lover of men, may favourably hearken to their prayers and requests :

And receiving their supplication may accept them :

And give unto them the request of their hearts, as may be expedient :

May reveal unto them the Gospel of his Christ :

May enlighten them, and cause them to understand :

May instruct them in the knowledge of God :

May teach them his commandments and his judgments :

May implant in them his holy and saving fear :

May open the ears of their hearts to understand what is in his law day and night :

May establish them in godliness :

May unite and number them with his holy fold, counting them worthy of the laver of regeneration, of the vesture of incorruption of the true life :

But may rescue them from all impiety, and may give the enemy no place against them :

And may purify them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and may dwell in them and walk in them through his Christ :

<sup>1</sup> It will be understood that this response, " Lord, have mercy," is to be made to all the petitions of all the Ectene.

It appears that the catechumens prayed kneeling. After baptism they stood to pray (Tertullian, *De Bapt.* 20), and with hands spread out (*Ibid.*). Origen arranges the prayers, Catechumens, Penitents, Energumens. (*In Jerem. Hom. ix.*)

May bless their comings in and goings out :

And may direct all that is impending as may be expedient for them :

Furthermore let us earnestly entreat for them :

That, obtaining remission of their faults through the initiation, they may be counted worthy of the holy mysteries and of abiding fellowship with the Saints :

Arise, ye that are catechumens.

Ask for the peace of God through his Christ :

That this day and all the time of your life may be peaceful and without sin :

That your ends may be Christian ones :

That God may be propitious and merciful unto you :

For the forgiveness of your sins :

Commend yourselves to the only and unbegotten God through his Christ :

Bend, and receive a blessing.

*And to each of these [petitions] which the deacon utters let the people, as we said before, and more especially the little children, answer: Lord, have mercy.<sup>1</sup>*

*And whilst they bend their heads let him who has been consecrated bishop bless them with this blessing:*

<sup>2</sup> O God Almighty, the Unbegotten and Unap-

<sup>1</sup> The correct position of this rubric seems to be before the injunction, "Bend, and receive, etc." The following rubric would then immediately follow the injunction.

<sup>2</sup> In the Vienna MS. this prayer has a title, "Laying on of hands on the catechumens;" and the following Ectene, "Intercession for the energumens;" and the prayer after it, "Laying on of hands on the energumens." The titles are of later date than the text; but the ceremony of prayer accompanied by



proachable, the only true God, the God and Father of thy Christ, thine Only-Begotten Son, thou from whom the Paraclete proceedeth,<sup>1</sup> thou who art the Lord of all, thou who by Christ didst constitute the disciples teachers for [our] instruction in godliness, look down now also upon thy servants the catechumens of the gospel of thy Christ, and give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit within them; that they may know thee and do thy will with a full heart and a willing soul. Make them worthy of thy holy initiation, and unite them to thy holy church, and make them partakers of the holy mysteries: through Jesus Christ our Hope, who died for them; through whom to thee be the glory and the worship, world without end. Amen.

*And after this let the deacon say:* Go forth in peace, ye catechumens.

*And after their going forth let him say:* Pray ye that are possessed by unclean spirits.

Let us all earnestly pray for them:

That God, who is the Lover of men, may through Christ rebuke the impure and unclean spirits:

And rescue his suppliants from the tyranny of the enemy:

That he who rebuked the legion of demons, and the devil, the beginner of wickedness,<sup>2</sup> may now rebuke the apostates from godliness:

imposition of hands is of high antiquity. It is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria. (*Frag. Pott.*, p. 974.) Whether there was an actual imposition of hands, or the bishop prayed merely with hands outspread in benediction is not clear. (See *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*, p. 53.)

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ τοῦ Παρακλήτου προβολεύς. This is Lagarde's reading. The Vienna MS. Y. and the *Editio Princeps* read Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου. <sup>2</sup> Ἀρχέκακος. An Homeric word. *Iliad*, V. 63.

And rescue his own handiwork from their influence:  
And purify those whom he with so much wisdom  
made :

Again let us earnestly pray for them :  
Save them and raise them up, O Lord, in thy  
might :

Bend your hands, ye energumens, and be blessed.

*And let the bishop pray over them, saying :*

Thou who didst bind the strong man and spoil all  
his goods, who gavest us power to tread upon serpents  
and scorpions and all the might of the enemy, who  
didst hand over to us as a sparrow to children<sup>1</sup> the  
man-slaying serpent bound ; thou whom all things  
fear, trembling before the face of thy power, thou  
who didst fell him like lightning from heaven to the  
earth, not with local precipitation, but from honour  
to dishonour through his own evil disposition ; thou  
whose look drieth up the deep, and whose threat  
wasteth the mountains, and whose truth abideth for  
ever ; thou whom infants praise and sucklings bless,  
whom angels hymn and worship ; who lookest upon  
the earth and makest it tremble, who touchest the  
mountains and they smoke ; who threatenest the sea  
and driest it up, and turnest all the rivers into  
deserts ; thou the dust of whose feet is the clouds ;  
thou who walkest upon the sea and driest it up ;  
Only-Begotten God, Son of the great Father, rebuke  
the evil spirits, and save the work of thine hands  
from the power of the influence of the hostile spirit :  
for to thee [belong] honour and worship, and through  
thee to the Father, in the Holy Ghost, world without  
end. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to Job xli. 5 : "Wilt thou play with him as  
with a bird, or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens ?"

*And let the deacon say:* Go forth, ye energumens.

*And afterwards let him exclaim:* Pray ye that are illuminated.

<sup>1</sup> Let all of us who are the faithful supplicate earnestly for them:

That the Lord may count those who are initiated into the death of his Christ worthy to be raised up together with him, and to become partakers of his kingdom, and sharers of his mysteries:

That he would unite them and gather them with those who are being saved in his holy church:

Again let us earnestly pray for them:

Save them and raise them up in thy grace:

*Let those who have been sealed to God through his Christ, bending, be blessed by the bishop with this blessing.*

O thou who by thy holy prophets didst say aforehand to the initiated, "Wash you, be ye clean," and through Christ didst give them the law of the spiritual regeneration, do thou thyself now look upon the baptized and bless them and sanctify them, and prepare them to be worthy of thy spiritual gift, and of thy true adoption, of thy spiritual mysteries, and of being numbered amongst those who are being saved: through Christ our Saviour; through whom be unto thee glory, honour, and worship, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

*And let the deacon say:* Go forth, ye that are illuminated.

*And after this let him proclaim:* Pray ye that are in penitence.

<sup>1</sup> The Ectene and blessing of the illuminated have been regarded as an interpolation. They are not mentioned in the Canon of the Council of Laodicea. (See above, p. 38.)

Let us all earnestly pray for our brethren who are doing penance :

That the merciful God may point out to them the way of repentance :

That he may receive their recantation and their confession :

And may quickly beat down Satan under their feet :

And may deliver them from the snare of the devil, and from the influence of the demons :

And may deliver them from every unlawful word, and from evil and unseemly deed, and wicked imagination :

And may forgive them all their falls, both voluntary and involuntary :

And may blot out the handwriting against them :

And may write them in the book of life :

And purify them from every pollution of flesh and spirit :

And may unite them restoring them to his holy flock ; for he himself knoweth whereof we are made ; for who shall boast that he is pure of heart ? or shall be confident of being clean from sin ? For we are all subject to penalty :

Again let us more earnestly pray for them, that there may be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth :

That turning away from every unlawful work, they may associate themselves with every good deed :

That God, the Lover of men, receiving their prayers with favour, may speedily restore them to their former estate :

And may give them the joy of his salvation, and may stablish them with his guiding Spirit, that their goings may no longer slip, but that they may be

counted worthy to be participators in his holy things, and partakers of the divine Mysteries :

That being manifested worthy of adoption they may obtain eternal life :

Again let us all say earnestly for them, Lord, have mercy :

Save them, O God ; and raise them up by thy mercy :

Rising up, bend your heads to God through his Christ, and be blessed.

