

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY IN THE CHRISTIAN EAST

Dr. J. Madey

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JOHN MADEY

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FOREWORD

Today's world is full of thirst for silence, recollection, genuine prayer. All the progress of Western technological civilization does not suffice to render human existence self-reliant, does not give the desired fulfilment, and the perfection longed for.

As the dried up earth is in need of the fertilizing wind from the East in order to give fruit and life to the hungry, we have to open our mind towards the treasures of the Eastern Christian theology and spirituality which do contribute, with ardour, to the divine sense of man. The Eucharist was handed down to us by our Saviour himself through the intermediary of his apostles and their successors. Its celebration is the very centre of Christian existence, as well of the individual as of the Church, "for the Eucharist contains the entire spiritual good of the Church, namely, Christ himself, our Passover and living bread, offering through his flesh, living and life-giving in the Spirit, life to men who are thus invited and led on to offer themselves, their labours and all created things together with him."¹ It is not only *liturgy* par excellence, i. e. the common work (*ergon*) of the People (tou laou) of God constituting the Church, but also *hierurgy*, i. e. sacred (*hieron*) operation (*ergon*), divine operation transforming and sanctifying mankind and the whole creation.

"As often as you (will) eat this bread and drink this chalice, you do proclaim the death of the Lord until he will come" (1 Cor. 11, 26). Christ's death, his sacrifice accomplished once for all on the cross is the very foundation of the Eucharist, and it is from this that it takes its effect and efficiency. This is why the eucharistic assembly turns back to the redemptive event of the past proclaiming and confessing, at the same time, the definite second coming of Our Saviour: "Your death, O Lord, we commemorate. Your resurrection we confess, and your second coming we look for" is the joyous proclamation of the celebrating assembly in the Syrian, Coptic and Ethiopian rites.² All the Oriental liturgies have kept the traditional order of the anaphora. The words of the Institution are followed by anamnesis and epiclesis.

The anamnesis reminds us that the Eucharist is the memorial of the Lord. This means that the whole Church is sharing in the life and death of her founder. So the anamnesis is the liturgical expression

1. *S. Congregation of Rites, Eucharisticum Mysterium* (May 25, 1967), official translation. Latin text in AAS 59 (1967) 539-573. We quote from A. Flannery (ed.), *Vatican Council II. The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*, Bombay (s. a), 111.

2. This proclamation has found its way into the Roman Missal published by the late Pope Paul VI.

of this memorial. It makes clear that the Eucharist is the sacrifice offered by the Christians in union with Christ. Death, Resurrection, Ascension are one and the same reality, one and the same salutary event which is in force for ever. Christ is living his sacrifice in the glory of his Father. There he is incessantly doing intercession for us until his glorious coming.

In the epiclesis, the Church implores God the Father to send down his Holy Spirit upon us and our offerings that they be the Body and Blood of Christ, our Saviour and God.

It is the same Spirit who worked at the creation giving beginning and life to every being. He is transforming and sanctifying the faithful and the Holy gifts in one and the same action. Through the Eucharist, he is building up the Church. Through him we learn to live, to sacrifice ourselves, to give thanks, i. e. to "eucharist". In order that we might be unceasingly renewed in Christ (cf. Eph. 4, 23), "he has shared with us his Spirit who, being one and the same in head and members, gives life to, unifies and moves the whole body."³

In this book, we have collected a number of different works which are introducing the student into the richness found in the Eucharistic liturgies originating in the Christian East. When speaking of the *Oriental* liturgies, we must have in mind that we thus only indicate their origin, because nowadays, these liturgies are celebrated everywhere in the world where faithful of the different ecclesiastical traditions have settled and priests of their respective Individual Churches have followed them.⁴

It has not been easy to find the collaborators from the various ecclesiastical or liturgical traditions. We deliberately abstained from approaching Western Scholars, experts in the field of Oriental liturgies. It was our wish to have authors who, in their daily life, live the liturgy on which they write. The articles are, therefore, different in length, shape and contents. Nevertheless, they show in a very

3. *Vatican II*, Lumen Gentium 7; cf. *Flannery* 328.

4. Eparchies and/or parishes of Eastern Catholic Churches exist in the following "Western" countries: Australia (*Maronite, Melkite Ukrainian*, Russian), Argentine (*Ukrainian, Melkite, Maronite, Armenian*) Brasil (*Maronite, Melkite, Armenian, Ukrainian*), U. S. A. (*Ukrainian Ruthenian, Romanian, Russian Maronite, Melkite, Chaldean, Syrian*); Canada (*Ukrainian, Slovak, Melkite, Maronite, French (Armenian, Ukrainian, Maronite, Melkite, Syrian, Chaldean), Germany (Ukrainian, Romanian, Russian)*), Great Britain (*Ukrainian, Byelorussian*) Belgium (*Ukrainian, Melkite*), Switzerland (*Ukrainian*), Sweden (*Ukrainian*). The words in italics indicate that there is at least one hierarchy for the respective Church. Our list is not complete, as there are still more countries with Oriental parishes, as e. g. Melkite parishes in Latin America.

manifest way that, despite the varying externals, there is a wonderful *unity in diversity* in the theological thought of the Oriental liturgies which are really expressions of a living and lived theology, according to the principle *Lex orandi lex credendi*.

We express our gratitude to all our authors, theologians of different Oriental Catholic Churches, who have answered our appeal contributing to this work. We are especially happy that there are, among them, also hierarchs who, as pastors and doctors of that portion of the People of God which is entrusted to them, rendered us their valuable service.

The aim of this book is to offer the students of theology, especially of the Eastern Churches, a means to penetrate deeper and deeper into the richness of the apostolic inheritance of the whole Church. May it become for each reader an encouragement and inspiration. We only can say: Come, read, taste...

— Editor

**The Eucharistic Divine
Liturgy According to the
Rite of the Coptic
Church of Alexandria**

The Eucharistic Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Coptic Church of Alexandria

By Ioannes Malak

I

1. Place of Celebration :

Ordinarily the eucharistic liturgy is celebrated in a consecrated church.¹ Consequently it may not be celebrated in private houses² without any grave reason.³ If such a case occurs, an appropriate place must be chosen and also the sacred tablet has to be used always.⁴ In one and the same church, several eucharistic celebrations may take place on the same day by different priests and on different altars.⁵

2. Aliturgical days:

The Divine Liturgy may be celebrated on all the days of the years with the exceptions of the following days on which, according

- 1 On the architecture, the plan and the consecration of the church according to the Coptic rite, see J. Malak, *Le Cérémonial Copte* (to be published).
- 2 Abūl-Barakāt, Misbah al-Zulma (The Lamp of the Darkness), chapter 17 see L. Villecourt, Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Eglise Copte: *Le Muséon* 37 (1924) 246, and Vat. ar. 623 f. 173 v. Nomocanon of Michael of Damietta, section 49, chapter 3 in Vat. ar. 907 f. 101r where he is quoting can. 58 of Laodicea and can. 78 of St. Basil etc.
- 3 Barakāt mentions the case of persecution where the faithful would be prevented from assembling in the church. In this case of necessity, the bishop, he says, will be celebrating in his house, and if there is a consecrated church in his house, he will celebrate there (Misbah al-Zulma; chapter 17, L. Villecourt, *art. cit.* 246). Cfr. J. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1677, 54. The same case of persecution is also mentioned by the canons of the Apostles (can. 68 of the series of the 71 canons in *Patrologia Orientalis* VIII 652, taken over by Barakāt, *op. c.*, chapter 5, 1971 edition, p. 116. Another case may occur, if there is no church in a given locality (*Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum*, Rome 1899, 111, demands the permission of the bishop in that case).
- 4 On the sacred tablet, see J. Malak, *Le Cérémonial Copte* (to be published).
- 5 See below note 7.

to the Coptic rite, no eucharistic liturgy is foreseen: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday⁶ and Friday⁷ of the Great and Holy Week. On Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday, the eucharistic liturgy is linked with the offices proper to the Holy Week in such a manner, that all the priests belonging to the same church take part in one unique celebration on these days.

3. Time of Celebration:

Usually the eucharistic liturgy is celebrated in the morning, between sunrise and noon time.⁸ But on fasting days, especially during Lent, the eucharistic liturgy is delayed, because after the celebration fast can be interrupted.⁹ With the permission of the local hierarchy, it is allowed to celebrate in the afternoon for the convenience of the faithful who thus can oblige to the prescriptions of the liturgical day which begins at sunset.¹⁰ For the sake of the viaticum, it is allowed to celebrate at any moment of the day or the night.¹¹

4. Night Celebrations:

During the year, the eucharistic Divine Liturgy is celebrated during night three times: on Christmas, Epiphany and Easter.¹² Nowadays night celebration is also allowed on some other solemn

⁶ Because on these days, the paschal lamb was conserved which had to be then immolated (Ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara an-nafisa—Praetiosa Margarita, ed. V. Mistrih, Cairo 1966, 326 f.), *Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum* 112, IX.

⁷ Ibn al-Sabbā', *op. c.* chapter 104, ed. Mistrih 355.

⁸ *Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum* 112, VIII. Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turaik (+1145) prohibited retarding the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy until the end of the day for the celebration of a marriage (O. H. E. Burmester, The canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik LXX Patriarch of Alexandria (First series): *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 80, can. 15).

⁹ According to the Coptic discipline, the communion breaks the fast, and this is the reason why, on fasting days, the celebration is retarded; communion should not be received before the established time ending the fast. This custom is observed also in our days. But the Didascalia (ed. Hafiz Daoud, p. 183 f.) declares that, if a feast falls on a day of fast, i. e. Wednesday or Friday, one should do the prayer and communicate in the holy mysteries, but should not break the fast until the ninth hour (quoted by J. Muyser, *Le samedi et le dimanche dans l'Eglise et la littérature copte: Togo Mina, Le Martyre d'Apa Epima*, Cairo 1937, 90).

¹⁰ II Council of Vatican, *Decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches* no. 15. Pius XII. Motu Proprio "Sacram Communionem" of March 11, 1957; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 49 (1957) 177 f.

¹¹ *Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum* 112.

¹² Ibn al-'Assāl, Nomocanon, chapter 15 and 19, Arabic edition by G. Morcos, Cairo 1927; Sabbā', al-Hauhara, chapter 99 for Christmas and Epiphany and chapter 105 for Easter; Barakāt, Misbah al-Zulma, chapter 19 for Christmas; Synaxarion, 10 Tuba, for Epiphany; *Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum* 116, 6a.

occasions.¹³ In such a case, the celebration is delayed until after midnight¹⁴; the recital of the institution, however, must not necessarily be said before midnight, as the liturgical day is beginning with sunset.¹⁵

5. Frequency of the Celebration:

The daily celebration of the eucharistic liturgy has been known in Egypt¹⁶, and it is still in use in certain monasteries and, especially during Lent, in several churches.¹⁷

- 13 On the occasion of a pilgrimage (Maulid) for example, or of the feast of the Church patron.
- 14 Sabba', chapter 99, says that "Saḥran Siddan" is celebrated at sunrise; Barakat, chapter 19, says: "in the beginning of the second half of the night". Nowadays the practice is to begin in the late evening to end at about 2 o'clock in the morning.
- 15 See note 8.
- 16 Canons of *Athanasius*, can. 14: "A bishop who ceases to celebrate the Quddas every day without (reason of) sickness, that will die with sorrow of heart". See W. Riedel-E. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, London-Oxford 1904, 19 (Arabic text) and 25 (English translation); Sāwīros ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb al-Idāh ad-Durr at-Ṭamin*, chapter 4: "Since the Qorbān which we offer on all the days gives us the remission of sins....." (1925 edition, 142 f., 146; 1971 edition, 113 and 116; see also chapter 5 and 8, 1925 edition, 169 and 1971 edition, 133 and 176; Vat. ar. 1258 f. 117r); *Peter of Malig* answers the Melkites criticizing the Coptic practice of communicating every day (*Kitāb al-Iṣṣāq*, answer 5 to the Melkites, Vat. ar. 107 f. (iv, quoted by Barakat, op. c. chapter 7, 1971 edition, 309); Treatise of an Anonymous Coptic author in Vat. ar. 123, f. 10v, 15v, 27v speaks about daily celebration and communion (ed. A. Abdalla, *Un trattato inedito* .., Cairo 1967, 371, 380 and 397). *La Psalmodie annuelle*, 1949, 150 refers to the daily celebration of the eucharistic liturgy. Archimandrite Šenūti (+451) was against the daily celebration (CSCO 73, 66 (Coptic text) and 108, 39 f. (Latin translation). In the beginning of the 13th century, abū-Šālīh speaks of certain churches where the eucharistic liturgy was celebrated daily, e. g. at al-Aṣmūnain, at Ousīm (B. T. A. Evetts-A. S. Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring Countries*, attributed to Abālih, the Armenian, Oxford 1895, f. 60b and 88b).
- 17 At Dair al-Moḥarraḡ, there is every day a celebration by one of the priests of the monastery; the preparation begins at 3 o'clock and it ends at about 8 o'clock in the morning. During Lent, because of the fast, the celebration is later. A. Manḡarios, *Manārat* 1 (1969) 136. ["At Alexandria as well as in Rome, contrary to what was practised elsewhere, there was no celebration on that day (i. e. Saturday)" (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* V 22, PG 67, 636).] J. Muyser, *art. cit.* 96 f.; A. Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au IV^e siècle*, 228 f. [The more general custom in the fourth century was in Egypt as well as in some other regions, to celebrate the Eucharist twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday.] In the Thebais and the environment of Alexandria, they celebrated and communicated on Saturday night after the Agape-meal. Socrates, *II-ist. Eccl.* V, 22, PG 67, 636; J. Faivre, *Alexandrie: Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, Paris 1914, II 343; J. Muyser, *art. cit.* 95. There was no constant practice for Wednesday and Friday; at Alexandria and in Rome, on these days there were non-eucharistic assemblies (for Alexandria this is attested by Socrates, *ibid.*). But in the other churches of Egypt, the eucharistic liturgy was celebrated on Wednesday and Friday (H. Leclercq, *Alexandrie: Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris 1907, I/1, 1184).

6. Bination:

A priest may not celebrate the eucharistic liturgy more than once on the same day¹⁹; exception is made in cases foreseen by the law under certain conditions.²⁰

7. Altar, vessels, vestments...:

An altar which has already served for the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy, may not be used for another eucharistic liturgy on the same day. The same rule is to be applied also for the vessels, the vestments and the other liturgical instruments.²¹

8. Eucharistic fast²²

For the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy as well as for receiving Holy Communion, one of the necessary dispositions is the

- 19 Nomocanon of Michael of Aṭrib and Malig, at-Ṭibb ar-Ruḥānī, chapter 45, in Sbath 46 f. 79r where he quotes St. Basil and Kyriākos: "May the priest not celebrate two Quddās on the same day".
- 20 For the holy viaticum or to give the faithful the possibility to oblige to the precept. See *Synodus Alexandrina Coptorum*, Cairo 1898, 112, VIII.
- 21 Pope Leo I (440-461) writing to Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, recommends him to reiterate the eucharistic sacrifice on feast days because of the many people who could not take part in one and the same celebration (PL 54, 1075). This makes evident that the unicity of the sacrifice on the same altar which the Coptic Church (alike the Byzantine Church) already then had as a constant practice, was meant (H. Leclercq, *art. cit.* 1185; C. Charon, *Histoire des patriarchats melkites*, Rome 1911, III 4; Nilo Borgia, Sulla Binazione, Prot. Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale n. 643/31, p. 13). The Coptic Patriarch Michael IV (1092-1102) excommunicated one of his bishops for not having observed this rule (M. Simaika, Dalil al-Mathaf....., I 210). Can. 52 of the Canons of the Church Doctors prescribes: "The oblations "Qarābīn" will not be offered twice on the same altar the same day. None of the altar instruments which have served once for the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice, can serve a second time the same day" (Collection of Macarius, Vat. ar. 150 f. 78r). Peter of Malig criticizes the custom of the Franks (i. e. Latins) to celebrate two or three Masses the same day on the same altar (Vat. ar. 107 f. 28v: 5th innovation of the Franks, quoted by Barakāt, *op. cit.*, chapter 5, ed. 1971, 312). Michael, bishop of Aṭrib and Malig (13th cent.) in his Nomocanon At-Ṭibb ar-ruḥānī, section 29, chapter 6 affirms the same discipline founding on the authority of Fartārius, Patriarch of Antioch, and Basil (Ms. Sbath 46 f. 56r). See also J. Vansleb, *op. cit.* 94 f. Amba Lucas, Bishop of Manfalut (+ 1965), demands at least nine hours between two celebrations on the same altar, because Christ died at the 9th hour (in *Magallat Mārī Girgis*, April-May 1962, 11). See also the same rule in at-Tuḥfa al-Lukāsiya 1956, 127. Cfr. J. Vansleb, *op. cit.* 94 f.; O. H. E. Burmester, in BSAC 16 (1961-62) 308. This custom existed previously also in the Latin Church: "One should not celebrate two Masses on the same altar the same day, and when the bishop has celebrated the Mass on an altar, no priest may celebrate there the same day (Council of Auxerre, 578, can. 10, in Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Paris 1909, III/1, 216.
- 22 On the history of the eucharistic fast in Egypt, see H. Brakmann, Zur Geschichte der eucharistischen Nüchternheit in Ägypten: *Le Muséon* 84 (1971) 197-211.

fast.²³ The eucharistic fast consists in abstaining from every food and all drinking²⁴ during nine hours preceding communion²⁵ and in observing conjugal continence²⁶, and a certain corporal purity.²⁷

- 23 Nomocanon ibn al-‘Assāl, chapter 13; Sāwīros ibn al-Moqaffa, ad-Durr at-Ṭamin, chapters 4 and 8; Michael of Damietta, Nomocanon, section (Qaul) 49, chapter 4, in Vat., ar. 907 f. 104v. where he quotes can. 29 of Hippolyt.
- 24 This is the traditional meaning of the fast, as observed by the Orientals. The Coptic authors do not even allow to rinse one’s mouth before communion (Sāwīrōs, ad-Durr, chapter 8, ed. 1925, 233 f.: to the memory of the bitter herbs of the Pasch and of the closed gate of Ezechiel; Treatise on the Eucharist, in Vat., ar. 123 ff. 13r and 28r, ed. A. Abdalla, *Un trattato* 599; Peter of Malig blames the Franks (i. e. Latins) because their priests rinse their mouth before the Mass (quoted in Barakat, *op. cit.* chapter 7, ed. 1971, 312). As regards the mitigations of the austerity of the eucharistic fast, introduced by Pius XII and later for the Catholics, see the following note.
- 25 As regards the length of the eucharistic fast, the Coptic sources and authors do not accord: 12 *hours* (Sāwīrōs, ad-Durr, chapter 8, but he reduces it to 9 hours if the preceding day is a day of fast until the ninth hour; 9 *hours*: Euchologion, ed. Klaudios Labib, 1902, 194 f.; ed. 1938, 162; Ṣalīb Ṣurīāl, Muzakkarāt on the liturgy, p. 14; A. Manqarios, Manarat 1972, III 80; M. Dawūd, Tafsīr... 1960, 49); 8 *hours*: J. Muysier, Notes... 27. without giving any reference; 6 to 9 *hours*: Y. Salama, al-La’ālī... vol. I 266. Pope Pius XII modified the rules of the eucharistic fast reducing it to 3 hours before the celebration (for the simple faithful, before the communion) with regard to solid food and alcoholic drinks, and one hour with regard to non-alcoholic drinks, declaring at the same time that natural water does not break the fast (see Constitutio Apostolica “Christus Dominus” of January 6, 1953: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 45 [1953] 15-24 (Latin text) and 25-32 (Italian translation); Instructio of the Holy Office De Disciplina circa jejuniū eucharisticū servanda of January 6, 1953, pp. 47-51; see also the declaration of the Oriental Congregation extending these new dispositions to the Oriental Catholics (*Proche-Orient chrétien* 3 [1953] 156); later new concessions were given by the Motu Proprio of Pius XII “Sacram Communionem” of March 19, 1957 (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 49 [1957] 177 f.) concerning evening Mass; according to the decree of the Holy Office of January 10, 1964, the three hours for solid food and alcoholic drinks and the one hour for non-alcoholic drinks are to be applied as well for the faithful who receive communion as for the celebrating priests (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 66 [1964] 212). Finally a Concessio “Attentis multarum was given to the fathers reunited at the Council on November 21, 1964: the time before communion was reduced to one hour with regard to all food and drink, even alcoholic, “servata tamen debita moderatione” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 67 [1965] 186).
- 26 *Conjugal continence* is considered as one kind of fast and even as one of the main aims of fasting (Sāwīrōs, ad-Durr, chapter 8). In former times, continence of the married was demanded during 3, 5 and 7 days before communion (Origenes + 254], PG 13, 793; Dionysius of Alexandria [+264], PG 10, 1281; Theophilus of Alexandria [+412] says in a Coptic homily which is attributed to him: “May everybody keep his bed pure on Sunday, Saturday and on all the feast days...” (W. Worell, *The Coptic manuscripts in the Freer collection*, New York 1923, 259-261). Some authors regard these prescriptions as obligatory and not as simple counsel because of the penalties against those who do not observe them (B. Kurtscheid, *Historia institutorum*, Rome 1941, I 291). Sāwīros ibn al-Moqaffa’ says that it is preferable (“Yustahabb”) to abstain from the use of marriage during three days preceding

9. Other dispositions required for communion :

(a) To receive communion during the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy, it is necessary to have been present at least since the reading of the gospel.²⁸ If a monk is concerned, he has to be

communion, or at least during the night before the day of communion, the day of communion and the following night (Sāwirōs, ad-Durr, chapter 8, but in chapter 4 he demands continence on the day of communion from sunset to sunset). The *Treatise on the Eucharist* (Vat. ar. 123, ed. Abdalla) prescribes continence in the night preceding (f. 13r) and the night following (f. 14r) communion. Y. Salama demands a continence of 3 days before communion (al-La'ali I 387). A. Manqarios, Manārat 3 (1972) 79 demands it without stating a time. Can. 22 of the *Prescriptions of the Ancient Law* prescribes: "If a priest touches his wife, he should abstain, on that day until night, from the service of the altar". (G. Galbiati, Aḥkām al-'Atiqq, p. 33 (Italian translation), p. 144a (Arabic text).)

- 27 Nocturnal pollution prevents from receiving communion (Sāwirōs, ad-Durr, chapter 8, ed. 1971, 174 and 177; *Treatise on the Eucharist* (Vat. ar. 123 f. 13r); Aḥkām al-'Atiqā, can. 19: "untill the following night" (ed. Galbiati, 25 and 141a); according to a manuscript quoted by O. H. E. Burmester, *The vesting.... Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 310-312, if there are two priests serving a church, both of them, even he whose turn for the service has not come, must be in a state of being able to celebrate ("Yaḥtari"); this prescription is dictated by the anxiety that, if a "Fanṭasa", i. e. nocturnal pollution or another obstacle which would prevent from celebrating either of them, the other could celebrate. According to *Michael of Atruīb*, if this happens after Vespers, it is not allowed to receive communion, and in addition one has to make 50 prostrations ("metanics"), but if this occurs before Vespers, communion may be received the following day (Sbath 46 f. 35, chapter 14).

A woman corporally impure by the menstruation, according to the ancient canons, may not present herself for receiving communion. The Didsacalia taken over by ibn al- 'Assāl (Nomocanon, chapter 7/5° declares a priest or deacon deposed who allows, during her menstruation, a woman to enter the church or gives her communion. The canons of Cyril ibn Laqlaq (+ 1243) do not allow women to enter the church during their menses ("Ḥaiḍ"); see O. H. E. Burmester, *The canons of Cyril III ibn Laklak*: BSAC 12 (1946/47) 87, f. 354r. *Timothy I*, Patriarch of Alexandria (+ 385) allows her to receive communion, if the menses come after her baptism, within seven days, but it is appropriate that she washes herself each time (J. B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, Rome 1864, I 638 f.: 3rd response). *During her confinement*, the woman abstains from communion. The confinement lasts 40 days, if she gave birth to a boy, 80 days if the born child is a girl (Ritual of Baptism: Borg. Copt. 112 (A. D. 1308) ff. 27v, 84v and 86r; Vat. Copt. 50 (10th cent.) ff. 1r and 9r; Kitāb al-Ma'mudiya, ed. 1921, 2 and 11). Before the end of the confinement, the woman does not enter the church nor receives communion (A. Manqariōs, Manārat, III 80). Also the midwives abstain from receiving communion during 20 days, if a girl was born (A. Manqariōs, *ibid.*).

- 28 Sāwirōs, ad-Durr, chapter 5 (ed. 1971, 129); *Treatise on the Eucharist*, Vat. ar. 123 f. 13v (ed. Abdalla, 376 [32]); Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (+1242) does not allow to give communion to a person who has not heard the readings nor received the absolution preceding them; and he defends the second reading of the gospel at the end of the eucharistic liturgy for those who had not heard it during the liturgy (Kitāb Dalālat al-Mubtadi'in, chapter 16, Vat. ar. 117 f. 203v). But later abū'l-Barakāt says that he who arrives during the liturgy

present at the absolution preceding the readings.²⁹

(b) One must have accomplished the penance imposed by the confessor before the communion.³⁰

(c) After communion: Nothing may leave the mouth, not even the spittle; it is not allowed to enter something into the mouth, not even the finger to remove it then from there: this is to be observed during 24 hours or, if one received communion often, 9 hours³¹. It was already mentioned above what pertains to conjugal continence. In former times, after communion broad beans and lupines were taken to distinguish the Sabeans³², but nowadays this practice is not observed. On the day of communion, day of victory over Satan, prostrations (metanies) are not done³³.

late, by the necessity or because of coming from a distant locality, should be given the reading of a gospel at the end of the eucharistic liturgy and he also should be given communion, especially on major feasts "Saiyidiya", if he arrives during the distribution of the communion, communion will not be given to him (Barakat, *op. cit.*, chapter 17: Villecourt, *art. cit.* 258. A priest who has not been present at the eucharistic liturgy from its beginning, may not present himself for the fraction ("yataqaddam yaqsim" (Barakat, *op. cit.*, chapter 17: Villecourt, *art. cit.* 245, and in Par. ar. 203 f. 204r). This prescription was given by Christodules who defends a priest not present from the beginning of the liturgy, doing the fraction or touching the Holy Body with his hand (A. Surial, Y. A., O. H. E. Burmester, *History of the Patriarchs*, Cairo 1959, II/2, 168 (in Arabic); quoted also in 'Assāl, *Nomocanon* chapter 13).

29 Treatise on the Eucharist: Vat. ar. 123 f. 13v, ed. Abdalla 376 (32).

30 J. Vansleb, *op. cit.* 96-98: "the least penance lasts at least twelve days".

31 Euchologion, ed. 1902, 194; ed. 1932, 162. A Treatise on the Eucharist: Vat. ar. 123 f. 14r defends excess in eating and drinking after communion which effects, by normal way, the leaving of what is in the stomach; he defends also to shave or to cut one's hair, finger-nails, to take bath, to bleed ("Faṣḍ"); it is odious ("kuriha") to wash the feet and to denude oneself (ed. Abdalla 377; see also Vansleb, *op. cit.* 96-98: no spittle, no cigarettes....)

32 For this custom see Barakat, *op. cit.* chapter 24 no. 13.

33 Vansleb, *op. cit.* 90 f.

10. Concelebration:

The celebrant ("Ḥadīm") who is executing the main parts of the eucharistic liturgy (in the anaphora especially the recital of the institution and the epiclesis) is always one only (priest or bishop)³⁵, but others may associate themselves with him in the celebration accomplishing certain actions or saying certain prayers, however in the capacity of priest or bishop assistant ("Sarik").³⁶

11. The three used anaphoras:

In the Coptic Church, nowadays three anaphoras are used: the Anaphora of St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea (+379), the Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (+399) and the Anaphora of St. Mark the Evangelist re-elaborated by St. Cyril of Alexandria (+444).

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- 34 R. G. Coquin, Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique chez les melkite égyptiens, les coptes et les éthiopiens: *Lè Muséon* 80 (1967) 37–46; A. Raes La concélébration dans les rites orientaux: *La Maison-Dieu* 35 (1953) 24–47 (for the Coptic rite, pp. 27 f. and 46); H. Malak, La concélébration et l'office du prêtre assistant dans le rite copte: Ṣadiq al-Ḥāhen (1954) 167–174 (in Arabic); G. Brianchanihoff, Concélébration...; J. M. Hannssens, Un rito di concelebrazione della messa proprio della liturgia alessandrina: *Collectanea, Studia Orientalia Christiana*, Cairo 1968–1969, XIII 3–34; idem, De concelebratione missae in ritibus orientalibus. De ejus notione et modis-usu praesenti et historia: *Divinitas* 10 (1966) 482–559. E. Lanne, La concelebratione nella tradizione delle chiese orientali. Concélébratione, dottrina e pastorale: *Culmen et Fons* 7 (Brescia 1965) 18–36; idem, La concelebration dans la tradition des églises orientales: *Théologie et Pratique de la Concélébration*, Paris 1967, 31–50.
- 35 Coptic sahidic texts going back before the 10th century, give an admonition which the deacon gives to the assisting priests in order to stretch out their hands before the recital of the institution: "He took the bread..." R. G. Coquin (see above) asks himself whether we have to do here with a sacramental concelebration or not. This admonition does not exist in the present Coptic texts. It is unknown when this kind of concelebration was given up. J. Muysier affirms that the Coptic rite does not know the concelebration, but the celebrating priest may be assisted by one or more assisting priests who perform incensations, readings, say prayers etc., but have no share in the anaphora (J. Muysier, Notes sur la discipline eucharistique dans l'Eglise copte, 1952). It is to be noted that the Holy Office, in its decree of May 23, 1957, approved by the Pope on May 28, declares that, for a sacramental concelebration, it is necessary to pronounce the words of the recital of institution and that a participation alone with this intention does not suffice: "Only he celebrates validly who pronounces the words of consecration" while the other concelebrants who have the intention to make the words and gestures of the celebrant their own, without pronouncing the consecratory words, do not celebrate validly (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 49 [1957] 370; *Documentation Catholique* of June 9, 1957, no. 1253, p. 736). Well, this does not pertain to the Coptic rite.
- 36 For the part taken by the assisting priest in the celebration of the liturgy, see H. Malak (note 34). Abū'l-Barakāt (Misbah al-Zulma, chapter 17) calls the celebrant "Muqaddis" and the assistant "Ḥadīm".

In ancient times, the Coptic Church had some more anaphoras.³⁷ It was Gabriel II ibn-Turaik (1131-1145) who ordered the use of only three anaphoras, those of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril.³⁸

The Anaphora of St. Basil is the anaphora which is generally used on the ordinary days of the year, that of St. Gregory is for the seven major feasts "Sayidiya"³⁹, and that of St. Cyril is to be celebrated during the month of Kiahk and during Lent.⁴⁰

In the *actual* practice, the Anaphora of St. Basil is normally celebrated; on certain Sundays or feasts, some parts of the Anaphora of St. Basil are substituted by others of the Anaphora of St. Gregory⁴¹. The latter is celebrated very rarely in its whole; this is the case especially for the great solemnities celebrated in the night (Christmas, Epiphany and Easter). The Anaphora of St. Cyril

- 37 In the Great Euchologion of the White Monastery which dates from the 10th/11th cent., thirteen anaphoras are found. E. Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc, texte copte édité avec traduction française*: PO 28 (1958) 267-407. Only the anaphora of St. Matthew has been fully conserved (see pp. 344-367). The Ethiopian Church has conserved more anaphoras (see Morcos Daoud, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959: he gives there the translation of 14 anaphoras used by the Ethiopian Church in English and Arabic; A. Raes, *Anaphorae Orientales*, Fribourg 1968, 142-203).
- 38 Can. 26 of the first series of 32 canons, edited by O. H. E. Burmester, *The canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik, LXX Patriarch of Alexandria, First Series: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 40; Kāmel Ṣāleḥ Naḥla, *Sirat al-Bābā Gubriyāl ben Turaik*, Cairo 1947, 79. Only of these three anaphoras the later Coptic authors speak, from Turaik to our days, so ibn al-Assāl (Nomocanon, chapter 12), ibn al-Sabbā' (al-Gauhara, chapter 58, he says that there have been 12 anaphoras), abū'l-Barakāt, *Misbah al-Zulma*, chapter 17: Vat. ar. 623, f. 173v, *Le Muséon* 37 (1924) 247) and the modern authors.
- 39 See ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara, chapters 99, 105 and 106; abū'l-Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 17: "For the divine feast days ("ilāhiya" and days of joy" (Villecourt, *art. cit.* 247); and chapters 18 and 19, especially for Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, feasts of the Lord and Easter (Villecourt, *Le Muséon* 38 (1925) 269, 297 and 319).
- 40 Barakāt, *Misbah al-Zulma*, chapter 17: "The Egyptians have the custom to say it during Great Lent and the month of Kiyahk only." (L. Villecourt, *art. cit.* 37 (1924) 247; Par. ar. 203 fff. 204v-205r and Vat. ar. 623 f. 173 v., and in the 19th chapter, and he defends to celebrate it during the paschal time ("Hamasin"). Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 19, Vat. ar. 623 f. 185v. Ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara, chapter 58: Paris ar. 130 f. 87v-88r does not mention the day of celebration, he only affirms that this anaphora is addressed to the Father.
- 41 This is not the rule, especially because the prayers of the Anaphora of St. Basil are addressed to the Father while those of the Anaphora of St. Gregory are addressed to the Son. See Ṣalīb Sūrīāl, *Muzakkarāt on the liturgy* II 31.

which since long was used very little⁴², is nowadays almost out of use because of its long and little known melodies⁴³.

12. Liturgical Language:

The euchologion as most of the liturgical books is in two languages: bohairic Coptic and Arabic. In the Coptic part, several pieces, phrases and words are kept in Greek, especially in the responses of the faithful and in the exhortations of the deacon. An ancient custom has permitted the use of Arabic next to the Coptic.⁴⁴ Certain parts, because of the singing, are said only in Coptic or Greek. The readings are performed at first in Coptic, then in Arabic; as regards the other parts, they are left to the discretion of the celebrant and the singers.

13. Tonality of the voice:

Some parts of the liturgy are sung, others are read either in a loud or lower voice, always very slowly.^{44a} The rubrics indicate the last ones by the word “Sirran”, i. e. secretly.

42 Because of its purely kerygmatic style, without any theological development, as well in the prayer of thanksgiving as in the recital of the institution and the anamnesis (R. C. Coquin, L'Anaphore alexandrine de S. Marc: *Le Muséon* 82 [1969] 355 f.).

43 A few rare persons have tried to revive it again (Ṣalīb Sūriāl, Muzakkarāt on the liturgy II 31; O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian....*, Cairo 1967, 46 f.).

44 Greek was the common liturgical language, even in Rome till about 250 (A. Raes, *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem*, Rome 1947, 21. For the parts conserved in Greek, see O. H. E. Burmester, *The Greek kyrugmata: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936) 363–394. The Coptic was used in the Egyptian, non-hellenised milieu very early (About the most ancient liturgical fragments in Coptic, see A. Raes, *Anaphorae Orientales* 134–141. From the Arab conquest onwards the Arabic language was propagated in Egypt until it became, in the 10th century, more current than the Coptic. Gabriel II ibn Turaik (1131–1145) is the first to admit Arabic officially in the liturgical use and to get the liturgical texts translated into Arabic (G. Wiet, Kibt: *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 1927 II 1058). Since then the liturgical books are in two columns, Coptic and Arabic. Turaik has simply permitted the use of Arabic without making it obligatory. Indeed, one century later, Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (1235–1243) says that the use of Arabic is not liturgical (“Ṭaqsiyyan”), but it is allowed (Vat. ar. 150 f. 112v: given on the 24th Baramuda 956, 1240 of the Christian era). In the 14th century, Barakāt informs us that the monks of St. Macarius Monastery did not give the interpretation of the gospel in Arabic “until this day” (*Le Muséon* 37 [1924] 252).