*And let the bishop pray thus :*

Almighty, everlasting God, Master of all, Creator and Governor of all things, thou who through Christ didst make man to be the ornament of the world,<sup>1</sup> and gavest him a law implanted and written, so that he should live lawfully as a reasonable being ; and, when he sinned, in thy goodness gavest him a covenant of repentance, look down upon these who have bent to thee the necks of their souls and bodies ; for thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he may turn from his way of wickedness and live. Thou who didst receive the repentance of the Ninevites, thou who desirest all men to be saved and come to a knowledge of truth, thou who on account of his repentance didst receive with paternal love the son who prodigally consumed his heritage, do thou thyself now receive the repentance of thy suppliants : for there is none that sinneth not before thee : for if thou wilt regard iniquities, O Lord, O Lord, who shall abide it ? For with thee there is propitiation. And restore them to thy

<sup>1</sup> *κόσμον κόσμον ἀναδείξας*. Neale translates, "Didst consecrate man." *Ἀναδείκνυμι* has this meaning in Strabo. (See note on p. 64.) It is, of course, impossible to reproduce the paronomasia.

holy church in their former reputation and honour: through Christ our God and Saviour; through whom [be] unto thee glory and adoration in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

*And let the deacon say:* Depart, ye penitents.

## [MASS OF THE FAITHFUL]

### [THE SYNAPTE]

*And let him add:* Let no one who is unqualified approach.

Let as many of us as are faithful bend our knees.

Let us pray God, through his Christ:

Let us all, with one accord, call upon God through the Christ:

Let us pray for the peace and welfare of the world, and of the Holy Churches, that he who is the God of all may grant us his unseen peace that cannot be taken away; that he may keep us persevering in the fulness of that virtue which is according to godliness:

Let us pray for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which is from one end of the earth to the other, that the Lord may continually keep it unshaken and sheltered from storms, and preserve it founded upon the rock until the consummation of the world:

And let us pray for the holy diocese<sup>1</sup> here, that the

<sup>1</sup> Παροικία occurs in the martyrdom of S. Polycarp. ("To all the dioceses of the Holy Church in every place.") Compare salutation at beginning of S. Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, and of S. Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians. It seems impossible to reproduce exactly the full and beautiful significance of παροικία = a dwelling in a strange land. (See Notes in S.P.C.K. edition of *S. Polycarp.*)

Lord of all may make us worthy unremittingly to press after his heavenly hope, and unceasingly to offer him our duty of supplication.

Let us pray for every episcopate under heaven of those who rightly divide the word of truth :

And let us pray for our bishop James, and for his diocese :<sup>1</sup>

Let us pray for our bishop Clement, and for his diocese :

Let us pray for our bishop Evodius, and for his diocese :

Let us pray for our bishop Annianus, and for his diocese :<sup>2</sup>

That the merciful God may vouchsafe them to his Holy Churches safe and honoured, and full of length of days, and may grant them an honourable old age in godliness and righteousness :

And let us pray for our presbyters, that the Lord may preserve them from every unseemly and evil thing, and may grant them to exercise their priestly office securely and honourably :

Let us pray for the whole diaconate and ministry in Christ that the Lord may make their service blameless :

Let us pray for the readers, the singers, the virgins, the widows, and the orphans :<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Παροικίαι.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of these names must be attributed to Pseudo-Ignatius' determined, but by no means successful, efforts to give the rite the appearance of high antiquity.

<sup>3</sup> The mention here of "presbyters, deacons, ministers, readers, singers, virgins, and widows," should be compared with that of "presbyters, the deacons and all the clergy" in the Intercession (p. 64), of "the whole presbytery, the whole diaconate" in the Inclination (p. 67), and with that of "bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows," also in

Let us pray for the married, and for women labouring of child, that the Lord may have mercy upon them :

Let us pray for the eunuchs<sup>1</sup> that walk holily :

Let us pray for those who live continently and devoutly :

Let us pray for those who bring forth fruit in the Holy Church, and distribute alms to the poor :

And let us pray to the Lord our God for those who offer the sacrifices and the first-fruits, that the all-good God may requite them with his heavenly gifts, may give them in this present world an hundredfold, and in the world to come eternal life, and may graciously grant them for things temporal things eternal, and for earthly things, things heavenly :

Let us pray for the brethren recently illuminated, that the Lord may stablish and strengthen them :

Let us pray for our brethren exercised by sickness, that the Lord may deliver them from every disease

the Intercession. Subdeacons are mentioned only in the last passage and in the rubrics. Of doorkeepers no mention is made anywhere, though doorkeepers are mentioned *A. C. II.* 15, 28, 57. It is, however, going too far to assume that the different prayers can be safely assigned to dates anterior to the existence of the orders not mentioned. Pope Cornelius (251?-252) mentions that in his time the church in Rome numbered forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers. (*Eusebius*, VI. 43.) Probst, however, claims that the reason of the mention here of readers and singers only "is clear. . . . At the date when our Liturgy was written there were no other minor clergy," and says that the "subdeacons" in the "Intercession" are an interpolation. (*Litur. der drei erst. christ. Jahrh.* p. 280.) But it seems wiser to base no inferences upon such slight and after all only negative grounds.

<sup>2</sup> "Eunuchs" must probably be understood figuratively as equivalent to ascetics.



and from every infirmity, and may restore them whole to his Holy Church :

Let us pray for those who are travelling by sea or land :

Let us pray for those who are in mines, and in exile, and in prisons, and in chains for the name of the Lord :<sup>1</sup>

Let us pray for those who are labouring in bitter slavery :

Let us pray for our enemies, and for those who hate us :

Let us pray for those who persecute us on account of the name of the Lord, that the Lord may soften their anger, and dissipate their wrath against us :

Let us pray for those who are without, and for the erring, that the Lord may convert them :

Let us remember the babes of the Church, that the Lord perfecting them in his fear may bring them to the measure of full age :

Let us pray for one another, that the Lord may preserve and guard us in his grace unto the end, and may deliver us from the evil one, and from all the offences of those who work iniquity, and may save us unto his eternal kingdom :

Let us pray for every Christian soul :

Save us and raise us up, O Lord, by thy mercy :

Let us rise up.

Praying earnestly let us commend ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ.

*Then let the high-priest pray and say :*

<sup>1</sup> This petition clearly belongs originally to the period of the persecutions. Whether its occurrence here may be regarded as evidence that the original document was really of that period is another question.

Lord Almighty, Most Highest, who dwellest on high, Holy One, who abidest in the Holies, without beginning, Monarch, who through Christ gavest unto us a preaching of knowledge, that we might have the knowledge of thy glory, and of thy Name which he revealed unto us for our comprehension ; do thou thyself now, through him look down upon this thy flock, and deliver it from all ignorance and evil doing, and grant it in fearing, to fear thee, and in loving to love thee, and to fear before the face of thy glory ; be favourable unto them, and propitious, and attentive unto their prayers, and keep them immovable, without blame, and without offence, that they may be holy in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but may be perfect, and none among them maimed or incomplete. Helper, Mighty One, who regardest not persons, be a supporter of this thy people, whom thou hast chosen out of myriads, whom thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ ; be a Patron, Helper, Director, Guardian, Most Mighty Wall, Fence of Security, for no one can pluck out of thy hand. Neither is there any other God like thee, for in thee is our hope. Sanctify them in thy truth, for thy word is truth. Thou who dost nothing by partiality, thou who art not to be deceived, rescue them from all disease and from all infirmity, from every fall, from all despiteful treatment and deceit, and from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, and from the thing that walketh in darkness, and count them worthy of the eternal life which is in thy Christ, thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour, through whom be unto thee glory and worship in the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

[THE KISS OF PEACE]<sup>1</sup>

*And after this let the deacon say :* Let us attend.

*And let the bishop salute the church and say :* The peace of God be with you all.

*And let the people answer :* And with thy spirit.