44a “The recitation(of the prayers)of the Mass be done in all slowness with fear, trembling, compunction and supplication, in the knowledge that it is in the presence of God...” (Anonymous Treatise on the Eucharist: Vat. ar. 123 f. 10r, ed. Abdalla 25).

14. The Matter of the Eucharistic Sacrifice⁴⁵:

The eucharistic sacrifice is offered with bread and wine.⁴⁶ In the following part, the prescriptions in the Coptic Church with regard to the bread and the wine serving for the eucharistic sacrifice ("Qarūbin", oblates, offerings) are explained.

The bread⁴⁷:

It is called by its generic name "Hubz", bread, not by its specific name which indicates the bread of the eucharistic sacrifice "al-Ḥamal", the lamb.⁴⁸

It must be made from flour of pure wheat without any mixture of salt, oil or other matters. It must be fermented, baked in a special manner and the same day of the sacrifice; it also must have a particular form. This will be explained in detail below.

The wheat and the flour: The bread made from wheat flour is the only stuff that is admitted for the preparation of the eucharistic bread. All other kinds of flour are excluded⁴⁹. It is mainly taken from the first fruits of the harvest ("Bākūra, Bawākīr") given

45 J. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, Rome 1930, II 121-270; idem, *De materia sacrificii eucharistici in ritibus orientalibus: Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) 360-396. Y. Salama, *al-La'ālī*, 1965, I 311-323; A. Manqariōs, *Manārat*, 1972, II 72-80; S. Sūriāl, *Muzakkarāt on the liturgy* II 3-7; O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian*, Cairo 1967, 81 f.; J. Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f.; E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris 1716, 189-195. Nomocanon of Michael of Damietta, chapter (Qaul) 49: Vat. ar. 907 ff. 90v-107v; Nomocanon Assāl, chapter 13; Nomocanon called aṭ-Ṭibb ar-Rūḥānī, *Spiritual Medicine*, of Michael of Aṭrib and Malig, chapter 26: Sbath 46 ff. 50v-52v; Nomocanon Farāgalla al-Ahmīmī, chapter 14: Paris ar. 250 ff. 67r-73v; Peter abū-Sūker ibn ar-Rāheeb, *Kitāb al-Burhān*, chapters 16 and 17: Vat. ar. 104 ff. 60v-94v (autograph); *Treatise on the Eucharist*: Vat. ar. 123 ff. 20v-26r; ed. Abdalla 389-397.

46 Ancient canons exclude explicitly milk, honey ... (see Assāl, note 45).

47 O. F. A. Meinardus, *Das Brot bei den Kopten: Brot und Gebäck des Deutschen Brotmuseums Ulm (Donau, Germany)*, October 1964; R. M. Woolley, *The Bread of Eucharist*, London 1913.

48 Because Christ is called Lamb of God in John 1, 29; 1 Peter 1, 19; Apoc 5, 12 and 13, 8 (Y. Salama, *al-La'ālī* 1965, I 325 and 327.) Lamb or Bread of the offering (Gabriel f. 47v; *Euchologion*, ed. Klaudios Labib, 1902, 103.

49 Canon 2 of the Canons of the Apostles (series of 82 canons), ed. J. Périer, *Les canons des Apôtres*: PO 1912, VIII 665, quoted by Assāl, chapter 13 and Y. Salama, *al-La'ālī* 312.

to the church by the faithful⁵⁰, if this is possible,⁵¹ or it is made from flour bought on account of the goods of the church ⁵² or offered by the faithful⁵³.

- 50 The ancient canons remind the faithful their obligation to present God the first fruits of their fields which was observed in Israel and with other peoples: See Canons of Athanasius, 63rd Arabic canon (Riedel-Crum, *op. cit.* 35; can. 2 of the Canons of the Apostles (series of 55 canons): PO VIII 665, quoted by ibn al-'Assāl in his nomocanon, chapter 13 "Farik al-Sunbul"; Canons of the Apostles, can. 39 of the series of 71 canons: PO VIII 611 f. where the first fruits to be blessed (raisins, figs, pomegranates, olive...) are distinguished from those which are not blessed (onions, garlic, mulberries...; Assāl, chapter 17, ed. 1927, 156; Faragalla, chapter 14 § 11: Par. ar. 250 f. 71r.
- 51 Canons of Basil, can. 99 quoted by ibn al-'Assāl in his nomocanon, chapter 13 "Farik as-Sunbul"; Nomocanon at-Tibb ar-Rūḥānī of Michael of Aṭrib and Malig, section (Bab) 26, chapter 6 "pure new wheat" (Sbath 46 f. 51v); Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 3, ed. J. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums: Studia Orientalia Christiana, Aegyptiaca* 5, Cairo 1955, f. 137; Sabba', al-Gauhara, chapter 52; Canons of the Apostles, series of 56 canons, can. 2: PO VIII 665, quoted by Assāl, chapter 13 and by Faragalla, Nomocanon, section 14, chapter 11: Paris ar. 250 f. 71r: "Nothing should be brought to the altar but new wheat ("Farik") and raisins at their season (of the harvest), the other products will be sent to the house for the bishop and the priests, but they do not enter the altar (i. e. sanctuary). Faragalla, chapter 6, says: "It was prescribed to offer the new wheat and the grapes of raisin, but the new wheat was given up, the grapes of raisin continue to be offered (Paris ar. 250 f. 68v). Canons of the Apostles of the series of 71 canons: PO VIII 643 f., can. 60 prescribes that what remains of the offerings of the first fruits, done by the faithful, after having been taken what is necessary for the sacrifice, has to be distributed among the members of the clergy (Faragalla, section 14, chapter 11: Par. ar. 250 f. 71r; Barakāt, *op. cit.*, ed. 1971, 116; Assāl, chapter 17, ed. 1927, 56).
- 52 Canon 99 of Basil (quoted above) says that what is necessary for the sacrifice is procured from the goods of the church and, if there are none, the Qarābin are prepared from the offerings of the faithful. See Vansleb, *op. cit.* 89 f.
- 53 The faithful brought natural gifts, normally during the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice depositing them in the church in a place destined for this purpose. About these offerings see St. Justin, *Apology* I chapter 65 and 67; Constitution of the Egyptian Church, Coptic text can. 31, Arabic can. 39 and Ethiopian can. 22 (ed. U. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici*, ed. with translation and collation from Ethiopic and Arabic manuscripts, also a translation of the Sahidic and collation of the Boheric versions and Sahidic fragments, London 1904). Canons of Hippolyt, can. 36 (W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats von Alexandrien*, Leipzig 1900, 202, 222 f., and PO 31 (1966) 408 f. Serapion (in *Didascalia und Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. Funk, Paderborn 1905, II no. 677; St. Cyril of Alexandria, in Zachariam, PG 72, 273; Canons of Athanasius, can. s 32, 33, 50 and 63 (Arabic and Coptic texts with English translation in Riedel-Crum, *op. cit.*); Canons of Basil, can.s 96 and 98 (W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen* 272 f.). Offerings of public sinners and infidels had to be refused (Didascalia, chapter 14, quoted by Assāl, Nomocanon, chapter 13; ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara, chapter 52; see Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f. The deacons noted the names of those who made offerings to mention them during the prayer (Didascalia, chapter 35, taken over by Assāl, Nomocanon, chapter 13, and Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 17 (*Le Muséon*, 1924, 247). Gabriel ibn Turajk

The flour must be of the best quality⁵⁴, from pure wheat without any addition of other kinds of flour⁵⁵, without salt and without oil⁵⁶.

exhorts the faithful not to come to the church with empty hands, but to bring to the house of God the offerings ("Qarābīn") and the (Canon 16 of the first series of 32 canons: O. H. E. Burmester, The canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik (first series): *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 32 (Arabic) and 33 (English text), See also Sirat al-Bābā Gubriyā 73. Canon 50 of the Precepts of the Ancient Law "Aḥkām al-'Atīqa" prescribes: "Do not refuse the firstlings of your grains and of your drinks, to the house of God, but make of them offerings to be presented to the altars of God" (ed. G. Galbiati-S. Noja, Aḥkām al-'Atīqa 156 (Arabic text) and 76 (Italian translation). The reserved place to take the offerings of the faithful was on the right side of the southern gate of the church "that the people do not see the offerings which come" (Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 8, ed. 1971, 327). In ancient times, the faithful obliged themselves to take care of the Prospora, i. e. of the bread and wine as of the other oblations necessary for the celebration of the sacrifice. St. Pachomios took care of the offering, i. e. he provided the necessary bread and wine, whenever he went, together with the monks, to the eucharistic assembly (synaxis) in the neighbouring village, because the farmers were very poor (A. Veilleux, La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle: *Studia Anselmiana* 57 [1968] 230 f. and 244 f.). St. Athanasius makes frequent allusions to the necessity, for the faithful, to bring their offerings to the church which will be refused by the celebrant, if someone is unworthy. Since the land in Libya is not fertile, the Christian emperors allowed the bishops to take wheat from the reserve of Egypt. At the council of Chalcedon, in 451, Dioscoros was accused of having prevented the sending of wheat to the churches of Libya the consequence of which was the impossibility to celebrate the eucharistic liturgy there for a certain time: PL 54, 626.

54 Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 3, ed. Assfalg, Die Ordnung...; Canons of the Apostles, can. 9 of the series of 56 canons, quoted by Assāl', Nomocanon, chapter 13; see also Y. Salāma, al-La 'ālī 1965, I 312.

55 A. Manqariōs, Manārat 1972, II 72.

56 Salt is not permitted in the eucharistic bread, but only in the bread of the eulogy (Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 24 no. 12: Vat. ar. 623 f. 474 and Par. ar. 302 f. 272v). There was a controversy between Copts and Syrians about the use of oil in the eucharistic bread by the Syrians, under Christodoulos, 66th Patriarch of Alexandria (1074-1077), who threw out of the church a Syrian notable because the latter had supported the custom of his Church. He complained with his Patriarch, but finally the spirits were appeased (Yassa 'Abdel-Masih-O. H. E. Burmester, *The history of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Cairo 1943, II/1, 169 f., and Vat. ar. 620 f. 198v. See J. Hanssens, *Institutiones* II 168. Also Renaudot, op. cit. I 191 mentions this controversy with the Syrians). Abū-Šaker Buṭros ibn ar-Raheb treats this question extensively (Kitāb al-Burḥān, Questions ("Mas'ala") 16 and 17, in his autograph manuscript (Vat. ar. 104 ff. 84v and 92r); he refutes the six arguments of the Syrians in favour of the use of oil and the three arguments for the use of salt. The same procedure, almost literally, can be found in the Treatise on the Eucharist (Vat. ar. 193 ff. 25v-26v, ed. Abdalla). It is noteworthy that abū-Šakar, in his treatise ("Maqūla") 6 of the question (Mas 'ala) 16, proposes the doctrine of the Nestorian ibn Buṭlān al-Bagḍādī, as he explicitly affirms in f. 73r (see G. Graf, *Die Eucharistielehre des Nestorianers al-Muḥṭār ibn Buṭlān* (11. Jahrhundert): *Oriens Christianus* 35 (1938) 175-191: he presents also extracts of Vat. ar. 104, 116, 117).

The eucharistic bread must be fermented⁵⁷, but one must pay attention that it is not too much fermented in order to avoid bursting in the process of baking.⁵⁸

It is baked in the fire like the paschal lamb, in a particular way with regard to the place, the persons entrusted with it and the time of baking. Usually the bread of the eucharistic sacrifice is baked in the oven attached to the church⁵⁹; this place is called Bethlehem⁶⁰.

Peter of Malig answers to what he calls innovation ("Bid'a") of the Syrians with regard to the oil (in Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 7: Paris ar. 203 f. 115v, ed. 1971, 315). The modern Coptic authors repeat the same arguments of Abū-Sāker (Y. Salāma, al-Ma-ālī I 316-318; A. Manqariōs, Manara II/2, 5; S. Sūr-āl, Mūakkarāt II 5).

57 On this subject and on the controversies among the different Churches on unleavened and leavened (fermented) bread, see J. Hanssens, *Institutiones* II 125-127 and 141-169; with the Copts, see Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f.; E. Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 190. The ancient and modern Coptic authors affirm this practice and give several arguments taken from Holy Scripture and Tradition in order to prove its legitimacy, against those who use unleavened bread (Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 21; abū-Sāker ibn Buṭros ar-Rāheb, Kitāb al-Burhān, chapters 16-17: he refutes four arguments for the unleavened and proposes fifteen arguments for the leavened bread (Vat. ar. 104 ff. 75r-82r); the same argumentation is found in the anonymous Treatise on the Eucharist: Vat. ar. 123 ff. 22r-25 (ed. Abdalla 389-394 [45-50]). The modern authors repeat the same arguments (Y. Salāma, al-La 'ālī I 313-316, proposes six arguments and polemizes against the Papists; Bānūb Habasī, Kunuz...V 321; Mihā'il Mīnā, 'ilm al-Lāhūt II 434; A. Manqariōs, Manara II/2, 73-77, proposes seven arguments; S. Sūrāl, Muzakkarāt II 3 f. takes over the arguments given by Y. Salāma. - But Sāwirōs al-Moqaffa' lets each Church the liberty to follow her own tradition in this regard; there is no prescription for or against, and this question is not touching the faith (Kitāb al-Bayān, chapter 9: Vat. ar. 138 f. 59r-59v).

58 Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 17.

59 Canons of Athanasius, can. 34 (ed. Riedel-Crum 32 [Arabic text] and 34 [English translation]); Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 3, f. 137r; Canons of Cyril II ibn Laqlaq, can. 13 demands it under threat of excommunication (O. H. E. Burmester, The Canons of Cyrillus...: *Le Muséon* 49 [1936] 269. E. Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 172, 189; Hanssens, *Institutiones* II 21; abū-l-Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17 (Villecourt, *art. cit.* 247); Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f. But Patriarch Christodulos (1047-1077) had permitted the preparation of the offerings ("Qarābīn") in the houses and to bring them then to the church (O. H. E. Burmester, The canons of Chrystodul: *Le Muséon* 45 [1942] 84, in can. 31). But, according to al-Moqaffa' this was in order not to surcharge the churches with expenses. On the history of the Patriarchs Sāwirōs ibn al-Moqaffa' and his successors, see the Vita of Christodulos, ed. Yassa Abdel-Masih- O. H. E. Burmester, *The History...*, Cairo 1959, B 168; text taken over by abū-l-Barakāt, chapter 5, ed. 1971, 200.

60 S. Sūrāl, Muzakkarāt on the liturgy II 5; O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church- A detailed description of her liturgical services, the rites and ceremonies- observed in the administration of her Sacraments*, Cairo 1967, 82 n. 2.

If the church has not an oven, and if the bread cannot be baked there, this can be done either in the priest's or the sacristan's house⁶¹. If the sacristan ("Qayyim") prepares the eucharistic bread⁶², he must be unmarried and free from impurity⁶³. Women⁶⁴ as well as unbaptized infidels are excluded from this service⁶⁵. The sacristan has to make sure that the utensils which are used for this purpose are clean⁶⁶. During the kneading (Agin), the Qayyim sings the psalms⁶⁷. The priest must not remain at the oven for baking the bread; rather the sub-deacons are charged with this task⁶⁸.

The eucharistic bread must be prepared on *the day itself* of the celebration of the liturgy; it is not allowed to offer bread of the previous day⁶⁹.

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- 61 Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 17 (Villecourt, *art. cit.* 247 and Vat. ar. 623 f. 173v).
- 62 Ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara chapter 52; Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapters 3 and 17; Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f.
- 63 Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapters 3 and 17.
- 64 Canons of Cyril ibn-Laqlaq, can. 13 (O. H. E. Burmester, *The canons of Kyrillos...*: Le Muséon 49 [1936] 269: on pain of excommunication; E. Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 172, 189; J. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones* II 215); Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 3 and in chapter 21 among the differences with the Melkites; Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 17 (Villecourt, *art. cit.* 247 and Vat. ar. 623 f. 173v; Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98 f.
- 65 Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 21.
- 66 Kneading-trough, sieve, seal etc. (Tartīb al Kahanūt, chapter 17).
- 67 Tartīb al-Kahanūt, chapter 73 (in chapters 17 and 21 the priests are those who sing); ibn-as-Sabbā', al-Gauhara, chapter 52; Vansleb, *op. cit.* 98.
- 68 Canons of Athanasius, can. 34. (Riedel-Crum, *op. cit.* 26 [Arabic text] and 32 [English translation], quoted also by Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 5, ed. 1971) 183 "out of respect to the priest".
- 69 Canon of the Apostles, can. 30 or the series of 30 canons: Collection of Makarios, Taṭlisāt ar-Rusol, Vat. ar. 149 f. 7v, quoted by Michael of Atrib, Nomocanon, and by al-'Assāl, Nomocanon, chapter 13, by Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 5 "ipsa hora qua coetus" (Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 173; Villecourt, *art. cit.* 1923, 255 n. 2; Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen* 20, Arabic edition 111). Canons of Athanasius, can. 64 (Riedel-Crum, *op. cit.* 35 and 42, and in the collection of Makarios, Vat. ar. 150 f. 87r., col. 2). Peter of Malig (12th/13th cent.) blames the Melkites for using to offer bread if preceding days and even baked one month ago (Nomocanon chapter 26: Vat. ar. 107 f. 10r; Sbath 46 f. 50v; Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 7, ed. 1971, 310). Canons of Basil, can. 98 (quoted by ibn al-'Assāl, Nomocanon chapter 13; cfr. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen* 275 f. Faragalla al-Ahmīmī mentions the canons of Athanasius and Basil in his nomocanon, chapter 14, in Paris ar. 250 f. 69v (cfr. Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 173; J. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones* III 213). The modern authors limit the time by three hours after baking (A. Manqariōs, Manārat, III 68 n. 1; O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* 82; S. Sūriāl, Muzakkarāa on the liturgy II 5 allows to use bread baked longer than three hours back only in exceptional cases, but never on the following day.