*And let the deacon say to all :* Salute ye one another with a holy kiss.<sup>2</sup>

*And let the clergy salute the bishop, and the laymen the laymen, and the women the women.*<sup>3</sup>

## [THE OFFERTORY]

*Let the children stand near the bema, and let one of the deacons preside over them so that they be not disorderly. And let other deacons walk about and observe the men and the women so that there may be no disturbance, and that none may nod or whisper or sleep. And*

<sup>1</sup> The *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*, after mentioning the first Dismissal only (see above, p. 38), at once subjoin, "And so when the bishop has finished all the prayers which it is meet he should make as well for the sick as the rest, let the deacon say to them all, 'Greet one another with a holy kiss.' And let the clergy greet the bishop, and the laymen greet one another, and the women also greet the women." (*Brightman.*) The remainder of the rubric corresponds with the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Canon XIX. of Laodicea : "After the presbyters have given the bishop the Peace, the laity should give the Peace, and so the holy oblation should be completed." Besides S. Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Origen also mentions the Kiss of Peace. (*In Cant. Cant.* lib. i. p. 103.)

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Probst thinks that Tertullian, *Ad. Uxor.* II. 4 (see above, p. 21) proves that this regulation was then unknown. In the Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas these martyrs did not kiss those of the other sex. (*Ruinart*, I. 21, p. 223.)

*let the deacons stand at the men's doors,<sup>1</sup> and the subdeacons<sup>2</sup> at the women's doors, so that none may go out, and the door may not be opened (not even by the faithful) during the time of the Anaphora.*

*And let one of the subdeacons give an ablution of the hands to the priests, a symbol of purity of souls dedicated to God.*

*And I, James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, command that the deacon should say immediately :<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The direction that deacons should guard the doors is inconsistent with the date of *A. C.* The office was one far beneath the dignity to which deacons had attained in the latter part of the fourth century. If the rubric is a survival from an earlier age it indicates considerable antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> Subdeacons, not mentioned by name in *A. C. I.—VII.*, are frequently named in *VIII.* Doorkeepers, on the contrary, are mentioned *II. 25, 28, 57 ; III. 11 ; VI. 17*, but not afterwards. The subdeacons may be included in the ministers (*ὑπηρέται*) *III. 11 ; VI. 17*. The omission of doorkeepers in *VIII.* is certainly curious.

<sup>3</sup> Respecting the difficulties presented by the proclamation of the deacon, see p. 31. Brückner considers that Pseudo-Ignatius here begins to use a second document. It will be seen that if this is the case an explanation is offered of some of the difficulties presented by the proclamation, which will not be misplaced, but will represent a series of proclamations made at different points of the Liturgy. "Let none, etc.," corresponds to "Let no one who is unqualified, etc." (p. 46), before the prayer of the faithful. "Approach, etc.," and "Mothers, etc.," follow that prayer. "Let none, etc." corresponds to "Salute ye one another, etc.," preceding the Kiss of Peace (p. 52). And the last proclamation then comes in its right place here before the offertory. The *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* here have, "*And let the deacon also shout aloud:*" Let none of the catechumens remain here. Let none of them that hear the word only but do not communicate in the holy mystery remain here. Let none of the unbelievers remain here. Let none of the heretics stand here with us to-day. Mothers, lay hold of your children. Let none allow a quarrel in his heart against any. Let none stand here in dis-

Let none of the catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none who are not of the faithful, let none of the heterodox [remain].

Approach ye who have prayed the first prayer.

Mothers, take charge of your children.

Let none [having aught] against any, let none in hypocrisy [be present, or give the Kiss of Peace].

Let us with fear and trembling stand upright before the Lord to offer.

*After which let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar.*

*And let the priests stand on his right and on his left, as disciples standing by a teacher. But let two deacons on either side of the altar hold a fan of thin tissues, or of peacock's feathers, and let them gently ward off the small flying creatures, so that they may not approach the cups.<sup>1</sup>*

simulation or hypocrisy. Be ye all erect unto the Lord God. Stand we to offer in fear of God and trembling. (*Brightman*, p. 462.) It will be observed that this version implies, "Let none in hypocrisy *be present*." Brückner's explanation would imply, "Let none in hypocrisy *give the Kiss of Peace*."

<sup>1</sup> After this rubric the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* continue the Liturgy thus :

And likewise let the pontiff (*archiereus*) pray over the oblation that the Holy Ghost may descend on it, making the bread the body of Christ and the chalice the blood of Christ. And when he has finished the prayers which it is meet that he should say, let the bishop receive first, and after him the presbyters, after them the deacons, and in like sort also all the clergy in order : after them let all the people receive. And when the bishop gives (the communion) let him say, "The Body of Christ." Let him also that receives say, "Amen." And in like manner again let the deacon who gives the chalice say, "This is the Blood of Christ. This is the cup of life." Let him again that receives say, "Amen." And let them sing while they are giving the communion, until they have finished all the congregation. And when all the men have received let the women also receive. (*Brightman*, p. 462.)

## [THE ANAPHORA]

*Then let the high-priest, after praying by himself together with the priests, and putting on a splendid vestment, and standing at the altar, and making the sign of the cross with his hand upon his forehead,<sup>1</sup> say :*

The grace of the Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

*And let all with one voice say :* And with thy spirit.

*And the high-priest :* Lift up your minds.

*And all :* We lift them up unto the Lord.

*And the high-priest :* Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

*And all :* It is meet and right.

*And let the high-priest say :*

## [THE THANKSGIVING]

It is truly meet and right before all things to hymn thee who art indeed the living God, who art before the beginning of created things, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named ; who art alone unbegotten,<sup>2</sup> without beginning, paramount, supreme, self-sufficient, the giver of all good, above all cause and origin, ever unchangeable and immutable, from whom as from a source, all things came into being. Thou art the knowledge without beginning ; the Invisible Light, the Uncreated Hearing ; the Untaught Wisdom, the First in thine Essence ; Alone

<sup>1</sup> Signat in frontibus miles.—Tertullian, *De Persec.* 40.

<sup>2</sup> "They offered themselves to the unbegotten God through Christ."—S. Justin, *Apolog.* 49.

in thy Being; and above all number, who broughtest all things out of nothingness into existence by thine Only Begotten Son, whom thou didst before all worlds beget, without intermediary,<sup>1</sup> by wisdom, and might, and goodness, the Only Begotten Son, the Word of God, the Living Wisdom, the First-born of all creation, the Messenger of thy great counsel, the High-Priest, the King and Lord of all rational and sentient nature, who is before all, by whom all things are. For thou, O Eternal God, hast by him made all things, and dost by him bestow upon all an apposite providence: for by whom thou didst graciously give existence, by him also thou gavest to fare well,<sup>2</sup> O God and Father of thine Only Begotten Son, who by him madest first Cherubin, and Seraphin, and Aeons, and Hosts, and Virtues, and Powers, and Principalities, and Thrones, and Angels, and Archangels,<sup>3</sup> and after that madest by him all this visible world and all things therein.<sup>4</sup> Thou

<sup>1</sup> When I speak of origin, do not interpose time, nor place anything (*μη μέσον τι τάξης*) between him that begetteth and him that is begotten. (S. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 29.)

<sup>2</sup> He was not only the cause of our being, but also granted us to fare well. (Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio*, i. p. 7.)

<sup>3</sup> No importance must be attached to the order in which the hierarchies are enumerated. At a much later date the order is more or less arbitrary; even in the writings of the same author, e.g. S. Gregory, *In Job*, lib. XXXII. v. 18: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates. Homil. XXXIV. in *Evangelia*: Angelos, Archangelos, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Dominationes, Thronos.