With regard to the *form*⁷⁰, the eucharistic bread is round measuring 10 to 13 cm of diameter having a thickness of 2 to 3 cm. It is stamped with a round seal⁷¹ which covers three fourths or half of the surface of the bread, in the centre; the inscription which goes round is in Greek: "Agios o Theos, Agios Ischyros, Agios Athanatos". The seal contains thirteen squares each having a cross in diagonal lines; the central one is larger with four crosses and is called Despotikon (Anbādīqōn). It represents Christ surrounded by his twelve apostles. The other parts are called pearls (Arabic: Gawāhir). Around the Despotikon there are five holes, three at the right and two at the left side. They represent the five wounds of Christ on the cross.⁷²

The eucharistic wine:

The eucharistic wine is called "Abarka"⁷³. It must be made of pure raisin of the vine⁷⁴: every liquor made by means of fire must be excluded⁷⁵. It is not allowed to mix it with other liquids except water which must be added to it during the celebration⁷⁶. The wine

70 See the description of the eucharistic bread with photographic reproduction in O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* 81 f.; A. Manqariōs, *Manārat* III, 1978, 66–68; A. J. Butler, *The ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford 1902, II 278; I. E. Rahmani, *Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales*, Beyrouth 1929.

71 For the seal used for the eucharistic bread, see no. 81.

72 For Y. Salāma, al-La 'ālī I 318 f. who is followed by A. Manqariōs, *Manārat* III 68 and S. Sūriāl, *Muzakkirāt* on the liturgy II 5, these holes represent the three nails, the crown of thorns and the lance.

73 From the Greek "ἄρκαρον". It is called so because it is an extract of the firstlings of the vine (Tatrib al-Kahanūt, chapter III, f. 137 r, ed. J. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums* f. (137r). Ancient canons wish that the eucharistic wine is made from the firstlings of the vintage (can. 3 of the canons of the Apostles [series of 85 canons], quoted by 'Assāl, *Nomocanon* chapter 13); Canons of Athanasius, can. 63, ed. Riedel-Crum, *op. cit.* 35.

74 Synod of Carthago, can. 46, quoted by Y. Salāma, al-La 'ālī I 321 and S. Sūriāl, *Muzakkirāt* on the liturgy II 6. Can. 2 of the Apostles (series of 56 canons) defends other liquids as honey, milk etc. (quoted by 'Assāl, *Nomocanon* chapter 13, and by Faragalla, *Nomocanon*, Bāb 14, chapter 6, and by Michael of Atrib, *Nomocanon* chapter 26: Sbath 96 f. 50v and 51v, quoted by Renaudot, *op. cit.* I 193 f.

75 Canons of the Apostles (series of 85 canons), can. 3 (quoted by 'Assāl, *Nomocanon* chapter 13, and by Faragalla, *Nomocanon*, section (Bāb) 14, chapter (Fasl) 6: Par. ar. 250 f. 68.

76 Synod of Carthago, can. 44: Vat. ar. 150 f. 58 (quoted by Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 5, ed. 1971, 173, in can. 55; by Y. Salāma I 322 f.; by A. Manqariōs, *Manārat* II 79 where he says that it is can. 24 of Carthago, A. D. 397.). Canons of Basil, can. 102 (quoted by 'Assāl, *Nomocanon*, chapter 13). Abū-Sāker, *Kitāb al-Burhān*, chapter 16 explains the reasons for and against mixing the wine with water (Vat. ar. 104 f. 85r; the same explanation in the anonymous *Treatise* of Vat. ar. 123 f. 26v, ed. Abdalla 396.

can be made not only from fresh raisin, but also from dry raisin.⁷⁷

15. Preparation of the altar and other preparations:

Before the beginning of the liturgical service, the altar is covered by its cloths⁷⁸. Under the cloths there is the sacred tablet. The throne of the chalice is put in the centre of the altar, upon the tablet. A small veil is put inside the throne, the chalice stands on the veil, and the throne is covered by another veil.

On the altar, before the throne, there is an enveloped and tied packet containing the altar instruments: the chalice, the disks (paten), the spoon, the asteriskos ("star"), the small veils, the big veil called "Abrosfārīn", the dark-coloured veil, the gospelbook in its case, the handcross etc.

The euchologion or Missal is put at the left side of the altar on a small cushion of silk or velvet.

The incense box is placed at the right side of the altar to be taken by the celebrant's hand. It will not be taken from the altar before the "Tarhīm".

The candles⁷⁹ put on two or four chandeliers on the altar or at its right and left sides are lightened. Also the lights of the two candelabrams which are at the two sides of the door of the sanctuary, are lightened. Besides the lamp of the East "Qandīl as-Sarq" which remains lightened day and night, the other lamps (Qandil) of the

77 The dry raisin is steeped in water until the beginning of its fermentation, then the wine is extracted from the juice without passing through fire. A. Manqariōs, *Manārat* II 77. But Michael of Malig permits this only in the case of necessity (in his juridical responses, see E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum ab Marco usque ad finem saeculi XIII*, Paris 1713, 298; idem, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* I 193; M. LeQuien, *Oriens Christianus*, Paris 1740, II 590. This was the case at the time of al-Hakim (+1021), according to the recital of Euthychius, *Annales* II 200: CSCO *Scriptores Arabici*, series III, t. XII 200.

78 "The priest and the deacon clothe the altar together" (Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17, cfr. *Le Muséon* 1924, 248). According to ibn Sabbā', al-Gauhara chapter 63, the priest clothes the altar after having taken his vestments and recited the first prayer of preparation. But generally the altar remains always covered by its cloths. The Ritual of Gabriel supposes it covered (ed. Abdalla 79 and 173: f. 743). And if it is not covered, the priest will cover it before reciting the prayer of preparation or even before or during the prayer of the Hours (L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, 1902, 197 n. 1; 1932, 163).

79 Gabriel ibn-Turaik speaks of two candles (O. H. E. Burmester; The canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik: *Le Muséon* 46 [1933], can. 10 of the 2nd series, taken over by Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 5, ed. 1971, 201), so also the Ritual of Gabriel, V (ed. Abdalla 173, f. 47r). L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, 1902, 196; 1932: 162 f.

church, especially those of the iconostasis⁸⁰ will be lightened. There will be other candles on a small table in the sanctuary which are used at different moments of the celebration itself.

On the northern side of the sanctuary, to the left of the altar, there are placed on a small table: a hand-basin and a jug or can and a towel for the handwashing.

Coal is burnt for the censer which will be suspended inside the sanctuary⁸¹.

Before taking his liturgical vestments, the priest must assure himself that the oblations "Qarabīn" be ready in the church⁸². The basket containing the breads to be offered (al-Ḥamal = the Lamb) and the wine are prepared and put to disposition either outside or inside the sanctuary⁸³. The vessel containing the wine is often put on a small support outside the iconostasis, on the northern side.

80 Ibn Sabbā', al-Gauhara, chapter 55, ed. V. Mistriḥ, Cairo 1966, 162: "All the lamps ("Qanadil") of the Church must be lightened during the prayer and the eucharistic liturgy ("Quddās"); when they have finished, they will be extinguished with the exception of the lamp of the East and that of the sanctuary ("Askīna") which will not be extinguished neither by day nor by night". See also 'Assāl, Nomocanon chapter 1, and Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17, *Le Muséon* 1924, 246.

81 The water and the coal are prepared by the deacon (L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, 1902, 196 n. 2; 1932, 163 n. 2).

82 Before the prayer of the Hours (L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, p. 157 n. 1; 1932, 163 n. 3). Ibn Sabbā' demands from the priest not to neglect this preliminary precaution in order not to find the oblations unready or in a bad state; unless he does so, he has to remain in the church until the following day, fasting and in his liturgical vestments as a punishment for his negligence (al-Gauhara, chapter 65, ed. Mistriḥ 180). A. Manqariōs is more indulgent: the priest remains then fasting and in his liturgical vestments until regular oblations are prepared for him (Manarat II 81. But on p. 83 f. he also mentions the prescriptions of Sabbā').

83 Gabriel V wishes that the priest deposes the bread ("al-Ḥamal"), chosen at first, on the left edge of the altar (see Abdalla 80 and 171 f., f. 45v). So also Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17: Vat. ar. 623 f. 174: "He chooses what is convenient....and he puts it on the edge of the altar." Ibn Sabbā', chapter 63, speaks of the altar of the prothesis ("Ḥaykal al-Taqdima al-Ṣagīr") on which the Ḥamal is deposited (ed. V. Mistriḥ, 179). A marginal gloss in Paris ar. 100 f. 7-7v on the right says: "The offerings ("Qorban") was brought from the altar of the prothesis (where it has been until the reading of the gospel), the priests walk in the vestments with candles and incense. The offering was carried to the altar which is that of the sacrifice" (L. Ville court, *La lettre de Macaire...: Le Muséon* 36 [1923] 35). Probably the altar of the prothesis was a simple table in the sanctuary, as it is still found now a days, and not a practice which had disappeared, as is the opinion of Abdalla, op. cit. 81. The breads are placed in a basket on a veil and covered by another veil or the veil under them.

16. Taking the liturgical vestments: The celebrating priest and the other participants at the celebration (assisting priests, deacons and other servers) take their vestments in the room or place reserved for the vestments and the liturgical instruments⁸⁴. They begin to vest *during* the chant of “Laḥn al-Baraka” or during the recitation of the Hours⁸⁵. But if the celebrant is a bishop, he takes his vestments after the offertory prayer (“al-Taqdima”), just before the prayer of absolution⁸⁶.

Before taking the tunic (“Tūnya”), the celebrating priest, in the absence of a bishop or other priests, blesses it making three signs of the cross upon it and saying the usual formula⁸⁷. Alike he acts in blessing the tunics of the deacons. Each presents his own, and the priests blesses either all together or individually. After the blessing, each deacon kisses the hand of the priest laying on his tunic, and then he begins to vest.

If there are one or several priests, the celebrating priest holds his tunic on his right arm, inclines before the priests present there saying “Bless”. He or they will answer: “Bless yourself”. Then he takes the tunic on his left arm and makes the first sign of the

84 The vestments are to be taken *before entering* the sanctuary (Sabbā', chapter 61, ed. Mistriḥ 176). Before vesting, the priest and all those who will enter the sanctuary must *wash their feet* in the basin which is in the church for this purpose (Sabbā', chapter 62, speaks of a basin of copper; the Ritual of Gabriel V, f. 45v, speaks of “Laqqān” destined for the washing of the hands and of the feet; L. Klaudios, Euchologion, 1902, 194; 1932, 162, and Y. Salāma I 305 f. speak simply of the washing of the hands and of the feet without saying where it takes place. Under the portico of some Coptic churches a fountain can be found. Now-a-days this custom is no longer alive.

85 L. Klaudios, Euchologion, 1902, 195–197; 1932, 162 f.; *Pieuchologion*, Rome 1971, 129 f. According to ibn Sabbā, chapter 60, it is during the *chant of Alleluia* that the vesting takes place. But according to Barakāt (op. cit. chapter 17), Gabriel V (f. 47r) and L. Klaudios (1902, 197 and 202, n. 1) “Alleluia, this is the day...” is sung during the prayer of preparation. According to Barakāt (chapter 17: *Le Muséon* 37 [1924] 248 and Vat. ar. 623 f. 173v), the priest before vesting presents himself at first making the prostration (metany) to the Lord's altar, then to his companions and at last to the people. But Sabbā', chapter 62, and Gabriel V (f. 47r) mention this after taking the vestments. Y. Salāma (I 325) puts these prostrations after the prayer of preparing the altar. Sabbā, chapter 30, says that the *hypodeacons* present their vestments (of deacons) to the deacons, and the deacons, already vested, present the priestly vestments to the priests.

86 Sabbā, chapters 61 and 64; Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17: *Le Muséon* 37 (1924) 278.

87 He puts first his hand on the tunica saying “In the name of the Father...”, then he makes the first sign of the cross saying Praised be God the Father...” At the second sign “Praised be his only Son...” and at the third sign “Praised be the Holy Spirit... Amen” (L. Klaudios, Euchologion, 1902, 195; 1932 162 f. *Pieuchologion*, Rome 1971, 129 f.

cross above it, the second sign of the cross will be done by the priests present there, each saying the appropriate formula; finally the celebrating priest makes the third sign of the cross with its formula⁸⁸.

If a bishop is present, he will bless the tunics of the priests and of the deacons.

While vesting the Priest recites psalm 29 "I exalt you, O Lord .." and 92 "The Lord has ruled ..." ⁹⁰

The priest is taking the following seven pieces: the tunic ("Tūnya"), the epitrahelion ("Batraseil" or "Sidra"), the Zonarion ("zinnār" or "Mintaqa"), the two epimanikia ("Akmām"), the Tailssān (or "Samla") and the phelonion ("Bornos") ⁹¹.

The deacon is clothed in the tunic ("Tūnya"), having his epitrahelion ("Batraseil" or "Zinnār") on his left shoulder, and sometimes he is wearing the crown ("Taqiya").

As regards other details on the vestments of the Bishops, Priests, deacons and other servers, see what has been said in the general part of the ceremonial.

II

The rôle of the eucharistic liturgy in the life of the Coptic Church can be summed up under three aspects:

(a) The pedagogic rôle for the faith education through the rich religious instruction it contains;

(b) the sanctifying rôle through participation in the mysteries and in the prayer;

88 L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, 1902, 195 f.; 1932, 162 f. *Pieuchologion*, Rome 1971, 129. But in a manuscript of A. D. 1746 (see O. H. E. Burmester, *Vesting prayers and ceremonies of the Coptic Church: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1[1935] 311) it is the priest himself who made the three signs, even in the presence of other priests.

89 See n. 88 and also the quoted manuscript.

90 L. Klaudios, *Euchologion*, 1902, 195; 1932, 162. *Pieuchologion*, Rome 1971, 130-133 gives the text. The manuscript of 1746 adds also Psalm 42 "Judge me, o God..." (O. H. E. Burmester, *Vesting prayers* 311).

91 On the seven pieces of priestly vestments and other details, see J. Malak *Le Cérémonial Copte* (to be published) no. 89 f. At present most of the priests are satisfied taking only the tunica and the Tailssān or Samla, some add the epitrahelion. The other pieces are worn only on great feasts (S. Sūriāl, *Muzakkarāt* on the liturgy II 11). Already in the 14th century, Barakāt noted the different customs of his time: "Some priests take a bornos of white wool without cap (Arabic: Qasla) and sometimes of silk; the priests of Dair abu Maqār do not take the bornos at the Eucharistic Liturgy, but they take it, according to their custom, for other prayers (Barakāt, op. cit. chapter 17: *Le Muséon* 37 [1924] 248, Vat. ar. 623 f. 174).

92 See nos. 89 ff.

(c) the social and communitary rôle through practising brotherly love at the moment of the eucharistic assembly.

1. The pedagogic role

A text from the Vita of St. Aphou the Anachorete, Bishop of Pemdjyie, who was a contemporary to Patriarch Theophilos (384—412), shows us how well religious education was in the fore during the eucharistic celebrations. It is reported that the holy Bishop came from the desert to his episcopal town each Saturday to instruct his people, to celebrate the eucharistic synaxis and to take care of the poor: “He came on Saturday (from his monastery in the desert) to the church and assembled the people; and he spoke to them on the Word of God until the evening. And he spent the night of Saturday in presiding over their assembly and their prayer and singing their psalms. (In the night) he celebrated the holy liturgy, and he instructed them also until the sixth hour (noon) of Sunday to return then again into his monastery until the following Saturday.” “He spent the Saturday with the poor and the oppressed, occupying himself with their needs, and he did not cease obliging to their demands until the ninth hour; from the ninth hour till the hour of evening, reuniting them, he made the holy prayer, (then) he went out and spent the night watching till the hour of the morning”⁹³. Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis in the middle of the 4th century, puts the homily after the readings into the right light; in his Euchologion, he is continuously speaking of the prayers which accompany these readings⁹⁴.

During the celebration of the Coptic liturgy, the faithful hear, in the first part called “Liturgy of the Catechumens”, normally four readings from the New Testament: 1. from the letters of St. Paul, 2. from the catholic letters, 3. from the Acts of the Apostles, 4. from the holy gospels. For each of these readings, there should be an interpretation called “Tafsîr”. There is further a kind of rhythmic hymn called “Ḥutbah” before the reading of the gospel. The synaxarion is regularly read after the reading from the Acts, as continuation of the history of the Church. It makes conscious of the example of the Saints, especially of the Egyptian Saints, and before all the martyrs⁹⁵.

In the Office of the Hours (Psalmody) which is preceding the Divine Liturgy, in order to affirm and strengthen the faithful in their

93 F. Rossi, *Tre manoscritti copti...: Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, ser. II, t. XXXVII, Turin 1885, 18 f.

94 F. E. Brightman, *The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis: Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1899–1900) 88 f. and 247 f.

95 H. Malak (now Amba Ioannes), *Les livres liturgiques de l'Eglise copte: Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (Studi e Testi, 233), Vatican City 1964, III 1–35

faith and hope, they are reminded of the great *signs of God's intervention* amidst the adversities of life and the persecutions in favour of his faithful adorers: Passing through the Red Sea, Daniel in the lions' den, the three adolescents in the fire etc. Most of the Sunday gospels are taken from the reports of the *miracles* operated by Christ and they always show Christ as victor. This was necessary and of greatest utility to keep alive the faith of the Christian minority in the midst of the non-Christian mass.