<sup>4</sup> This portion of the thanksgiving presents remarkable resemblances to S. Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, chaps. 20 and 33. That they are from a common source is less likely than that Pseudo-Ignatius interpolated, copying S. Clement. Compare also S. Clement I. 58-61; and the remarks, Bp. Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome*. Appendix, p. 209. Another passage of a very similar kind occurs, *A. C.* VII. 33.

didst set up the heaven like an arch, and spread it forth like a covering, and by thy will alone didst found the earth upon nothing. Thou didst fix the firmament, and prepare night and day. Thou broughtest the light out of thy treasures, and by its limitation didst restore the darkness for the repose of the creatures which move in this world. Thou didst appoint the sun to rule the day in heaven, and the moon to rule the night, and didst inscribe the chorus of the stars for the praise of thy magnificence. Thou madest water for drink, and for ablution; and the vital air, for respiration, and for the transmission of the sound of the voice, by means of the tongue striking the air, and for hearing, which co-operates with the air, so as by reception to perceive the speech lighting upon it. Thou madest fire for a consolation in darkness, and for relief of necessity that we might thereby be warmed and enlightened. Thou didst separate the great sea from the land, and didst render the one navigable, and madest the other passable on foot, making the former multitudinous with small and great beasts, and filling the latter with creatures tame and wild, crowning it also with different plants, garlanding it with herbs, adorning it with flowers, and enriching it with seed. Thou didst constitute the abyss, setting it in a great hollow, the seas of salt waters heaped together, and didst hedge it around with bounds of finest sands; and sometimes with the winds archest its crests to the height of mountains, and sometimes smoothest it as a plain, and sometimes makest it rage with storms, and sometimes stillest it with a calm, so as to make it easily navigable for mariners on ship-board. Thou didst gird with rivers the world created by thee, through Christ, and didst water it with brooks, and irrigate it with perpetual springs; and



closely boundest it around with mountains for a most sure immovable foundation of the earth. Thou didst replenish thy world and adorn it with sweet-smelling and medicinal herbs, and with many and different creatures strong and weak, for food and for work, tame and wild. Thou didst variegate it with hissing of creeping things, with songs of birds, with revolutions of years, with numbers of months and days, with successions of seasons, with courses of rainy clouds, for the production of fruits, for the support of living things, for the regulation of the winds that blow when they are commanded by thee, for the multiplication of plants and herbs. Also thou didst not only create the world, but madest in it man, the citizen of the world, displaying him as an ornament of the world. For thou saidst in thy wisdom, Let us make man in our own image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of heaven. Wherefore also thou hast made him of immortal soul and perishable body, the former out of nothing and the latter of the four elements. Thou hast given him, in his soul, reasonable discernment, discrimination between religion and irreligion, and observation of justice and injustice,<sup>1</sup> and bestowedst upon his body five-fold perception and the power of

<sup>1</sup> This passage should be compared with that a little below, "Gavest him a law implanted in him, etc.," with the very similar language of the bishop's benediction of the penitents, "Gavest him a law implanted . . . that he should live as a reasonable being" (p. 45), and with that of the bishop's prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion, "Reveal unto us the things that are unknown, . . . confirm what is known" (p. 71). The high importance attached to the operations of reason, and the fact that it is made a special subject of prayer after Communion, deserve notice. The language may be compared with that of S. Justin, *Apologia*, II. 8 and 13.

motion. Thou, O Almighty God, by Christ didst plant a garden eastwards in Eden, adorned with all plants good for food, and didst introduce man into it, as into a magnificent habitation ; and when making him gavest him a law implanted in him, so that he might naturally and of himself possess the principles of the knowledge of God. And when bringing him on to the Paradise of delight thou didst accord unto him power to partake of all, but forbade the taste of one [tree] alone, holding out the hope of yet better things, so that, if he kept the commandment he should for that receive immortality<sup>1</sup> as a reward. But when he neglected the commandment, and through the deceit of the serpent, and by the counsel of his wife, tasted the forbidden fruit, thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise, yet, in thy goodness, didst not despise him when he was utterly lost. For he was thy creature. Subjecting the creation to him, thou hast given him to procure himself food by his own sweat and labour, thou thyself planting and increasing and fattening all things [for him]. And, causing him to fall asleep for a short time, thou calledst him by an oath to a renewal of being, and loosing the sentence of death didst promise life by the resurrection. Nor was this all ; for thou didst pour forth his progeny in an innumerable multitude, and glorifying those who clung to thee, didst punish those who revolted from thee. Thou didst accept the sacrifice of Abel as of one who was holy, and turnedst away the gift of Cain,

<sup>1</sup> "And thou gavest him certain commandments, which had he kept, he would have remained immortal." (Lactantius, *Instit.* II. 9. Compare also *A. C.* VII. 34.) "When man became disobedient thou didst deprive him of the life which was set before him as a reward. But thou didst not entirely destroy him, but after putting him to sleep for a short time didst call him by an oath to resurrection."

the murderer of his brother, as of one accursed. Furthermore thou didst accept Seth and Enos, and didst translate Enoch. For thou art the Creator of men, the Dispenser of life, the Provider in want, and the Giver of laws, and the Rewarder of those who keep them, and the Avenger of those who transgress them. Thou didst bring the great flood upon the world on account of the multitude of the ungodly, and, in an ark, didst rescue from the deluge righteous Noe, together with eight souls, the last of those who had gone before, to be the beginning of those who were to come after. Thou didst kindle the fearful fire upon the five cities of the land of Sodom, making a fertile land into a salt lake, for the wickedness of those who dwelt therein, and didst snatch holy Lot from the conflagration. Thou didst rescue Abraham from ancestral impiety, didst appoint him heir of the world, and revealedst thy Christ unto him. Thou didst ordain Melchisedek high-priest of thy worship. Thou didst show thy patient servant Job victor of the serpent, the beginner of wickedness. Thou madest Isaac a son of promise, and Jacob the father of twelve sons, and pouring forth his progeny in a multitude broughtest them down into Egypt five-and-seventy souls. Thou, O Lord, didst not forget Joseph, but, as a reward of his chastity for thy sake, gavest him to rule over Egypt. Thou, O Lord, didst not forget the Hebrews when they were in bondage under the Egyptians, but on account of thy promise to their fathers didst rescue them and punish the Egyptians. And when men corrupted the natural law, and sometimes esteemed the creation fortuitous, and sometimes honoured it above measure, and made it equal unto thee, the God of all, thou sufferedst them not to wander in error, but didst raise up thy servant Moses,

and gavest by him a written law to confirm the law of nature. Thou shewedst the creation to be thy work, and expelling the error of polytheism didst glorify Aaron and his posterity with the priesthood. Thou punishedst the Hebrews when they sinned, and receivedst them again when they returned [to thee]. Thou didst torment the Egyptians with a tenfold plague. Thou, dividing the sea, didst lead the Israelites through it, and didst chastise the Egyptians, submerging them in the water, when they pursued after them. Thou sweetenedst the bitter water with the wood. Thou pouredst forth water from the precipitous rock. Thou didst shed manna from heaven, and food of quails from the air, and a pillar of fire by night for light, and a pillar of cloud by day, for a shade from the heat. Thou didst raise up Joshua as a general, and by him overthrewest seven nations of the Canaanites. Thou didst divide Jordan. Thou didst dry up the rivers of Etham. Thou without engines or human hands didst cast down walls. Thine be the glory for all, O Master Almighty. The innumerable hosts of Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Hosts, Aeons,<sup>1</sup> Cherubim and six-winged Seraphim (who with twain cover their feet, and with twain their heads, and with twain fly), worship thee, saying with thousands of thousands of Archangels, and ten thousands of ten thousands of Angels, crying, without interruption of voice, unceasingly—

Holy, Holy, Holy,  
Lord of Sabaoth :

<sup>1</sup> Aeons.—Prof. Probst (*Lit. der drei erst. Jahrh.* p. 398) considers the mention of Aeons an evidence of great antiquity. The gnostic speculations would sufficiently account for their disappearance from the language of the Church.

Heaven and earth are full of his glory :  
Blessed be He for ever.  
Amen.<sup>1</sup>

*And let the high-priest thereafter say :*

For Holy indeed art thou, and All-holy, the Highest and most Exalted for ever. And Holy is also thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who in all things, both in manifold creation, and in commensurate providence, ministering unto thee his God and Father,<sup>2</sup> did not overlook the lost race of men, but, after the natural law, after the legal ordinance, after the prophetic warnings, after the tutelage of angels, when men had corrupted both the positive and natural law, and had cast out of their recollection the deluge and the conflagration [of Sodom], and the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughters in Palestine, and were on the point of universal destruction, was himself pleased, according to thy will, the Creator to become man, the Lawgiver to become subject to laws, the High-Priest to become a victim, the Shepherd a sheep ; and propitiated thee, his God and Father, and reconciled thee to the world, and delivered all men from the impending wrath ; being born of a Virgin, and becoming flesh, of the seed of David, and of Abraham, of the tribe of Juda, according to the prophecy spoken beforehand by himself concerning himself, God the Word, the Beloved Son, the First-born of all creation. He, who fashioneth all that are born, was born of a virgin womb, the Fleshless became

<sup>1</sup> Daniel vii. 10 and Isaiah vi. 3 are combined in S. Clement, *I. Cor. XXXIV.* ; the earliest instance of this juxtaposition of these two passages which are found thus united at the close of the thanksgiving of all Eastern Liturgies.