In this context, it is easily understood why, in the Coptic *iconography*, the mounted Saints as the megalomartyr St. George who strikes to the ground of his horse the dragon, are given preference. One of the most visited pilgrim places is the sanctuary of St. George in Mit Damsis in the delta region. Another mounted Saint is St. Merkurios abu-Seifein (i.e. with the two swords). The holy archangel Michael, the great victor over Satan, is highly venerated in the Coptic Church, and his memory is celebrated on the 12th day of each Coptic month. The icons of these Saints which are in the church either in the iconostasis or in side niches, are speaking into the hearts of the faithful.

Not only the readings and the icons, but also *the actions and the symbolic gesture* during the eucharistic celebration are playing a very important rôle. The East is more susceptible to symbolic rites than the West! Raising the hands during the prayer, the prostration, at which the front is bowing to the earth, are current gestures. At the Deacon's invitation to adore the Body and Blood of Our Lord present on the altar, the faithful profoundly bow expressing thus their faith in and their veneration of Christ present in their midst.

One is deeply moved when the faithful assembled in the Church for the eucharistic celebration spontaneously express their feelings: as the cases may be, feelings of admiration, unwillingness, adoration, penance etc. , according to what is heard either from the celebrant or the reader. The parents permit themselves to answer the questions of their children asking for an explanation of this or that gesture or ceremony. Sometimes some disorder may be caused, but here at least is the opportunity that the parents inculcate upon their children a few practical notions of Christian religion.

When reading the pages devoted to the eucharistic liturgy by Bishop Sāwīros ibn al-Muqaffa', with how much stress he admonishes the faithful to participate in it not only on Sundays, but, if possible, every day, one clearly sees which is the rôle of the liturgy in the life of a Christian. "The understanding of Sāwīros can be rendered in this way: "The faithful should participate in every liturgy and not absent himself from any celebration, whether he communicates or not... Who receives communion, receives grace,

who is not able to do so is similar to the centurion who said to the Lord: I am not worthy that you enter under my roof... So he merits what the centurion merited". Then he shows that, from the 24 hours of the day, two are due to the Lord to come to the church three times: in the morning, in the evening and for the eucharistic liturgy... One day of the week must be dedicated entirely to the spiritual life, the other six to the physical life. Besides the hours spent in the church, on Sundays, the remaining time should be dedicated to reading holy scriptures. Who is not able to read should go to someone in the neighbouring village who is able to do so, as one is also going to other villages to the market to procure what one needs for the body; alike one should do for the soul.⁹⁶

In the 13th century, Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turaik (1131-1145) officially introduced the Arabic language into the liturgy.⁹⁷ This was the third time the liturgical language was changed. The Coptic was not given up; up to our days it is used beside the Arabic.

We know from Abū Sāleh al-Armanī (= Abu'l-Makarem), an Armenian author who lived in Egypt at the end of the 12th century and who described the churches and monasteries of Egypt of his time, that the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in some churches every day, eg. St. George's church of Ashmūmein (which had been the episcopal see of Sāwīros in the 10th century) at Bāsīm (now Bāsīm in the north-west of Cairo) where there were 363 churches.⁹⁸

The canons of Athanasius (4th century) give witness of the existence of the practice of daily liturgy⁹⁹, but we know that archimandrite Shenuta (5th century) did not favour this custom.¹⁰⁰

We rightly may conclude that, if the church of Egypt could survive during all the centuries and amidst all kinds of difficulties which menaced her existence, she could do so, at least to a large part, thanks to her liturgical life around the altar, thanks to her living faith in Christ who is perpetuating his sacrifice and his presence among his faithful. In the assemblies, the eucharistic synaxeis, they found support and courage, light and instruction. Nobody should be astonished if the present-day Copts strongly *insist on preserving their liturgical texts*; they will not tolerate that they be touched; this

96 Quoted manuscript Vat. ar. 1258 ff. 101v ff.

97 G. Wiet, Kibt: *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, first ed., II 1058.

98 B. T. A. Evetts-A. S. Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries*, attributed to Abū-Sālih the Armenian, Oxford 1895, ff. 60b and 88b.

99 W. Riedel-W. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius* 25.

100 Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia: CSCO 73, 66 (Coptic text); 108, 39 f. (Latin translation).

is the expression of their faith. We must remember the great discussions which took place in the monastery of St. Makarios in the 12th century between Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turaik and the monks, when the latter had introduced one phrase into a prayer which is preceding communion. A synod had to be convened to decide this question.¹⁰¹ By the way the Coptic Church had never an erroneous belief with regard to the holy Eucharist.

It is true that the Church of Egypt, down through the centuries, has become less strong and that the number of Christians has diminished much. Nowadays the Copts are estimated to about five millions. Nevertheless the minority forms the most important group among all the Christian communities of the Middle East and North Africa. In fact, Tunisia, Algeria and Maroc are today completely islamized countries, and the Church has completely disappeared from among the indigenous population of these countries. Different factors have produced this catastrophe: anarchy, invasions, class-struggle etc. The liturgical language there was not the language of the heart except for a small minority of strangers. The Church spoke there mainly Latin, because she was at first in the towns, and she is mainly in the towns, because the gospel follows the current of human exchange and gets only slowly to the Periphery and the mountains¹⁰². On the other side, in Egypt the ethnological unity was more compact, the social peace less troubled, the liturgy more adapted, and Christianity could so penetrate all the strata. The Copts are, as their name indicates, the true Egyptians. They are not immigrants, strangers, but the autochthons, the indigenous people. It is the ethnic nation which perpetuates herself.

2. The sanctifying rôle

In the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, we find a nice comparison of Apa Poimen: like the harts who have the heart burnt by too much eating serpents in the desert, desire to appease their thirst at the waters, the monks living in the desert like Saturday and Sunday, because on these days they come to the water sources, i. e. the Body and Blood of the Lord, purifying themselves from all the bitter attacks of the Impure one, the demon¹⁰³. Well, the monks drew their faith and their love of the Eucharist from the teaching received from their local church. They came to celebrate the holy mysteries in the

101 Cfr. Synaxarion 27 Baramhat: CSCO 90, 69 f. (Arabic text); PO 16, 299; E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* I 255 ff.; H. Engberding, Ein Problem in der Homologia Vor der hl. Kommunion in der Aegyptischen Liturgie: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936) 145-154.

102 Cfr. J. Corbon, Réflexions sur la mort d'une Eglise: *Proche-Orient chrétien* 8 (1958) 197-226.

103 G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum coptorum...*, Rome 1810, 319 f.

neighbouring church in communion with the village people, or a priest designated by the bishop came to celebrate in their monastery.

In Oriental spirituality, before all in the Coptic Church, the Eucharist is understood at the same time as an oblation, a *prosphora* and as a *present received from God*. The latter aspect is of prime importance. The faithful come to the Church to receive the divine blessings, they feel themselves enriched by their approach of God and of the Saints. The time spent in the church is considered as spent in the heavenly bliss. In the West, rather the aspect of the oblation is predominating. In the Coptic sources, the idea of the *prosphora* is clearly affirmed, though it is not in the first order. To make the *prosphora* or to offer the *prosphora* means to celebrate the liturgy. The faithful took care of the *prosphora*, i. e. of the offerings of bread and wine etc. But the bread and the wine which is offered, is received, during the celebration, transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ, gift of his love. Communion is not considered so much as an affective encounter with Christ, but as the reception of a food, a gift. This gift is so great, that the faithful have to prepare themselves with fear to receive it making thanksgivings with joy and gratefulness.

All the sacraments instituted by Christ which are communicating grace and sanctifying us, are centered round this great mystery. This relation is so direct that it is reflected in the liturgy.

Baptism which is immediately followed by confirmation, leads to the reception of the mysteries. The liturgy is celebrated immediately after baptism and the baptized receives the communion before the other faithful.¹⁰⁴ Penance was, it seems, administered during the liturgy through a common, public absolution which can be found also today in the present editions of the euchologion¹⁰⁵. Ordination is conferred before the anaphora of the liturgy. The sick who received the anointing of the lamp (i.e. the anointment of the sick), communicates during the liturgy which the priest celebrates immediately after it.

It is not allowed to approach communion without being pure in body and soul, say the canonical rules of the Church. Purity of the conscience are indispensable for the soul as well as *certain corporal dispositions*. Abstinence from each kind of food and drink are prescribed before communion, the Coptic authors, however, do not agree with regard to its duration. For al-Muqaffa, it lasts for 12 hours, and he does not even allow rinsing the mouth¹⁰⁶; modern authors demand but nine or eight hours. The married must observe

104 Cfr. M. de Fenoyl, *Le sacrements de l'initiation chrétienne dans l'Eglise copte: Proche -Orient chrétien* 7 (1957) 7-25.

105 Cfr. L. Ligier, *Pénitence et Eucharistie en Orient: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 29 (1963) 5-78.

106 Kitāb al-Idāḥ chapter 8: Vat. ar. 1258 ff. 166v-168v.

continence in the night preceding communion, and it lasts until sunset.¹⁰⁷ Continence is not demanded because of purity, but as a fast. The women who is impure because of her menses will abstain from receiving communion as well as during childbed; this is prescribed by the canons and is a very old custom.¹⁰⁸

It is noteworthy in this context, that according to the liturgical rules even the altar, the vestments and the liturgical instruments have to be *insipid*, i.e. it is not allowed to use the altar on the same day on which already a liturgy has been celebrated.¹⁰⁹

As Moses had to depose his sandals because of the sanctity of the place where Yahweh had appeared to him, so also the celebrant and all those who will enter the sanctuary with the altar, have to depose their shoes, if they are not wearing slippers reserved for this purpose; these however may not be of leather (dead skin). Formerly it was not even allowed to enter the church in shoes, and who was entering the sanctuary had to wash his feet in a basin at the entrance of the church.¹¹⁰ The custom to depose the shoes at the sanctuary did not exist at the time of al-Muqaffa', in the 10th century.¹¹¹

Whoever had not been present at the liturgy from its very beginning and had neither heard the readings nor received the absolution, could not communicate.¹¹² The reason for this defence was the fact that some came late; to permit them receive the Eucharist, a second gospel was read for them at the end of the liturgy. Patriarch Cyril III prohibited this custom to carry into effect coming punctually. But Sāwīros ibn al-Muqaffa', two centuries earlier, gave another reason: it is to purify oneself first by

107 Ibid. f. 93v. Cfr. Origenes: PG 13, 793; Dionysius of Alexandria: PG 10, 1281.

108 Ibn al-Assāl', Nomocanon, ed. (in Arabic) by G. Morqos, Cairo 1927, chapter 7/5°; canons of Patriarch Cyril: *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* (=BSAC) 12 (1967) 87.

109 Vansleb, *op. cit.* 94 f.

110 Cfr. the canons of Michael of Demietta (12th cent.), ed. O. H. E. Burmester: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936) 108, 118; Ibn al-Assāl', Nomocanon chapter 12: Barakāt, *op. cit.* chapter 24/8°: Vat. ar. 623, f. 471, and Paris ar. 203, f. 270v; Ibn al-Sabbā', al-Gauhara chapter 62; Kitāb Tartīb al-Kahanūt (13th cent.), ed. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums: Studia orientalia christiana aegyptiaca* 5, Cairo 1955 (with German translation), chapter 21/6°.

111 Kitāb al-Idāḥ chapter 4: Vat. ar. 1258, f. 93v.

112 Kyrillos III ibn Laqlaq, 75th Patriarch of Alexandria (1235-1243), Kitāb Dalāḥat al-Mubtadi 'in, chapter 16: *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 4 (1924) 11 f. (German translation of the Arabic text of Vat. ar. 117, f. 203v, by G. Graf).

the Word of God and the prayer that one has to assist the liturgy from the beginning; only then one is able to communicate. This is what he says: "Who is not assisting at (the reading of the) Books and at (the sanctification of the) oblations and then receive communion, deserves a great punishment, because thus he soils the Body of Christ instead of sanctifying it. In fact he communicates being impure, in his body and soul; but because the (reading of the) Books and the liturgy precede communion precisely to sanctify the faithful in his body and soul to purify him, as I already have told you, in such a measure that he is in a state of receiving communion worthily. Man, indeed, cannot remain even one hour without fault, unless he is alone in the desert. But he who is living amidst men is unable not to sin by a word of mockery, by a false servant, by an offense of his companion, or other similar things. All these faults soil him and consequently he is in need of hearing the Books and the liturgy to purify and to sanctify himself; otherwise, if he communicates in his impurity without hearing the Books and the liturgy, he offends Christ, and Christ despises him... He resembles a man who sows in dry land. The Word of God is the living water which moistens the earth and the communion is the seed which gives its fruits".¹¹³

On the other hand, the Coptic authors joyfully show how the faithful should behave in the Church to sanctify themselves. The **five corporal senses** alike the five spiritual senses must actively participate in the prayer, each according to its proper nature, and thus the senses are sanctified. An author of the 13th century, al-Mutaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, develops this idea in this way: The sense of hearing participates in hearing the chants with their different melodies: joyous melodies which raise the soul to devotion; dark melodies of sadness which invite the sinner to weep on his faults and the proud one to humiliate himself. Eyesight, then, sanctifies us when looking to the altar and the icons that we glorify those whom they represent and ask their intercession. Taste sanctifies us in participating at the heavenly food of the holy mysteries. The sense of smelling sanctifies us when taking up the odour of the incense (richly used). The sense of touching sanctifies us when touching and kissing the holy gospel and the holy cross¹¹⁴. The author of the *Tartib al-Kahanūt* (13th century) proposes the same ideas in other terms¹¹⁵. Al-Muʿtaman speaks also of the inner senses: memory which remembers the greatness of God and his benefits to adore

113 Kitāb al-Idāḥ chapter 5, ff. 112v-113v.

114 Al-Muʿtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl (brother of As-Safī ibn al-ʿAssāl, author of the Nomocanon), Kitāb Magmuʿ Usūl ad-Dīn, ed. by G. Graf: *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie copte* 13 (1948-1949) 167 f.

115 Cfr. chapter 1, page 2, ed. Assfalg.

him and render him thanksgivings gratefully; the imagination puts forward his works in us and for us that we glorify him because of them....¹¹⁶

During the eucharistic celebration the deacon repeatedly tells the assembly of the faithful which position and attitude are to be taken, proposes the intentions inviting them to pray for and directs the procedure of the ceremony. It is particular to the Coptic liturgy that the deacon stands at the altar facing the people, vis-à-vis the celebrant who is looking towards the East. All the Coptic churches are "orientated", eastwards, so that the faithful and the celebrant are looking to the East during their prayers: "*Ex Oriente lux*" (Luke 1: 78). Ibn al-Sabbā' gives another reason: the deacon looks towards the West, the entrance, that, in case enemies are approaching the church, he may take immediately the Body and Blood of Christ and hide them in the niche which is in the altar on the eastern side¹¹⁷. We give here a few admonitions of the deacon: "Stand up for the prayer", "pray that God may have pity on us", "Pray for the peace", "Pray for our Pope and Patriarch", "...for the water of the rivers", "...for the plants...", "Look to the East", "Be attentive", "Adore God with fear and trembling"...

As regards the last attitude of fear before the Eucharist, it is noteworthy that it can be found in all the rites. Since the 4th century, similar expressions can be found in the official prayer of the Church¹¹⁸. At first this was done because of apologetical, anti-Arian reasons; then because of a pastoral reason: to prevent from Sacrilegious communions. It is with this aim that St. John Chrysostom so often speaks of Judas the traitor¹¹⁹. But Quasten probably restricts this spiritual attitude too much on Syria while it can be found throughout all the East. One can ascertain it in Egypt, as a text of the Pachomian Theodore proves: he says that we have to prepare ourselves for this great mystery "with fear"¹²⁰. A note similar to that indicated by Quasten can be equally found in the euchologion of Serapion.¹²¹

116 See note 114.

117 Ibn al-Sabbā' chapter 65.

118 J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, Paris 1922, II 217.

119 Cfr. P. van der Aalst, *Le Christ dans la piété orientale: Proche-Orient chrétien* 8 (1958) 300 f.; J. Quasten, *Mysterium tremendum. Eucharistische Frömmigkeitsauffassung des vierten Jahrhunderts: Vom christlichen Mysterium* Düsseldorf 1951, 65-75.

120 Cfr. *Epistola Theodori de Pascha*: A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, Louvain 1932, 106.

121 J. Quasten, *art. cit.* 71 f. and notes 61 and 66.

In the Coptic Churches, the places reserved for the different categories of persons according to the degree of participation in the holy mysteries can be noted. The sanctuary is reserved for the Priests and the Deacons and is strictly forbidden for women. Outside the iconostasis is the choir of the deacons where the singers are standing; still farther is the nave of the faithful, in two ranges: the one for men, the other for women, often separated by a barrier. In some churches, the women have their place in the background of the church, behind the men. At the entrance of the church, in ancient times there was the place reserved for the catechumens.

Finally we have to say something about the holy reserve and **paralitururgical** devotions. The Coptic Church, applying literally the prescriptions which God has given to the children of Israel with regard to the paschal lamb, does not let anything for the following day (Ex: 12, 10 and Dt: 16, 4); she lets consume all what remains from the holy species by the celebrant and the other servants of the altar, unless there is a sick person to whom communion is brought into his house. During the long and solemn ceremonies of her liturgy, the Coptic Church invites the people repeatedly to adore the Blessed Sacrament; but she did not believe to be opportune to create paralitururgical offices as the benediction or the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. She is convinced that the veneration of the Eucharist reaches its culmination in the Liturgy itself which constitutes, for her, the Service par excellence and that the "Angel of the Sacrifice" returns to heaven after having accomplished his rôle of mediator.¹²² But we have some traces which prove the existence of the custom of the holy reserve in the Coptic Church of Alexandria.¹²³

3. The social and communitary rôle

Since the beginnings of the Church, the eucharistic assembly is a collective act which is eminently communitary. It is an assembly of brethren in which the union of all among each other in Christ becomes manifest, a living, human and fraternal assembly. The first Christians began their reunion with a fraternal meal called 'Agapê'. St. Paul demands that the faithful of Corinth prepare, on the first day of the week which is the day of the assembly, the collections for the poor of Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16, 1).