<sup>2</sup> The subordination here indicated is characteristic of the views of Pseudo-Ignatius.

flesh, and he that was begotten before all worlds was born in time.<sup>1</sup> Living among men holily, and teaching rightfully, driving away every disease and every sickness from men, doing signs and wonders amongst the people, and partaking of food and drink and sleep (being he who nourisheth all who have need of nourishment, and filleth every living thing with satisfaction), he revealed thy Name unto those who knew it not, put ignorance to flight, rekindled godliness, fulfilled thy will, and accomplished the work which thou gavest him to do. All which things being completed, being taken by the hands of sinful priests and high-priests, falsely so called, and of a law-breaking people, and by the treachery of him who was diseased with iniquity, suffering many things at their hands, and enduring every indignity, according to thy permission, being handed over to Pilate the governor, he, the Judge, was judged, the Saviour was condemned, the Impassible was nailed to the cross, the essentially Immortal died, and the Life-giver was buried that he might release from suffering and deliver from death those for whom he came, and might break the chains of the devil, and rescue men from his deceit. And on the third day He rose again from the dead, and after continuing forty days with his disciples was taken up into heaven, and was set at thy right hand, who art his God and his Father.

[ANAMNESIS]

Wherefore we, having in remembrance the things which he for our sakes endured, give thanks unto

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the writer of the Liturgy nowhere alludes to the soul of the Christ, the existence of which Pseudo-Ignatius denied.

thee, O God Almighty, not such as are due but such as we can, and fulfil his injunction. For he in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread in his holy and blameless hands, and looking up to thee his God and Father, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: This is the mystery of the new Testament, take of it, eat; this is My Body which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise also he mixed the cup with wine and water, and sanctified it, and gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of it; this is My Blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins; do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye do show forth my death until I come.

[THE INVOCATION]<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, having in remembrance his passion and death, and resurrection, and his return into heaven, and his future second advent, in which he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and to give to every man according to his works, we offer unto thee, our King and our God, according to his injunction, this bread and this cup, giving thanks unto thee through him that thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to sacrifice unto thee. And we implore

<sup>1</sup> Mention is made of the Invocation in a fragment of S. Irenæus (Frag. 38): but there is some doubt whether the passage is rightly ascribed to him. "For we offer unto God the bread and the cup, giving thanks unto him, for that he has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our food, and then, finishing the oblation, we invoke the Holy Ghost that he would declare (*ἀποφήνη*) the sacrifice the body of the Christ, and the cup the blood of the Christ, that they who receive these antitypes may obtain the remission of their sins."

thee to look graciously upon these gifts lying before thee, who art the God who hast no need of aught, and to be well pleased with them to the honour of thy Christ, and to send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may declare<sup>1</sup> this bread the Body of thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of thy Christ, that they who partake thereof may be strengthened in godliness, may receive remission of their sins, may be rescued from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may become worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain eternal life, thou being reconciled unto them, O Master Almighty.

[THE INTERCESSION]

Moreover we pray thee, O Lord, also for thy Holy Church from one end of the world to the other, which

<sup>1</sup> ἀποφήνη.—Hefele and Daniel attribute to the word the literal meaning "declare." Drey and Hoppe prefer the translation, "make." The corresponding passages of the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark have "make"; ποιήση τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα. Prof. Probst is of opinion that "make" is here the right translation. "We consider ποιήση an authentic interpretation of ἀποφήνη." It is not fair to quote his assent to this view without adding that he at the same time denies the Invocation to be in any way the "form" of consecration, and regards it as having reference only to the application of the benefits of the sacrament to those who communicate. In the parallel passage of the Liturgy of S. Basil we find εὐλογῆσαι καὶ ἀγιάσαι, καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι; the last verb evidently corresponding to ἀποφῆναι. (See p. 45.) A discussion of the exact meaning of ἀναδεῖξαι will be found in J. C. Suicer, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, sub voc. S. Basil refers to this ἀνάδειξις in an interesting passage, *De Spiritu Sancto*, xxvij. (See note on the passage in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. . . . Second Series, vol. viii., *S. Basil*, Oxford, 1895, p. 41.)



thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ; that thou wouldest keep it unshaken and untroubled unto the consummation of the world; and for every episcopate rightly dividing the word of truth:

Moreover we implore thee for my unworthiness who am now offering unto thee, and for the presbytery, for the deacons and for all the clergy, that thou wouldest instruct them all and fill them with the Holy Ghost:

Moreover we implore thee for the King, and for those in authority, and for all the army, that they may be peaceably disposed towards us, that passing all the time of our life in peace and concord we may glorify thee through Jesus Christ our Hope:

Moreover we offer unto thee also for all who have from the beginning pleased thee, the holy patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laity, and all whose names thou knowest:<sup>1</sup>

Moreover we offer unto thee for this thy people, that, for the praise of thy Christ, thou wouldest make them a royal priesthood, a holy nation; for those in virginity and purity; for the widows of the Church; for those in holy matrimony; for women labouring of child; and for the babes of thy people; that thou wouldest cast none of us out:

Moreover we beseech thee for this city, and for

<sup>1</sup> There is no such direct prayer for the faithful departed in the Intercession, as is found below in the Inclination. But this clause, of course, amounts to a prayer for the dead—and to an oblation of the sacrifice for them, in exactly the same sense in which an oblation is made for the living. Confessors are not elsewhere mentioned in the Liturgy.

those that dwell therein ; for the sick ; for those who are in bitter slavery ; for those in exile ; for those in prison ; for those who travel by sea or by land ; that thou wouldest be a Helper unto all, a Strengtheners and Supporter of all :

Moreover we implore thee for those who hate us and persecute us for Thy name's sake : for those who are without and are wandering ; that thou wouldest turn them unto good, and soften their wrath against us :

Moreover we implore thee for the catechumens of the Church, and for those who are afflicted by the enemy, and for our brethren who are doing penance ; that thou wouldest perfect the first in the faith, and wouldest purify the second from the influence of the evil one, and wouldest receive the repentance of the last, and forgive both them and us our transgressions :

Moreover we offer unto thee for seasonable weather, and for the copious produce of the fruits ; that receiving abundantly of thy good things we may ceaselessly praise thee, who givest food to all flesh :

Moreover we implore thee for those who are for reasonable cause absent ; that thou wouldest preserve us all in godliness, and gather us together, steadfast, blameless, and without reproach in the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of every sentient and intelligent creature, our King :

For unto thee is [due] all glory, worship and thanksgiving, honour and adoration, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now, and ever and unto all perpetual and endless ages of ages.

*And let all the people say : Amen.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this "Amen" at the conclusion of the Anaphora (which, it will be observed, has the form of one

## [THE BENEDICTION]

*And let the bishop say:* The peace of God be with you all.

*And let all the people say:* And with thy spirit.

## [THE INCLINATION]

*And let the deacon again proclaim:*<sup>1</sup>

Again and again let us pray unto God through his Christ:

Let us pray for the gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the good God may, through the mediation of his Christ, receive it upon his heavenly altar, for a sweet smelling savour:

Let us pray for this church and people:

Let us pray for every episcopate; for the whole presbytery; for the whole diaconate in Christ; for

unbroken prayer), distinctly mentioned by S. Justin, Tertullian, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, it is impossible not to recollect S. Paul's allusion (1 Cor. xiv. 16), "Who shall say the Amen to thy giving of thanks."

<sup>1</sup> *Κηρυσσέτω*. — The verb is used elsewhere in the Liturgy of the deacon's proclamations or commands, and not of his recitation of the Ectene. Probst considers it inconsistent with the latter, and, for this reason, concludes that Pseudo-Ingatius' first document concluded with these words, and that he supplied the remainder from a second document, leaving an inconsistency at the point of juncture. (Probst, *Lit. der drei erst. christ. Jahr.* 278.) He believes it possible that the rubric really belonged in some way to the Lord's Prayer, which should naturally occur near here, but was wanting alike at the end of the first and beginning of the second document, and offers this as at least one explanation of its absence. (*Ibid.* p. 255.) Brückner thinks that the second document, beginning with the offertory, ends here, and that the first is resumed.

the whole fulness of the Church ; that the Lord may preserve and keep all :

Let us pray for kings and for those in authority, that they may be peaceably disposed towards us, that having a quiet and peaceable life we may pass our time in all godliness and honesty :

Let us commemorate the holy martyrs, that we may be counted worthy to be partakers of their conflicts :

Let us pray for those who entered into their rest in the faith :

Let us pray for seasonable weather ; for copious produce of the fruits :

Let us pray for the recently illuminated, that they may be strengthened in the faith :

Let us all intercede for one another :

Raise us up, O God, in Thy grace :

Rising up, let us commend ourselves unto God through His Christ.

*And let the bishop say :*

O God, thou art great, and great is thy Name, great art thou in counsel and mighty in works, the God and Father of thy Holy Son, Jesus, our Saviour ; look upon us, and upon this thy flock, which thou hast, through Him, chosen for the glory of thy Name ; and sanctify both our bodies and souls ; and grant us, purified from all pollution of the flesh and the spirit, to be partakers of the good gifts lying before thee ; and judge none of us unworthy ; but be our Helper, our Supporter, and our Protector : through thy Christ, with whom to thee be honour, glory, praise, laud, and thanksgiving, and to the Holy Ghost ; world without end. Amen.

## [THE ELEVATION]

*And after all have said Amen, let the deacon say :  
Let us attend.*

*And let the bishop say aloud to the people thus :*

The Holy things unto the Holy.

*And let the people answer :*

There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ ;

Unto the glory of God the Father,

Blessed for ever. Amen.

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace ; good will towards men.

Hosanna to the Son of David.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

God is the Lord, and hath appeared unto us.

Hosanna in the highest.

## [THE COMMUNION]

*And after this let the bishop communicate, then the presbyters, and the deacons, and subdeacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics,<sup>1</sup> and of the women the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows,*

<sup>1</sup> The only positive allusion by name to monasticism in the Liturgy and in *A. C.* The petition in the Intercession "for those in virginity and purity" and for "eunuchs" may refer to monastic orders, and, equally probably, the former may not do so. This solitary allusion to the ascetics affords solid evidence of antiquity. S. Paul, the first hermit, retired into the desert 251. His example was soon followed, and during the fourth century monasticism received a vast impulse. If the actual origin of monasticism be referred to a date anterior to 251, the argument for the age of the original of this Liturgy based upon the absence of any other allusion to monasticism becomes all the more cogent.

*afterwards the children, and then all the people in order, with reverence and piety, without disturbance.*<sup>1</sup>

*And let the bishop give the oblation, saying: The body of Christ.*

*And let him who receives say: Amen.*

*And let the deacon hold the cup and, administering it, say: The blood of Christ: the cup of life.*

*And let him who drinks say: Amen.*

*And whilst all the rest are communicating let Psalm xxxiii. be said.*

*And when all, both men and women, have communicated, let the deacons take what remains and carry it into the sacristy.*<sup>2</sup>

#### [THE THANKSGIVING FOR COMMUNION]

*And when the singer ceases let the deacon say:*

Having partaken of the venerable body, and the precious blood of the Christ, let us give thanks unto him who hath vouchsafed unto us to be participators in his Holy Mysteries: and let us implore that they may not be unto condemnation, but to our salvation, for the benefit of soul and body, for preservation of

<sup>1</sup> That all should communicate is required by Canons IX. and X. of the so-called "Apostolic Canons."

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.* VI. 44) mentions that when Sarapion was dying, as no priest could be found to bring him the Eucharist, a layman fetched it for him. Compare the evidence of S. Justin (p. 21 above). "It is sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons." Both of these passages are positive, and that in S. Justin very early evidence of reservation of the Sacrament for the communion of the sick. S. Cyprian mentions reservation also, *De Spectaculis*, p. 381; *De Lapsis*, p. 189; and Tertullian, *Ad Uxorem*, II. 4 and 5.

godliness, for remission of sins, for life in the world to come.

Let us rise.

In the grace of Christ let us commend ourselves to the only unbegotten God and to his Christ.

*And let the bishop give thanks.*<sup>1</sup>

Master, God, the Almighty, the Father of thy Christ the blessed Son,<sup>2</sup> who art prompt to hear those who call upon thee in righteousness, who knowest also the petitions of the silent, we give thanks unto thee that thou hast granted us to partake of thy Holy Mysteries which thou hast given us for perfecting of things rightly known, for preservation of godliness, and for taking away of offences; for we are called by the name of thy Christ, and are made members of thy household. Do thou, who hast separated us from the fellowship of the impious, unite us with those who are sanctified unto thee; establish us in the truth by the visitation of the Holy Ghost; reveal unto us the things that are unknown; fill up what is wanting; confirm what we know. Preserve the priests blameless in thy service. Keep the kings in peace, the rulers in righteousness, the weather seasonable, the

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius distinctly mentions the prayer of thanksgiving after communion. "Every Sunday can be seen those who receive the sacred food, the saving Body, and after having received it worship the giver and bestower of the life-giving food . . . who bending their knees and resting their foreheads on the earth are wont in this manner to worship him." (*In Ps. XXI.-XXX.* p. 213.)

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός. Cf. Acts iv. 30; and see p. 73. The term is applied to the Christ in these two passages only of the *Clementine Liturgy*. It occurs in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and in the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, but not in *Bp. Sarapion's Prayer-Book*.

fruits in abundance, the world in thine all-sufficient providence. Pacify the hostile nations. Convert the erring. Sanctify thy people. Preserve those that are in virginity. Keep the wedded in the faith. Fortify those who are chaste. Bring the babes to maturity. Strengthen the newly initiated. Instruct the catechumens, and make them worthy of initiation; and gather us all into the kingdom of heaven, in Christ our Lord; with whom be unto thee glory, honour, and worship, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

[THE FINAL DISMISSAL]

*And let the deacon say:* Bend your heads through Christ to God, and be blessed.

*And let the bishop pray, saying:*

O God, the Almighty, the True and Incomparable, who existest everywhere, and art present with all, and existest in nothing as aught contained in it, who art not circumscribed by space, not aged by times, not limited by ages, not subject to generation, needing no protection; who art above decay, unsusceptible of change, in nature immutable, dwelling in unapproachable light, in nature invisible, known by all rational natures which seek thee with good will; who art apprehended by those who rightly seek thee. O God of Israel, who truly saw,<sup>1</sup> [and] of thy people who believe in Christ; being propitious, hear me for thy name's sake, and bless those who bend their necks to thee, and give them the desires of their hearts as may be expedient for them; and make none of them to be cast out of thy kingdom, but sanctify them, guard, protect, accept [them, and] rescue them from the

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is perhaps to Genesis xxxii. 30.



adversary, and from every enemy. Guard their houses. Preserve their going out and coming in. For unto thee [is due] glory, praise, exaltation, worship, and adoration, and to thy Son<sup>1</sup> Jesus thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now, and for ever, and world without end. Amen.

*And let the deacon say :*  
Ye are dismissed in peace.<sup>2</sup>

These things concerning the mystical worship we the Apostles command you the bishops, the presbyters, and the deacons.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> παιδ. Cf. Acts iv. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Western, *Ite missa est.*

<sup>3</sup> The concluding rubric of the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* is : "Whatsoever remains over let the presbyters and deacons gather up, taking careful heed that there be not much over so that there is not exceeding great judgment upon them like the sons of Aaron and the sons of Eli whom the Holy Ghost smote because they refrained not from setting at nought the Lord's sacrifice : how much more them that shall think scorn of the body and blood of the Lord, deeming that it is only bodily food that they receive, not spiritual. And these things we command you, O bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, touching the holy ministry of the mystery." (*Brightman*, p. 463.)

APPENDIX I  
THE LITURGY OF  
THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS  
BOOK II. CHAPTERS 57, 58.<sup>1</sup>

WHEN thou assemblest the church of God, do thou [O bishop], like the captain of a great ship, with all understanding command the assemblies to be made, giving directions to the deacons, as to sailors, to assign their places unto the brethren, as to embarking soldiers, with all care and reverence.