In this perspective we understand, that the Coptic liturgy is always sung, always solemn, with the participation of the faithful

122 See *Pieuchologion*, Rome 1971, 434, allusion to Judges 14, 20.

123 Cfr. A. Ian Lantschoot, Heliari et Masob: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 10 (1944) 168-178; L. Villecourt, La lettre de Macaire...: *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 41; idem, Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Eglise copte: *ibid.* 37 (1924) 207 n. 1.

and the assistance of the deacon. The Coptic Church does not know what are called low or private Masses. It is the public prayer accomplished by the community, almost without any moment of silence; the singing and the readings succeed without interruption. The secret prayers of the priest are always accompanied by the singing of the people or the deacon.

According to the teaching of Christ (Mt 5, 23 f.), the faithful give one another the kiss of peace before the beginning of the anaphora proper. This is a very ancient usage in the Church which recently has also been revived in the Latin Church.¹²⁴ During the Great and Holy Week, the liturgical kiss is not communicated in order to avoid the imitation of the kiss of Judas.¹²⁵

As we have seen above, formerly the faithful brought the oblations with them; what was necessary for the sacrifice was chosen and the rest were distributed among the ministers of the altar.¹²⁶ At present, everywhere the collection has replaced the natural offerings, but still the prayer is said for the offerings and for those who have made them, and mentioned are the *prosphoras*, the firstlings, the oil, the incense, the veils, the liturgical books and vessels.¹²⁷ At the offertory, the celebrant is presented three, five or seven breads to choose one which is without deficiency. These breads must be baked on the same day. At the end of the liturgy, the eulogy, bread blessed during the liturgy, is distributed to all the faithful present in the church. So all eat together, even those who did not communicate.¹²⁸ Theophilus excludes the catechumens.

At the occasion of the eucharistic assembly, the semi-anachoretic monks of Lower Egypt had the custom to make a brotherly *agapē* after the Eucharist. This *agapē* normally took place in the church itself.¹²⁹ A like custom is not to be found in the Pachomian monasteries¹³⁰. We have mentioned above the charity practised by

124 Cfr. Origenes, In Rom. X, 33, and Clement of Alexandria, Paed. III, 11, f81.

125 Cfr. Ibn al-Sabbā', chapters 103 and 105.

126 *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. Funk, Paderborn 1905:VIII, 31 (p. 533); Gabriel II ibn Turaik, 70th Patriarch of Alexandria (1131-1145), can. 23, ed. by O. H. E. Burmester: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 38.

127 Cfr. *Pneuchologion*, Rome 1971 42 and 205.

128 Cfr. Ibn al-Sabbā', chapter 84; Theophilus of Alexandria, can. 7: PG 65, 41; see A. Raes, L'Antidoron: *Proche-Orient chrétien* 3 (1953) 6-13.

129 Cfr. A. Donahue, The $2\alpha\infty\pi\eta$ of the Hermets of Scete: *Studia Monastica*, Montserrat 1 (1959) 97-114.

130 A. Veilleux, *art. cit.* 236.

St. Aphou, bishop of Pemdjiye: every Saturday when he came to the church for the assembly, he was spending the day with the poor and the oppressed occupying himself with their needs until three o'clock in the afternoon, and then he celebrated.

It is also on Saturday and Sunday, days of the eucharistic assembly, that the hermits and the monks meet together to strengthen each other and to speak of divine things; then they receive the visits of the faithful who desire to be counselled by them. On these days, the bishops especially give alms and holy monks nourish the poor.¹³¹

The communitary sense of the Eucharist is clearly manifested in the custom of excommunication. Beside some grave crimes, lack of charity constitutes normally the motive of the excommunication of a brother with the Pachomians. Excommunication in fact is not understood as a vindictive punishment. If somebody is excommunicated, it is simply because, through lack of charity or another crime, he has proved being unworthy of receiving the sacrament of charity. When Pachomios, for example, related that he had been too severe vis-à-vis a brother and consequently had defected from the Lord's teaching as explained in our Father: "Forgive us our sins as...", numerous quotations from Scripture came to his mind. Then his eyes were opened and realizing that, through his excessive severity and lack of charity, he had become unworthy of the holy mysteries, he excommunicated himself for three weeks.¹³²

The Eucharist held a place of great importance as a rite of hospitality.¹³³ It was also a sign of communion in the faith, especially at the time of the heresies. When a guest arrives, one lets him participate in the eucharistic assembly as a token of charity and ecclesiastical union. In our days, nothing is more natural than to invite a priest who comes through a place, to celebrate and to preach, especially on a Sunday.

Times change, methods vary, but the link of charity among brethren in the same faith, reunited around the altar, remains unchanged and unchangeable. Often, in some churches, there is a special collection, during the eucharistic assembly, for the poor to assist them in their needs. The Church has always had, since the times of the Apostles to our days, a particular attention for the poor, the widows and the oppressed. It is in the Eucharist, sacrament of charity, that she is drawing this solicitude for the others and that she inspires her children to love each other, as Christ has loved them.

131 See Sanutius, Pisentius, bishop of Coptos, John of Lykopolis, and other quotations in J. Muyser, *Le samedi et le dimanche* 104.

132 A. Veilleux, *art. cit.* 246.

133 On this subject, several ancient texts are quoted by A. Franquesa, *La concélébration, rite de l'hospitalité ecclésiastique: Paroisse et Liturgie* 37 (1955) 164-176.

Conclusion

We may finally close this exposure with a consideration which is particularly dear to the Alexandrine writers. These writers take pleasure in considering Christian life as a perpetual feast, and they consider the common celebrations as indispensable means to help human beings for an internal and external uninterrupted worship. The perpetual feast of the Christian is that which procured for him by the benefits of the redemption: repose of the soul, repose in eternity, provided he has proved worthy of them. The liturgical solemnities only help to become more lively conscious of these benefits and to prepare oneself easier for the eternal life where the worship of God will have neither interruption nor end. From this point of view, we can say with Origenes that the life of the perfect Christian is as well a perpetual Sunday as a paraskeve, a preparation, an uninterrupted Pasch as well as an uninterrupted Pentecost.¹³⁴ Clement of Alexandria, Origenes's teacher, held a similar view.¹³⁵ The famous theory of Clement of Alexandria on the eternal feast of the true Gnostic is well known.¹³⁶ For Origenes, the external worship is as important as the internal worship, and the true Sabbath, for the Christian, consists in destroying the works of the world (i. e. of sin), in glorifying God and remaining faithful and strong in Christ, in putting out the fire of the sin and in contemplating, in the repose, Truth and Wisdom.¹³⁷

134 PG 11, 1549 and 12, 754.

135 PG 9, 504.

136 PG 9, 449-452.

137 In Num.: PG 12, 749 f.; in Exod.: ibidem 289.

**The Divine Liturgy
According to the
Rite of the
Ethiopian Church**

The Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Ethiopian Church

By Paulos Tzadua

I

Historical Background

The Ethiopian rite is one of the oldest rites and is used by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as by that group which is in full communion with the Church of Rome, the Ethiopian Catholic Church. In its essential elements, it stems from the Alexandrian rite and the language used in the services is classical Ethiopian called Ge'ez.

The historical reconstruction of the Ethiopian rite and the study of its various phases through which it attained its actual form, present many difficulties, because local documents are lacking. This lack of historical witnesses results from the politico-religious upheavals leading to the destruction of the literary and archaeological patrimony which had to do with liturgy.

Ethiopia, in fact, had been twice the scene of such uprisings: at first in the tenth century and again in the 16th century. The protagonists were, in the first, the famous woman Judith of the Felasha group which claims to descend from the Jews who immigrated in a distant past; in the second, the Muslim Mohammed Gagn. Both of them gave their upsetting movements an anti-Christian background and consequently they destroyed temples and monasteries and all the treasures of sacred literature preserved there.

The difficulty in arranging the historical reconstruction of the liturgical rite is still increased by the fact that Ethiopian monasteries are not easily accessible. These monasteries are the very depositaries of the few documents which could be saved from the above-mentioned destructions.

The starting-point of the history of the Ethiopian rite must, in any case, coincide with the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. The evangelization of Ethiopia, in its true and strict sense, began towards the middle of the fourth century. The first bishop was

St. Frumentius who was invested by the great St. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria. Before his investiture as Bishop of Ethiopia, St. Frumentius had had, together with his brother Edessius, a long stay in Ethiopia as Minister of the court of Axum, the historical capital of the Ethiopian Empire. All these are confirmed by the historian Rufinus of Aquileia in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*¹ and by an authentic document inserted in the *Apologia* of St. Athanasius, namely, in the letter sent by Constance to the king of Axum², and, before all, in the Ethiopian tradition itself.

As regards the history of the Ethiopian liturgy, some facts can be deduced from the historical sources mentioned above and from the Ethiopian tradition as well, which relate to the work of St. Frumentius before and after his consecration as bishop of Ethiopia. During his stay at Axum as Minister of the court, he took advantage of any occasion to do apostolic work among the foreigners established there for business. Rufinus expressly says that Frumentius “requerere sollicitus est si qui inter negotiatores Romanos christiani essent” (he took pains to find out whether there were Christians among the Roman businessmen). Then, having discovered them, he gave them a helping hand “ut conenticula per loca singula facerent ad quae Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent” (that they may have their assemblies in the different places where they could come together for prayer according to the Roman rite³).

In reference to the inhabitants of the country, Ethiopian tradition relates that Frumentius had found an environment saturated with Judaism and some Christian influence. To his question as to how it came about that having circumcision and (Christian) faith, they did not have Baptism and Eucharist, he was answered by the people that circumcision was practised because it was inherited from their ancient levite fathers and that they had the faith from the eunuch of Queen Candace⁴, while for Baptism and the Eucharist no Apostles had been sent to them. Tradition adds that Frumentius, after having gone to Alexandria, remained there for five years and was instructed by St. Athanasius on the New Testament, because he had been sufficiently instructed in the Old Testament in the milieu of Axum prone to Judaism. After his episcopal consecration, Frumentius returned to Ethiopia *carrying with him all of the liturgy*⁵.

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1. Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, §1. I, 9. Rufinus is documented on Eusebius of Caesarea whose Church History he has translated and extended for some decades.
 2. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 45, 481–489.
 3. Rufinus, *ibid.*
 4. Acts, 8:26–40.
 5. Ethiopian Missal (*Meshafe Qeddase*), Addis Ababa 1918 (Ethiopian Calendar) p. 16, colon 1.

As regards the general history of the liturgy, Ethiopia was included in the Christian world in the middle of the fourth century; the situation may be described as follow: After a period of religious intolerance, the Church began to have more space to breathe. The basilicas were built and the liturgy, basically the same in all the Churches, from a simple systematic ceremony, began to be enriched and it developed with characteristics different from one place to another. Although the liturgical language was Greek everywhere, there arose, especially in the East, various types of liturgy, before all the Antiochian and Alexandrian types.

The insertion of Ethiopia in the Christian world occurred during this period of liturgical development, and this happened precisely under the influence of the Church of Alexandria. The type of liturgy introduced in Ethiopia by St. Frumentius could not be any other, therefore, than that of the Alexandrian type. The liturgical language used in the beginning was, there is no doubt, Greek. In fact, with the Macedonian conquest at first and later with the influence of the Ptolemy's, the Greek language spread not only in that part of Africa around the Mediterranean basin, but also at the court of Axum in Ethiopia. This is proved by the inscriptions on the steles, which trace their origin to the fourth century and also from the inscriptions on coins of the same period⁶.

In this century, after all, the liturgical language was still Greek in all the local Churches. As mentioned above, the first field of apostolate of St. Frumentius, during his first stay in Ethiopia as a Minister of the court of Axum, was among the foreigners who were certainly speaking Greek; for them he facilitated the construction of oratories. Returning to this country as bishop of Ethiopia, it was evident that the starting-point of his formal apostolate among the Ethiopians might have been these oratories where one could breathe largely of Hellenism. This, nevertheless, goes only to say that the need for a translation of the liturgy into the Ethiopian language was not yet urgent. But as the Hellenic culture in the Empire of Axum did not entirely involve the common people to the point of losing their identity both in the linguistic field as well as in other aspects of life, it is certain, that they felt the necessity of translating the liturgy into the mother tongue of the country.

This eventually happened as religion entered among the common classes of people. It is not possible, however, to pin-point the date of the translation of the liturgy. Yet, it is certain that, at the end of the fifth century, it was already a fact. It is probable that the work of translation might have had its beginning since the time of St. Frumentius, because it is not possible to think that

6. cf. I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura Etiopica*, Roma 1932, p. 11; E. Cerulli *La letteratura Etiopica*, Milano 1968, p. 14-18.

the Saint had limited his apostolate only to the foreigners of the Greek language.

Returning now to the essential question of the liturgy, it has been said that the type of liturgy, introduced by St. Frumentius into Ethiopia was without doubt the Alexandrian one, that is, the type which he should have been initiated into by St. Athanasius. The Ethiopian rite, therefore, derives its origin from Alexandria.

For the rest, a comparison between the actual Ethiopian liturgy and the ancient Alexandrian liturgy confirms the dependence of the first on the latter. Structurally, and in some points also textually, the Ethiopian rite and the Coptic rite of Egypt, both having derived from the ancient Alexandrian liturgy, are equal. While the Ethiopian rite gets its origin from Alexandria, it underwent, nevertheless, such an evolution that the actual form of the liturgy seems to be very distant from the original to the point of assuming the dignity of an independent rite. Language, customs and songs contributed largely to this evolution giving the Ethiopian rite its own characteristic features.

Just as every rite presupposes a set of canonical norms which govern it, so also the Ethiopian rite has its canonical rules which, as far as liturgy is concerned, were taken from the deposit of the ancient canonical and liturgical legislations.

The canonical discipline which governs the Ethiopian liturgy is contained mainly in the books called in Ethiopia *Sinodos*, *Mashafa kidañ za-‘egzi’-ena Yesus Krestos*, *Didesqelyā amd Fetha Nagašt*.

The *Sinodos* is a vast collection of ancient canons extant in the Ethiopian Church. As it is a version of the Egyptian Church Order, it is also known by scholars as the Ethiopian Church Order. In it, besides canons attributed to the Apostles, the canons of Clement, the canons of Hippolytus of Rome, the canons of the synods of Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Sardes, Antioch, Laodicea, and the canons of the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea are also included. The *Meshafe Kidan za-egzi’-na Yesus Krestos* is also the Ethiopian version of the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, a document of Syrian origin (5th century), and the *Didesqelyā* is the Ethiopian version of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* patterned from books I-VII of the Apostolic Constitutions.⁷

The *Fetha Nagašt* (The Law of the Kings) is a translation of the *Nomocanon* which, it is believed, was written by the Egyptian As Safi ibn al-‘Assal around the middle of the 13th century. It deals with matters related to the canonical and civil laws and, in small part, also to the criminal law. Originally compiled for the Christians living in Egypt, it was introduced into Ethiopia where it became the

7. J. M. Harden, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920.

fundamental book for the teaching of law in the Ethiopian schools up to modern time.

The Fetha Nagašt is divided into two distinct parts. The first deals with religious matters depending on the ancient church canons and the writings of a number of Fathers of the Church, while the second deals with secular matters depending mainly on Roman-Byzantine laws. Containing canonical and civil laws, its sphere of influence is vaster than that of the three other books. Consequently, this book is more circulated and it is also easily available particularly because of the fact that printed editions are numerous⁸.

It seems certain that the Fetha Nagašt was introduced into Ethiopia and translated from Arabic towards the 15th/16th century. As for the other three books, scholars believe that they were introduced towards the 14th/15th century and that they were translated from Arabic.⁹

There are, however, scholars who believe that the Sinodos and the Testament of Our Lord seem to have been introduced at an early date and that at least the Testament of Our Lord has been translated from Greek.¹⁰ It is worth while to note that in Ethiopia the period of translation from Greek was from the 4th to the 7th century.¹¹ It is also to be noted that the Ethiopian Church adds the Sinodos and the Testament¹² of Our Lord to the number of the canonical books of the New Testament. This confirms that it knew them from early times.

This is why in these books, besides the rules of Christian life, the ecclesiastical regulations were based and, in particular, detailed canons regarding the liturgy were found. Formalities, prayers, formulas and formularies for all the liturgical services from the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice to the administration of the Sacraments are found to be based on these books. Two formularies for the Divine or Eucharistic Liturgy are based respectively on the Sinodos and the Testament of Our Lord and, as will be seen below, one of these formularies, i.e. the extract from the Sinodos, is the principal model for the other formularies of later origin.

The importance that the Sinodos, The Testament of Our Lord and the Didascalia had continued and continue to our days with

8. I. Guidi, *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "La legislazione dei Re"*, Roma 1899; A. Paulose Tzadua, *The Fetha Nagast, The Law [of the Kings]*, Addis Ababa 1968.

9. cf. I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura Etiopica*, op. cit. pp 37-38, 40

10. J. M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928, p. 1-3. Harden makes also reference to Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord*...p. 248.

11. I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura*.... op. cit. p. 49 ff.

12. A. F. Matthew, *The teaching of the Abyssinian Church*, London 1936 p. 62

regard to the canonical discipline of the liturgy, can be estimated from the disposition contained in the *Maṣḥafa queddāsē*, the Ethiopian "Missal", which says: "Whoever he might be, Metropolitan or Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, who does not have sufficient instruction or who does not know the contents of the books of the *Testament of Our Lord*, of the *Sinodos* and of the *Didesqelyā* and all the rubrics, shall not enter into the sanctuary for the ministry; and if he rashly dares to enter, let him be taken away from the church and degraded".