And, in the first place, let the building be oblong, pointing towards the east, having at the east sacristies at both sides, like a ship. And let the bishop's throne be in the centre, and let the seats of the presbyters be on both sides of him, and let the deacons stand by well equipped in light raiment. For they are like sailors and overseers of the rowers on each side of the ship. By their care let the laymen be seated on one side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women be seated apart, and keep silent.

<sup>2</sup> And let the reader, in the midst standing on some high place, read the writings of Moses, and of Joshua the son of Nun, and of the Judges, and of the Kings, and of the Chronicles, and of the return ; and besides

<sup>1</sup> The text translated is that of P. A. de Lagarde, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this is added by the compiler.

these those of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. And the lessons being read two by two, afterwards let another sing hymns of David, and the people sing in reply the ends of the verses.

After that let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul, our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

And after that let a deacon or a presbyter read the gospels which I, Matthew, and John gave you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul, Luke, and Mark having received left you. And when the gospel is read, let all the presbyters, and the deacons, and all the people stand with much silence, for it is written, "Be silent and hear, O Israel," and again, "Stand thou here, and hear."

And next let the presbyters exhort the people, one at a time, but not all of them; and last of all the bishop, as becomes the captain of a ship.

But let the doorkeepers stand at the men's entrances, guarding them, and the deacons at those of the women, like those who receive on shipboard the fares of the passengers. For in the tabernacle of witness the same rule and order was observed. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be reproved by the deacon, as by the officer in command at the prow, and be removed to his proper place. For the church is likened not only to a ship, but also to a flock. For as the shepherds place each of the beasts, I mean the goats and sheep, according to their age, so also in the church let the young men sit apart, if there be room, but if not, let them stand upright. But let those who are advanced in age sit in order. And let the fathers and mothers take under their charge their children standing by them. But let the younger women again be apart, if there be room, but

if not, let them stand behind the women. And let those that are already married, and have charge of children, stand apart. But let the virgins, and the widows, and the old women stand or sit in front of all. And let the deacon think of the places beforehand, so that each one who enters may proceed to his own place, and that they may not sit where they should not. Let the deacon also observe the people so that no one may whisper, or sleep, or laugh, or nod. For it is right to stand wisely and soberly and watchfully, with the hearing attentive to the word of the Lord.

And after this, after the departure of the catechumens and the penitents, let all simultaneously arising, and looking towards the east, pray to the God who "ascendeth towards the heavens towards the east," calling to mind both the ancient possession of the paradise in the east, whence the first man, disregarding the commandment, and being persuaded by the counsel of the serpent, was cast out.<sup>1</sup>

And after the prayer let some of the deacons attend to the offering of the sacrifice, doing service to the Body of the Lord in fear; and let others keep watch over the congregation, and make them quiet.<sup>2</sup>

And let the deacon who stands by the high-priest say to the people: Let none [having aught] against any one: let none in hypocrisy.

And then let the men salute one another, and the women with the kiss in the Lord. But let not any one [do this] treacherously as Judas kissed the Lord.

And after this let the deacon pray for the whole

<sup>1</sup> From this point to the end of the paragraph is derived from the *Didascalía*.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the document is an addition by the compiler.

church, and for all the world, and for its regions, and for the fruits of the earth, for the priests and the rulers, for the high-priest, and for the king, [and] for universal peace.

And after this let the high-priest invoking peace for the people, bless them, as also Moses bade the priests bless the people with these words, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." Therefore let the bishops pray, and say: Save thy people, O Lord; and bless thine inheritance, which thou hast obtained and purchased by the precious blood of thy Christ, and hast called it a royal priesthood, a holy people.

And after this let the sacrifice be made, all the people standing and praying silently.

And after the sacrifice is offered, let each class separately receive the Body of the Lord, and the precious Blood, approaching in order, with reverence and awe as unto the Body of a King. And let the women approach with heads covered, as becomes the female sex.

And let the doors be guarded so that no one may enter who is not of the faithful, or not initiated.

## APPENDIX II

### THE SYRIAC 'DIDASCALIA'

CORRESPONDING TO 'A. C.' II. 57, 58

BUT when ye are gathered together in the churches of God, make your assemblies in a comely manner, appointing the brethren their places with all care;

and let a place be becomingly set apart for the presbyters in the eastern part of the building. And let the bishop's throne be in the midst of them, and let the presbytery sit with him. And in the other western part let the laity sit, and behind them the women. When ye stand to pray, let those who lead stand in front, and behind them the laity, and then the women. For ye must pray towards the east, as ye know that it is written, "Give glory to God who hath gone up upon the heaven of heavens towards the east." And of the deacons let one attend to the oblations of the eucharist, and let another stand without at the door, to observe those who come in; afterwards when ye are present let them serve together in the church. And if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon who is present, and be led to the place which belongs to him. For the church is like a flock. For as the shepherds place each of the animals, I mean the goats and sheep, according to their kind and age, and every one of them runs to join its like; so also in the church let the younger men sit apart, if there be room, and if there be not room, let them stand upright. And let those that are advanced in age sit in order. But let their fathers and mothers take charge of the little children who stand. Again let the younger women [be] apart, if there be room, but if not, let them stand behind the women. And let those who are already married and have children be placed apart. And let the deacon know the place beforehand, that every one of those who enters may proceed to his own place, and none may sit out of their places. Likewise let the deacon watch over the people that no one may whisper, or sleep, or laugh, or make signs, for it is right in church to behave becomingly, and watchfully,

and attentively, keeping the hearing riveted upon the word of God.

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### APPENDIX III

#### THE ETHIOPIC ANAPHORA

*After the bishop has been consecrated, let all, one by one, kiss him on the mouth, saluting him because he has become bishop.*

*And let him to whom the duty belongs, and the deacon bring the oblation to him.*

*And then he lays his hands on the oblation with all the presbyters, and giving thanks says thus :*

The Lord [be] with you all.

*And the people answer: May he be with thy spirit.*

*And the bishop says: Lift up your hearts.*

*And all the people say: They are [lifted up] unto the Lord our God.*

*And the bishop says: Let us give thanks unto the Lord.*

*The people: [It is] right and just.*

*And then they<sup>1</sup> say the eucharistic Keddase<sup>2</sup> following the bishop.*

We give thee thanks, Lord, through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom thou hast, in the last days

<sup>1</sup> The presbyters.

<sup>2</sup> Keddase (√ kāddāsā, he sanctified), sanctification, consecration, a prayer of consecration, the liturgy.

sent unto us as a Saviour and Redeemer, the Messenger of thy counsel, who is the Word, for he is from thee; through whom thou madest all things according to thy will. And thou sentest him from heaven into the womb of the Virgin; and he was made flesh, and was carried in her womb. And thy Son was manifested by the Holy Ghost, that he might fulfil thy will, and might make a people for thee by stretching forth his hands, by suffering to loosen the sufferers that trust in thee: who was, according to his own will, delivered to the passion that he might loosen<sup>1</sup> death and burst the bonds of Satan, and trample on Sheol, and lead forth the Saints, and establish ordinances, and manifest the resurrection. Therefore, taking bread he gave thanks, and said, Take eat, this is my Body, which is broken for you. And similarly the cup also, and said, This is my Blood, which is shed for you: when ye do this, ye do it in remembrance of me.

Therefore, remembering his death and his resurrection, we offer unto thee this bread and cup, giving thanks unto thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee, and to do thee priestly service. And we implore thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the Church, and further to give unto all these that take of it [that it may be for]<sup>2</sup> sanctification, and for fulness of the Holy Ghost, and for confirmation of the true faith; that they may glorify and praise thee through thy Son Jesus Christ, through whom be unto thee glory and power in the

<sup>1</sup> Literally "to open death." But "to vanquish death" might be a permissible rendering.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied by Ludolfus from the *Editio Princeps*: not found in his MS.



holy Church, both now, and ever, and world without end. Amen.

*Concerning the oblation of oil.*<sup>1</sup>

*He that offers oil in the offering, [offers] similarly as [he offered] bread and wine, giving thanks in this order. But although he does not say according to these words, he shall give thanks according to his ability, and in other words, therefore saying thus :*

Sanctifying this oil, give to those who are anointed and receive it ; as thou hast anointed priests and prophets, similarly strengthen them and all those who taste [it], and sanctify those who receive it.

<sup>1</sup> The rubric and the prayer for the consecration of oil present great difficulties. Ludolfus translates, "He that offers oil in the offering of bread and wine," which makes good sense. But there is no construct case in the Ethiopic. Achelis translated, "He who offers oil at the Eucharist must proceed in the same manner as with the bread and wine, forasmuch as he gives thanks in like manner." He also regards the prayer as containing lacunæ, translating it, "Sanctifying this oil, give to all who shall be anointed with it. . . . And may they who receive it . . . As thou, etc." The British Museum possesses two MSS. of the Sinodos, *Oriental* 794 (CCCLIX. of Wright's Catalogue, p. 267), of the early fourteenth century, and *Oriental* 796 (CCCLX. of Wright's Catalogue, p. 269), of the eighteenth century. In the earlier MS. the rubrical passage begins, "Concerning the oblation and oil. He offers for the oblation bread and wine similarly : giving thanks, etc." : the remainder agreeing with Ludolfus' text. The more recent MS. has, "Concerning the oblation. He offers for the oblation unction similarly as [he offered] bread and wine : giving thanks in this order. And if not according to these words, therefore saying : Giving the oil of thy sanctification to those who are anointed and receive it, as thou hast anointed priests and prophets, similarly strengthen them and all whom it anoints [*literally* moistens] and sanctify those who receive it."

The identity of the expression "according to his ability" with S. Justin's language deserves attention.

*The people say:* As it was, is, and shall be unto generations of generations, and world without end. Amen.

*The bishop.*

And again we implore thee, Almighty Lord, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to grant us with blessing to take this holy mystery, and not to condemn any of us, but to make worthy all that partake of the reception of the holy mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ the Almighty Lord our God.

*The deacon shall say:* Pray ye.

Lord Almighty, give unto us effectual reception of this holy mystery and condemn none of us, but bless all in Christ: through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and power [now] and ever and world without end. Amen.

*The deacon says:* While ye stand bow down your heads.

Lord eternal, who knowest what is hidden, unto thee thy people have bowed down their head, and unto thee have subdued the hardness of heart and flesh, behold from thy prepared dwelling-place,<sup>1</sup> and bless them, men and women. Incline thine ear unto them and hearken unto their prayer. Strengthen them, with the might of thy right hand, and protect them from evil affliction. Be a guardian unto them both of body and soul. Increase unto them and us faith and fear: through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and power always, and world without end. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> De parata habitatione tua. (Ps. xcii. 3.)

*The deacon says:* Let us attend.

*And the bishop:* Holiness to the Saints.

*The people say:* One Holy Father: one Holy Son: one is the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup>

*The bishop says:* The Lord be with you all.

*And the people say:* And with thy spirit.

*Then they raise a hymn of praise, and the people enter to take the medicine of the soul by which sin is forgiven.*

*Prayer after he has delivered.*

Lord Almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give thee thanks for that thou hast granted us to take of thy holy mystery. Let it not be unto condemnation nor unto judgment, but unto renewing of soul and body and spirit: through thine Only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and power eternally, both now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

*The people say:* Amen.

*The priest says:* The Lord be with you all.<sup>2</sup>

*Imposition of hands after they have received.*

Lord Eternal, Almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless thy servants and thy handmaids; protect and assist and prosper [them] by the might of thine angels; keep and confirm [them] in thy fear. By the majesty which is thine adorn them

<sup>1</sup> Ludolfus mentions that he had here a lacuna in his manuscript. Neither of the British Museum MSS. *Oriental* 794, *Oriental* 796, insert anything where Ludolfus mentions the lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the priest is mentioned here and not the bishop. No reply to the salutation exists in the Ethiopic.

that they may think what is thine. Grant them that they may believe what is thine, and seek what is thine. Grant them concord without offence and wrath: through thine Only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion.

*The people say: Amen.*

*The bishop says: The Lord be with you all.*

*The people: And with.*

*The deacon says: Go home in peace.*

*And after that the Keddase is finished.*

THE ANAPHORA OF THE LITURGY OF OUR LORD  
AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

Verily to thee, O Lord, do we give thanks, and thee do we bless, and ever implore thee, O Lord, the Father on high, who rulest the treasures of light ;<sup>1</sup> visit Jerusalem from heaven, O Lord of the Powers, and the Archangels, and Might of the Dominions, Glory of the Thrones, Covering of the Luminaries, Joy of delight, King of kings, Father who holdest in thy hand and rulest all things. And thy Son Jesus, the Only Begotten, was crucified for our sins, in accordance with thy purpose, who by the word of thy covenant hast done all things, being well pleased in him. *And thou sentest him into the womb of the Virgin. He was conceived in the womb. He was made flesh.*<sup>2</sup> His birth was revealed by the Holy Ghost ; he being born of the Virgin *that he might accomplish*

<sup>1</sup> The stars. Ludolfus.

<sup>2</sup> In the original the passages here printed in italics correspond *verbatim* with the passages in the Anaphora of the Statutes of the Apostles.

*thy will, and might constitute a holy people for thee. He stretched forth his hands to suffer. He suffered that he might save the sufferers, who put their trust in thee. Who was by his own will given over to suffer that he might strengthen those who falter, might save the lost, and vivify the dead, might abrogate death, and burst the bonds of Satan, and accomplish the will of his Father, and that he might trample on Sheol, and open the gates of life, might illuminate the righteous, might establish ordinances, might remove darkness, might cause the children to attain maturity, and might manifest his resurrection.*

In that night in which they betrayed him, he took bread in his holy and blessed hands without stain, he gave thanks, he blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples (speaking),<sup>1</sup> saying, Take, eat, this bread is my Body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins, and when ye do this ye do it in remembrance of me. Similarly the cup of wine, after they had supped, mixing, giving thanks, blessing and sanctifying, thou gavest unto them, thy Blood which was shed for our sins.

Now, therefore, O Lord, remembering thy death and thy resurrection, we confess thee, and offer unto thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks unto thee, to thee, O God, the only Saviour from the beginning of the world. For thou hast commanded us to stand before thee and to do thee priestly service. Wherefore we also thy servants, O Lord, pray thee, O Lord, and implore thee to send the Holy Spirit and might upon this bread and on this cup, to make it the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, world without end.

<sup>1</sup> Placed in brackets by Ludolfus.

## APPENDIX IV

THE THIRD CANON OF S. HIPPOLYTUS<sup>1</sup>

*After this let all turn to him<sup>2</sup> and kiss him in peace because he has deserved this.<sup>3</sup> But let the deacon bring him the oblations, and let him who has been made bishop place his hand upon the oblation, with the presbyter, saying:*

The Lord be with all.†

*Let the people answer:* And with thy spirit.

*Let him say:* Lift up your hearts.†

*Let the people answer:* We lift them up unto the Lord.†

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.†

*And let them answer:* Right and just: † which means, It is right.

*But afterwards he shall say the prayer, and finish the Mass.*

*But if the oil be present, he shall pray over it in this manner, but if not, only those portions. . . .*

*If first-fruits of comestibles be brought, he shall pray over them, and bless the fruits, which have been brought to him for his prayer. And separate prayers shall be said over the several things; and at the end of each*

<sup>1</sup> From H. Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechtes. Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 47. Leipzig, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> The newly consecrated bishop.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* to be raised to the episcopate.

† These passages are in Greek.

*prayer shall be said*: Glory to Thee, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the thanksgiving in the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons*, cp. 31. († Indicates passages in Greek.)

*And let the deacons bring the oblation to him [i. e. the newly consecrated bishop]. And when he has laid his hands upon the oblation with the presbyters let him say a thanksgiving. The Lord be with you all.†*

Let all the people say: With thy spirit.†

Let him say: Lift up your hearts.†

Let the people say: We lift them up unto the Lord.†

Let him say again: Let us give thanks unto the Lord.†

Let all the people say: It is meet and right.

*And let him pray in like sort saying what follows after these things, according to the custom of the holy oblation. (Brightman, p. 463.)*

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