In spite of all this, it is not to be believed that the liturgical discipline remained static with regard to the rules of the canons contained in the books already mentioned. The canonical rules pertaining to the cult developed, indeed with the progressive changing of the liturgy. This is seen from the numerous works which continue to follow in the various centuries. The epoch which knew a considerable expansion and evolution of the liturgical discipline in general was the 15th century. Due to the impetus of the emperor Zar'a Yā'qob (1434-1468), there was a great movement for the reform of the worship in his empire.¹³

During this epoch, the *Ser' at we-Tezaz*, the "Rules and Precepts", comments, collections of canons and rubrics for the Liturgy and the administration of the Sacraments were compiled. There appeared also, at the same time, the *Maṣḥafa Bāhrey* or "Book of Essence" and the *Teagebe Mestir* or "Care of the Sacrament". The first contains the rules which have to be observed in administering the Anointment of the Sick, while the latter prescribes what care is to be observed in regard to the Eucharist and that there be no profanation in administering or in receiving it¹⁴. The reorganization of the liturgical feasts as well as the introduction of new feasts in honour of Our Lady, the Angels and Saints are also attributed to Zar'a Yā'qob.

The new feasts gave the occasion for the composition or translation of the new proper parts and new homilies related to these feasts.

No sector of the cult was neglected in the reform and the reorganization work of Zar'a Yā'qob, if one considers that not even the rules or the regulations were lacking for the administration of Baptism, for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy; not even the regulations for the number and the arrangement of the altars in the churches were neglected.

Other works concerning the liturgical discipline were also written in the centuries following that of Zar'a Yā'qob. In the 16th century,

13. I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura...* op. cit. p. 49 ff.

14. I. Guidi, *ibid.* p. 51

a ritual was written which was called *Maṣḥafa qēder* or “Book of Impurity”, i.e. a penitential book. The drawing up of this ritual was brought about by the fact that, during the Muslim invasion under the leadership of Mohammed Gragn, many Christians apostasized embracing the Muslim religion. When the power of the Muslims had been overthrown, this ritual provided for the reconciliation with and the reinstatement into the Church of those who had apostasized¹⁵.

The 17th century saw still another movement of liturgical reform. It was started, in fact, by updating the books already in existence at that time and which were the most important as far as common worship was concerned. The *Maṣḥafa queddāsē* was revised as well as some rituals concerning the Sacraments, i.e. on penance the *Maṣḥafa Nuzāzē*, on Matrimony the *Maṣḥafa Taklil* and on the Anointment of the sick the *Maṣḥafa qandil* were drawn up.

In this century there appeared also the penitential book entitled *Faws Menfasāwi* or “Spiritual Medicine” which was translated from Arabic¹⁶ and contained rules for some liturgical acts. On the whole it can be affirmed that, on the basis of the canonical rules of the ancient books, the Ethiopian rite did not cease to develop in the course of the centuries as well in its discipline as in its essence. Concerning this evolution, however, there is an observation to be made: There was lacking a centralized direction which would co-ordinate and regulate the necessary stages in the evolution. The hierarchy sent by the Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria was a stranger to both the language and the liturgy of the country. The only task reserved to the then hierarch (Abuna) was to administer holy orders, to bless the holy oils and the tābot, i.e. the sacred tables or stones for the altars. The elaboration and the transcription of the liturgical texts, the teaching of the liturgy were entrusted to the professors, mainly laymen (the so-called Debtera) who had a theoretical knowledge of liturgical questions. By entrusting such persons with the monopoly of the liturgy, without any central control, it was quite natural that postpositions, additions, omissions and repetition occurred rather arbitrarily, as can be noted in the liturgical texts of the different epochs.

15. I. Guidi, *ibid.* p. 72

16. That is according to foreign Scholars (I. Guidi, *Storia...* op. cit. p. 78; E. Cerulli, *La letteratura...* op. cit. p. 176). Ethiopian sources give different version, such as, for instance, the period of the Fewse Menfesawi appearance in Ethiopia, which is believed to be the XV century; cf. L. Seltanat Habtemariam Workeneh, *Tentawi Ye-Itiopia Temhert*, (The ancient /School/ Learning in Ethiopia), Addis Ababa 1963, (Eth. Cal.) p. 227.

II

The Historical Evolution: The Anaphoras

When treating of the historical evolution of the Eucharistic liturgy in its essence, it must be stated, first of all, that the Divine Liturgy according to the Ethiopian rite, as in all the other rites, is divided into two parts, i.e. the introductory part called **Ordo Communis** and the Eucharistic part called **Anaphora**.

The *Ordo Communis* is invariable except for the readings from the New Testament, for the Gospel and for the three verses taken from one of the psalms and sung by the deacon alternately with the people before the Gospel. The Ethiopian sources say that this part had been rearranged by St. Basil of Antioch¹⁷. Anyway, structurally, it comes from the corresponding part of the ancient Alexandrian liturgy which, in the fourth century, followed this order:

1. The greeting of the priest to the faithful and their response,
2. Readings and hymns,
3. Gospel and homily,
4. Dismissal of the catechumens,
5. The Kiss of Peace,
6. The Offertory¹⁸.

Keeping this structural basis in its essential lines, the Ethiopian *Ordo Communis* developed in such a way that partly it is similar to the other Oriental liturgies and partly it has its own characteristic features.

Parallel to other Oriental liturgies, the rite of preparation was introduced placing the offertory at the beginning of the Divine Liturgy; also the ceremony of incensation, the song of the *Trisagion* and the *Creed* were introduced.

17. See S. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1915, p. 151 where it is said that in the British Museum Manuscript N. 545, at the beginning of the Order of the Mass (*Ordo Communis*) there is an ascription which reads: "This is the order which Basil of Antioch compiled". cf. also Hamerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961, p. 48 and fn. n. 5. St. Basil, beyond being the author of many church rules, is also recalled as "Astegaba-i" i. e. compiler of many Anaphoras; cf. Ethiopian Missal (*Meshafe Qeddase*) op. cit. p. 336, col. 1.- See C. F. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, 1864, p. 1173: "Astegaba-i" *compilator libri*.

18. I. M. Hanssens, *Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus*, Romae 1930, T. II, p. 471.

Its evolution, with its own characteristics can be seen from the various manuscripts and the printed texts of the different periods. The changes and developments to which this part was subject, are arranged into three stages by the Ethiopian doctors.

The first stage of development includes the parts added to the primitive text of the Divine Liturgy and is documented in the manuscripts dating back to the beginning of the 16th century and also in the Missal printed in Rome in 1549 by the Ethiopian monk Abba Tesfa-Sion.

The second stage, documented in manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries, includes the additions and the changes the established order was subject to in the manuscripts of the 16th century. This meant that the rubrics, the brief and expressive prayers, their order of succession, set down in the first documents, were subject to the developments and changes in the texts of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The third stage covers other further developments with respect to the second stage and is verified in the modern texts. Under the guidance of the texts of the three periods, it appears that the parts which underwent the greatest developments and changes, are the preparatory part, the offertory part and the ceremony of incensation. These parts which, in the first documents, had a number of proportioned and limited prayers and formulas with a systematic arrangement of ceremonies, became, in the course of time, lengthened in prayers and formularies and more refined and pompous in ceremonies.

Because of the nature itself of the liturgical act which is an expression of religious vitality corresponding to the Psychology of the people and of the surroundings where it is carried out, it may be said that the *Ordo Communis* as a whole did not remain rigid in the original formulas. With the passing of time, it was therefore subject to innovations: introduction of new prayers or of new ceremonies or the suppression of those already existing or rather their simple transposition.

Speaking now of the Eucharistic part or the Anaphora, we must state, first of all, that it is changeable according to the feast days of the liturgical year. Because of this variability, the Ethiopian rite has a rather large number of anaphoras. It is further affirmed that, among the Oriental Churches, the Ethiopian Church is second in number for the anaphoras, being preceded only by the Syro-Antiochian Church. Up to now, 20 anaphoras are known, which are listed as follows:

1. Anaphora of the Apostles,
2. Anaphora of Our Lord,
3. Anaphora of St. John the Evangelist.

4. Anaphora of the 318 Orthodox Fathers (of the Council of Nicaea),
5. Anaphora (I) of Our Lady (which is said to be composed by Kyriakos of Behnsa),
6. Anaphora of St. Athanasius,
7. Anaphora of St. Basil,
8. Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa,
9. Anaphora of St. Epiphanius,
10. Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom,
11. Anaphora (I) of St. Cyril,
12. Anaphora of St. James of Sarug,
13. Anaphora of St. Gregory,
14. Anaphora of (St.) Dioscorus,
15. Anaphora (II) of Our Lady, by Gyiorgis of Gasseccia,
16. Anaphora of St. Mark,
17. Anaphora of St. James, Brother of the Lord,
18. Anaphora (III) of Our Lady, by Gregory,
19. Anaphora (IV) of Our Lady, by Gregory,
20. Anaphora (II) of St. Cyril.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church recognizes and accepts only the anaphoras from no. 1 to no. 14. It does not recognize at all the other anaphoras, and by the Ethiopian doctors they are considered as apocryphals. The last edition of *the Maṣḥafa Queddāsē* printed under the auspices of the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches which is used by the Catholics of Ethiopia, includes, besides the number accepted by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, also numbers 15, 16 and 17. We know of the anaphoras nos. 18–20 only through scholars.

The general premise about the historical origin, the chronology and the authors of almost all the Ethiopian anaphoras is that up to now nothing definite has been said. However, it should be asked: Which of the above-listed anaphoras are the oldest in the Ethiopian Church?

It is a historical fact that St. Frumentius was sent from Alexandria as the first Bishop of Ethiopia. This fact could induce one to believe that he brought the liturgy under the name of St. Mark with the (Greek) anaphora of the same name at that time in use by the Church of Alexandria. It can and must be admitted that the ritual system, that is, the organizing structure of the rite brought and used by St. Frumentius had been that which carried the name of the liturgy of St. Mark. But as far as the particulars about the anaphora are concerned, it is only a mere presumption. As for the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (with the respective anaphora)

it is well-known that it has been translated or readapted by St. Cyril of Alexandria (444 A. D.), almost a century after St. Frumentius. At present the Greek anaphora of St. Mark exists in the Coptic Church of Alexandria under the name of St. Cyril. There is also the Ethiopic anaphora of St. Mark, no. 16, in the above list. About this anaphora, some scholars stated that in certain times it was used in Ethiopia¹⁹ and even that until the 14th/15th century, it must have been the ordinary anaphora in the Ethiopian Church²⁰. On the other hand, however, besides the fact that it is not an exact translation of the Anaphora of St. Mark/St. Cyril, it is not at all recognized by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Ethiopian doctors know of its existence, but they maintain that it was composed or translated *doctorum gratia* and they definitely consider it apocryphal. All this, and in particular the unfavourable attitude of the Ethiopians toward this anaphora, is bewildering enough to declare it as the oldest in use by the Ethiopian Church, at least in its actual form.

The oldest anaphora used in Ethiopia seems to be that of the Apostles (no. 1). It is, in fact, an almost faithful reproduction of one of the oldest eucharistic prayers which are known, namely, the eucharistic prayer of the *Traditio Apostolica* of Hippolytus of Rome (250 A. D.). It is certain that at the time in which St. Frumentius was appointed and sent as the Bishop of Axum (about 340 A. D.) the *Traditio Apostolica* was known in Egypt (Egyptian Church Order)²¹ and that the eucharistic prayer therein was used by the Egyptian Church. Perhaps it can be presumed that St. Frumentius had had an endowment from Alexandria, a copy of the *Traditio Apostolica* (alias Egyptian Church Order)²² or an excerpt of the eucharistic prayer therein, which later on will be developed and enriched with other elements. On the other hand, there was the above-mentioned fact of the Roman businessmen to whom St. Frumentius gave help to have their assemblies for praying according to the Roman rite. Isn't it possible to presume that the liturgical text of this rite might be that of the *Traditio Apostolica*? It could also be presumed that at least the work of translation of this liturgy might have taken place at the time of St. Frumentius or of his immediate successors for the pastoral reasons exposed before.

The fact that the anaphora of the Apostles is based on the Sinodos and that the latter is believed to have been translated from the Egyptian Church Order into the Ethiopic language in the 14th/15th

19. About the Ethiopian Anaphora of St. Mark, see A. T. M. Semharay in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 42 (1928) p. 440 ff, 507 ff.

20. I. M. Hanssen, *Institutiones*.....op. cit. p. 624.

21. cf. A. Raes, *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem*, Romae 1942, p. 20.

22. E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies*... op. cit. 42.

century has induced some authors to state that the said anaphora was introduced into Ethiopia during the above-mentioned century²³. But it would be interesting to investigate if the 14th/15th century translation of the Sinodos consisted only in the work of translation or also in the work of compilation, i.e., in collecting or putting together in one only *corpus* canons translated at that time and canons already translated, such as parts in which the eucharistic prayer in question is included²⁴.

As for the Ethiopian tradition, on the other hand, there does not seem to be any disagreement that the *Anaphora of the Apostles* holds priority over all the other anaphoras. The Ethiopians agree that the Anaphora of the Apostles preceded the other anaphoras and, therefore, it is considered as *Medebawi*, i.e. as the model or basis for the others.

Another anaphora that came to be considered in Ethiopia as being quite ancient, perhaps as ancient as that of the Apostles, is the Anaphora of Our Lord (no. 2). It derives from the well-known work entitled *The Testament of Our Lord*.

To conclude, the fact that these two anaphoras came from the two books (the Sinodos and the Testament of Our Lord) which, according to E. Bishop, "embody the ancient genuine and native tradition of the Ethiopic (Abyssinian) Church"²⁵, confirms once again their priority.

With regard to the other anaphoras, we must say, first of all, that when we speak of the names of the authors, we have to do only with pseudonyms. These pseudonyms are names of Apostles and of Church Fathers which were added to the text to give it more credit²⁶.

We can speak with certainty about the author and the origin of only one anaphora, namely of the Anaphora (II) of Our Lady (no. 15). The author is, in fact, the famous Ethiopian monk Abba Gyiorgis of Gasseccia who flourished during the reign of Amda-Sion (1314-1344)²⁷. It is, therefore, an authentic Ethiopian production. Besides the author and the origin, also the chronology of this

23. cf. I. M. Hanssen, *Institutiones*.... op. cit. p. 641. – See, on the other hand, E. Cerulli, *La letteratura Etiopica*, op. cit. p. 54, who supposes that the Sinodos could be translated at the end of the XIII century or at the beginning of the XIV century.

24. After all it seems usual that such kind of collections needs to pass through several stages before becoming a definite single compendium. As for the Sinodos, cf. L. Seltanat Habtemariam Workeneh, *Tentawi Ye-Itiopia* ... op. cit. p. 225-226.

25. In the journal of Theological Studies, 12 (1911) p. 399.

26. E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies*... op. cit. 41.

27. cf. A. T. M. Semharay, *Messe de Notre-Dame dite "Agreeable Parfum de Saintete"* Rome 1937. See also *Ethiopia* in Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani - Lingua, Letteratura, Arte.

anaphora is certain. The text of the anaphora is in rhyme which supports the assertion and the fact that it was originally composed in Ethiopian. It is to be noted, however, that the poetic form is verifiable also in parts of many other anaphoras, especially in those listed from nos. 2 to 14 and nos. 18 and 20. This fact may lead to the supposition that many anaphoras, if they are not originally composed in Ethiopia, are perhaps free translations.

According to the German scholar E. Hammerschmidt²⁸, the following list includes those anaphoras which "almost certainly originated in Ethiopia and those which are composed from foreign elements in such a way that they must be regarded as typically Ethiopian in character":

Anaphora of St. John the Evangelist (no. 3),
 Anaphora of the 318 Orthodox Fathers (no. 4),
 Anaphora (I) of Our Lady by Kyriakos of Behnsa (no. 5),
 Anaphora of St. Athanasius (no. 6),
 Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa (no. 8),
 Anaphora of St. Epiphanius (no. 9),
 Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom (no. 10),
 Anaphoras bearing the name of St. Cyril (nos. 11 and 20),
 Anaphora of St. Gregory (no. 13),
 Anaphora of (St.) Dioscorus (no. 14),
 Anaphora (III) of Our Lady by Gregory (no. 18).

In this list, the Anaphora (II) of Our Lady by Gyiorgis of Gasseccia is also included, but we refer to what has been said about it above.

Examining the inner context of the Anaphora (I) of Our Lady (no. 5) and the Anaphora of St. Athanasius (no. 6), we find that they have some peculiarities which deserve being mentioned.

The Anaphora (I) of Our Lady has a certain connection with a Dersan, a Homily on Our Lady which the Ethiopian Church possesses, but, is certainly of foreign origin; it resembles the *Oratio I Laudatio in Sanctissimam Dei Genitricem Mariam* (Panegyric or Praise of the most holy Mother of God Mary) of Proclus²⁹. This may mean that such an anaphora has partially a foreign influence.

As for the Anaphora of St. Athanasius, its text refers to keeping Sunday holy. There are, on the other hand, the well known "Dersane Senbet", more or less long homilies on Sunday³⁰, considered by the Ethiopian Church as part of its ancient sacred literature. Between the Anaphora of St. Athanasius and the Dersane

28. E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies....* op. cit. p. 48.

29. E. Hammerschmidt, *ibid.* p. 76 fn. n. 4.

30. See C. F. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae ...* op. cit. p. 1094: Dersan (pl. Dersanat) *tractatus, dissertatio, libellus... homilia, oratio sacra...*

Senbet, there is a connection as both the anaphora and the Dersane Senbet exalt Sunday.³¹

There are anaphoras which resent a foreign influence such as the Anaphora of St. Mark (no. 16) and the Anaphoras of St. James, Brother of the Lord, (no. 12) and of St. James of Sarug (no. 17); the latter two show the Syriac influence. Moreover, as regards the Anaphora of James of Sarug, Ethiopian tradition affirms that it had a Syriac origin and was introduced into Ethiopia through an Ethiopian by the name of Weldesellasi³².

An anaphora which can be considered as a true translation, is the Anaphora of St. Basil (no. 7). This, in fact, corresponds more or less to the anaphora of the same name used in the Coptic Church of Alexandria.

As for the anaphora (IV) of Our Lady by Gregory (no. 19), we only can say that it exists but remains still unpublished. Anyway, the exact origin of the greatest part of the anaphoras is still far away from a solution of absolute certainty. What can be said with certainty is that they are found only in the Ethiopian Church in their present form, with the exception of the Anaphora of St. Basil.

Leaving aside the Anaphoras of the Apostles, of Our Lord and the Anaphora (II) of Our Lady, the question of chronology or of the date of composition or translation of the text of the other anaphoras remains even more uncertain. The oldest existing manuscripts go back only to the 16th century, but obviously the dates of the manuscripts should not be the only criteria for determining the true age of the texts contained in them. If we turn our attention to the general history of Ethiopian sacred literature, we find that there were two periods of fruitful literary productions:

31. The exaltation of Sunday is dealt with often in homilies attributed to some Fathers of the Church. In the Sinodos there is a Dersane Senbet and in 1959 (Eth. Cal.) two Dersane Senbet were printed in Addis Ababa: the first "to be read on Christian Sabbath (Sunday)" contains various christian teachings and there are some points, especially at the end, which exalt Sunday. The second, besides containing christian teachings, exalt Sunday in many points which show direct connections with the Anaphora of St. Athanasius, such as, for instance, the following: "Listen o dearest children of the church on the greatness and the honour of the Christian Sabbath (Sunday) : the Father hallowed it, the Son blessed it and the Holy Spirit honoured and exalted it." Similarly in the Anaphora of St. Athanasius one reads: "Oh this day is what the Father hallowed, the Son blessed and the Holy Spirit exalted" (See, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, English translation of the Ethiopian Missal, by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Addis Ababa 1954, p. 144). - For some opinions regarding other Ethiopian sources which possibly might have influenced the composition of the Anaphora of St. Athanasius, cf. E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies...* op. cit. p. 82.

32. cf. A. T. M. Semharay, *La Messe Ethiopienne*, Rome 1937, p. 99

The first period goes from the fifth to the seventh century, and in this period the Sacred Scriptures and many works of monastic life were translated, especially from the Greek.

After a long period of silence which lasted up to the middle of the 13th century, there was a new reawakening. The end of the 13th and the whole 14th century, were indeed marked by a notable literary production consisting of original works, e.g. the Anaphora (II) of Our Lady, and of translations from Arabic. The drive for translation from Arabic was given by the Egyptian Metropolitan Salama with the intention to renew and foster the contacts between the Ethiopian Church and the Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria. The translation of the Anaphora of St. Basil and the composition or (free) translation of many other anaphoras may have coincided with this second period.

Regarding the inner structure of the anaphoras, it must be said that in general all of them were more or less elaborated according to the classical form of the Anaphora of the Apostles.

There are, however, some variations which must be mentioned here. As is customary in all 'prefaces', a textual characteristic of the Anaphora of the Apostles is the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer with recapturing the concept of the *thanksgiving* proclaimed by the celebrant in the penultimate phrase of the dialogue which precedes the prayer as follows:

Celebrant: Give thanks to our God.

People: It is right and just.

Celebrant: We give Thee thanks, o Lord.....

Besides the Anaphora of Our Lord, the Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the Anaphora of St. Gregory, the Anaphora (III) of Our Lady by Gregory, the Anaphora (IV) of Our Lady by Gregory, the Anaphora (II) of St. Cyril and in an approximate way, the Anaphoras of St. Mark and of St. James, Brother of the Lord, have followed this form. Many of these anaphoras adhere also to the sober, clear and proportioned form of the Anaphora of the Apostles.³³

The other anaphoras begin the Eucharistic prayer without any conceptual connection with the dialogue and the length of some is disproportionate with respect to the anaphora model of the Apostles. The main parts, as the introducing Eucharistic prayer, the Prayer of Intercession, the Sanctus, the Institution Narrative, the Epiclesis, the Lord's Prayer, etc., have the same order of succession. There are,

33. As for the Theological and Christological characteristic in the introductory Eucharistic Prayer of the Ethiopic Anaphoras, cf. Hammerschmidt-Studies...op. cit. p. 72 ff.

however, some remarks to be made about the Prayer of Intercession and the Epiclesis in reference to some few anaphoras. With regard to the Prayer of Intercession, while it is normally placed within the introducing Eucharistic Prayer and the Sanctus, exceptions are found in the Anaphoras of St. James, the Brother of the Lord, and of St. Basil, as in these two anaphoras the said Prayer comes after the Epiclesis like in the Anaphoras of the Syriac-Antiochian type. In the Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the Prayer of Intercession comes after the Institution Narrative, while the Epiclesis in this anaphora seems to have an unusual placing as it will be seen below.

As for the Epiclesis, it is normally placed after the consecration and it has the well-known characteristic of being a prayer for the descent (or the sending) of the Holy Spirit on the bread and cup, and to have always the same rubric which says: “(Celebrant): in low voice and with his head bowed down”.³⁴ Among the anaphoras from no. 1 to no. 17, as listed above, there are three anaphoras in which the Epiclesis with the said rubric and with the express allusion to the Holy Spirit is certainly missing. These are the anaphoras of Our Lady (no. 5), of St. Athanasius (no. 6), of St. Gregory (no. 13). In the Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa, there is a prayer before the consecration with the same rubric of the Epiclesis, which says: “O my Master.....send the Holy Spirit and power on this bread and on this cup which sanctify our souls, bodies and spirits.....”³⁵ This is certainly an Epiclesis, but its placing is unusual.

In the Anaphora of James of Sarug, there is an Epiclesis, but the prayer is for the descent of the Lamb instead of the descent of the Holy Spirit. As for the passage which follows and which reads: “Let ‘Melos’ the fearful sword of fire be sent and appear over this bread and cup to fulfill this offering”³⁶ the term “Melos” is rendered

34. See the Ethiopian Missal (*Meshaf Qeddase*) printed under the auspice of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Rome 1938 (*Eth. Cal*). It must be noted here that the concept of the Epiclesis in the Ethiopian context is expressed by the term “*Yə-resəō*”, “May he (the Holy Spirit) make *them* - literally *it*” - (i. e., the bread and the cup, the body and blood of...). With regard to the said term and the 14 Anaphoras recognized by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church some Missals in use of the same Church have a note which says that *seven* are the Anaphoras which have the *Yə-resəō* and these are those of the Apostles, of Our Lord, of St. John the Evangelist, of St. Basil, of St. Epiphanius, of St. John Chrysostom and of Dioscorus. The other *seven* do not have such a term, but they use other formulas.

35. See *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, English translation, cit. p. 175. In the Ethiopian Missal of which in fn. n. 33 above, the prayer reads: “O my Lord, Master... you are the bread of life, who came down from heaven to this holy church, so that you may send upon us the grace of the Holy Spirit who sanctifies our souls, our bodies and spirits”. Since this prayer is before the consecration, no doubt that it is given purposely a version different than that of a true Epiclesis.

36. See *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, English translation, cit. p. 175.

as "the Holy Spirit" in the Amharic version of the Ethiopian Missal.³⁷

Between the Prayer of Intercession and the Sanctus, there are some exhortations addressed by the deacon to the faithful which alternate with prayers of the celebrant. The usual order of succession of these exhortations is as follows:

1. "You who sit, arise!"
2. "Look to the East!"
3. "Let us attend (look)!"
4. "Answer!" (followed by the Sanctus).

Many anaphoras, however, have undergone transpositions, and in one instance (Anaphora of St. Gregory of Nyssa) the penultimate exhortation is redundant as it says "Let us look at the beauty of our God's glory".

III

ORDER AND STRUCTURE OF THE DIVINE LITURGY

It seems to be useful to give now a brief examination of the organization and of the inner structure of the Ethiopian Divine Liturgy, beginning with a description of the place where the cult is celebrated.

The *church* is generally round, divided into three concentric circles in imitation of the ancient temple of Jerusalem. The first circle is the chorus where the singers and the people have their place. The second is the *Sancta* which is reserved to those who will be receiving Holy Communion, and the third is the *Holy of the Holies* where the *Tābot* or the altar is placed. Here, only the officiating ministers may enter. There are very few recently built churches in the big cities. All the Catholic churches which do not adhere to the above given description are older and follow the Western style.

In the Ethiopian rite, the *Divine Liturgy is always sung*. Consequently, as a general rule, low Masses are unheard of. Only among the Catholics, in imitation of the Latin practice, this last form has been introduced.

Normally the officiating ministers must be five in number, i. e. the celebrating priest, the priest-assistant, the deacon, the sub-deacon and the lector. But this number is in derogation of the canons which prescribe that the minimum number should be seven: they still add the fan-holder and the candle-bearer. The derogation is done because in small centres, it is hardly possible to find the number of

37. See The Ethiopian Missal (*Meshafe Qeddase* (1918) cit. p. 439, col. 2. The term "Melos" is also found in the Anaphora of St. Cyril (n. 11). In C. F. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon...* cit p. 146, *Melos*, peregrinum incertae notionis. cf. also E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies...* op. cit. p. 161 ff.

ministers requested by the canons. The canonical rule of having seven ministers is, however, strictly observed in the monasteries. Sometimes even 13 ministers celebrate, but this is rare and, on the other hand, the six additional ministers have no particular duties, giving only the celebration some more solemnity.

Regarding the ordinary practice of five ministers, this is their placement during the liturgical service: the celebrant is in the centre facing the East; to his right stands the priest-assistant, to his left are the subdeacon and the lector. In face of the celebrant is the deacon holding the astylar cross (consequently he is facing the west).

The *concelebration* understood in the sense to consecrate together the same matter (*consacrare simul eandem materiam*) by many celebrants is not known in the Ethiopian rite, at least in its actual form. There exists a form of concelebration which may be called inappropriate. This occurs when there are three celebrants united in prayers and in the singing while having three different altars with their own bread and wine and their own ministers. A like practice is known in the Syro-Antiochian rite.

According to the regulations of the *Fetha Nagast*, the vestments must be white in memory of the Transfiguration of Our Lord. Red is also permitted in remembrance of the precious Blood of Christ. In practice, however, any colour is allowed.³⁸

Holy Communion is distributed, as in all the Oriental rites, under both species.

Regarding the structure of the Divine Liturgy, it has been said above that it is composed of two parts: the *Ordo Communis* and the *Anaphora*. The *Ordo Communis* includes the rite of preparation of the Offertory, of the Absolution of the Son (i.e. the prayer is addressed to Christ), of the incensing, of the various readings, the Gospel, the Creed and the kiss of peace.

The rite of preparation consists of the personal preparation of the celebrant as well as the preparation of the sacred vessels of the cult and of the altar. On entering the temple, the celebrant recites a penitential prayer and the Psalms 24, 60, 101, 102, 121 and 130: he concludes with other prayers imploring a blessing on the temple and on the sacred vessels. Intensifying the preparation, the celebrant recites again prayers which are said to be composed by St. Gregory and, having approached the veiled entrance to the *Sancta Sanctorum*, he recites a third prayer attributed to St. John. Thereafter, he begins with the preparation of the altar and of the sacred vessels with appropriate prayers. Having finished these preparations, the celebrant addresses another prayer to God the Father asking his help for himself and for the people, finally he adds the last preparatory prayer taken from different psalms.

38. cf. A. Paulos Tzadua, *The Fetha Nagast*, op. cit. p. 82.

Now he puts on the sacred vestments and, having washed his hands, he begins the introit while the congregation sings: "Halleluia! Hail our Mother Holy Church....." Now the order of succession is this: the blessing of the bread, the Offertory, the blessing of the chalice, the doxology "One is the Holy Father, one is the Holy Son, and one is the Holy Spirit" and Psalm 116. The celebrant continues the prayer of thanksgiving which is attributed to St. Basil, after which the assistant says the prayer for those who have brought the gifts for the sacrifice. When the bread and the chalice are covered, the Prayer of absolution to the Son is said by the assistant, and the deacon continues with the litanical intercessions to which the people answer: "Lord, have mercy on us, *kirie eleison*". Now the incensing ceremony begins. The celebrant, while reciting prayers for the Church, for the hierarchy, and for the congregation of the faithful, incenses the altar, the hierarchy, the priests and the whole church. The following order of readings is established: from the epistles of St. Paul, from the Catholic epistles and from the Acts of the Apostles. Prayers of the celebrant and songs of the faithful follow each reading. After the third reading, some praises of the Holy Virgin are read by the celebrant. Then, as the subdeacon is carrying the Gospel, preceded by many candles, all of the ministers leave the Holy of the Holies. The celebrant blesses the priests present while those officiating and the people alternately sing the solemn hymn of incense. Thereafter follow the Trisagion, the prayer before the Gospel and some litanies which are recited by the assistant. The solemn reading of the Gospel is always reserved to the celebrant. With the reading of the Gospel, the Liturgy of the Catechumens is finished. The catechumens are summoned to leave by the deacon saying: "Leave, o catechumens!".

The Liturgy of the Faithful begins with the prayers for peace, for the hierarchy and for the congregation of the faithful, after which the deacon exhorts the people to sing the Creed. Then the eucharistic bread and wine are uncovered by the celebrant and he will wash his hands. After the handwashing, the prayer of the kiss of peace, attributed to St. Basil is recited. With the kiss of peace, the unchangeable part of the Liturgy, the *Ordo Communis*, comes to its end.

Now it is to be seen how the eucharistic part of the anaphora is developed. The ordinary formula is the Anaphora of the Apostles. Prior to the dialogue of introduction, the celebrant sings the first part of the Eucharistic Prayer, then the deacon sings the Prayer of Intercession, thereafter, the assistant recites some prayers of benediction. The celebrant continues by taking over the second part of the Eucharistic Prayer which is interrupted now and then by the deacon who, with special phrases, urges the faithful to pay attention because of the seriousness of the moment.

As a corollary to the prayer, the celebrant sings the *Sanctus* which is repeated by the faithful at the invitation of the deacon: "Answer!" Then begins the Institution Narrative. While the consecration is going on, the faithful profess their faith in the Eucharist by repeating: "We believe, we believe, we believe that this is truly your Body; we believe.....that this is truly your Blood." Now the people continue to sing a short song recalling the death, the resurrection and the second coming of Our Lord. The celebrant recites the prayer of the anamnesis and of the epiclesis invoking the Holy Spirit to sanctify the eucharistic gifts and all those who will have a share in them. After the epiclesis, the prayer of the Breaking of the Bread is recited or sung by the celebrant alternately with the faithful. At the invitation of the deacon "Pray!", the faithful sing the Lord's Prayer. The celebrant takes up again the embolism; prayers and hymns sung by the celebrant and the faithful follow. Then the deacon invites those present to prostrate themselves in fear, and the celebrant recites the "Prayer of Penitence" (this prayer is addressed to God the Father) and two commemorative prayers for the hierarchy and for the faithful, the living and the dead. Thereafter, there is a solemn elevation of the eucharistic consecrated gifts; the deacon, in a loud voice, calls the faithful to attention saying "Let us be attentive," and the celebrant raising the host says: "The Holy to the Holies".

To this, the faithful respond with a trinitarian profession. Then, alternating between the celebrant and the faithful, the invocation "O Lord, have mercy on us, o Christ" is repeated fortyone times. Now the celebrant turns to the faithful and recites a penitential prayer, then turning to the altar, he makes a profession of faith in the Holy Eucharist and in the Mystery of the Incarnation. After a few preparatory prayers recited by the celebrant and the faithful, Holy Communion takes place, during which the priests who are present and the singers sing Psalm 150 and other eucharistic antiphons, until the distribution is finished. The principal act after Holy Communion is the Thanksgiving with the prayer said by the celebrant called "the Pilot of Souls." Purification of the sacred vessels, and the prayer of benediction and the farewell greeting to the faithful said by the deacon ("Go in peace") follow.

This is a short description of the development of the Divine Liturgy which, when normally celebrated, i. e. sung, lasts about two hours.

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Appendix I

Sacramental and Sacramentary Liturgy

The *sacramental liturgy* is fundamentally guided by the same canonical laws mentioned in the treatise on the Eucharistic Liturgy. The rite of the sacraments is always related to the rite of the Divine Liturgy. The liturgy of all the sacraments has its centre in the part of the *Ordo Communis*, and for some sacraments also the Eucharistic part is indispensable.

Baptism and *Confirmation* are administered together. They are conferred on adults after a catechumenate instruction, on babies on the 40th day if he is a boy and on the 80th day if the baby is a girl (These rules are still practised by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church). Having the *Ordo Communis* as their base, with their own parts inserted, the two sacraments are completed by *Holy Communion* administered to adults in the usual way, while the babies sip some drops of the Precious Blood from the chalice.

Matrimony is celebrated during the Divine Liturgy. To complete the mutual agreement, the spouses are given Holy Communion. Matrimony is considered indissoluble only if it is celebrated with this rite.

Regarding the sacrament of *Penance* although it is considered necessary, as a "spiritual medicine", by the Fetha Nagašt, this work neither prescribes the formalities nor the procedures. According to the general opinion of the Ethiopians, the form would be the *Oration of the Absolution to the Son* of the *Ordo Communis* and precisely the section that says: ".....May your servants who administer today, the priests, the deacon, the clergy and the people and my poverty, I your poor servant, be absolved, freed, cleansed by the lips of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit....." It is implied that those who actively participate in the Divine Liturgy must receive Holy Communion. After the repentance for the sins and the general absolution, they get ready to receive Holy Communion. Also in those rare cases where individual absolution is given, the form of the absolution is always that of the *Absolution to the Son*.

Although the ritual of the *Anointment of the Sick* is rich in itself, it nevertheless takes some formulas from the *Ordo Communis*, and to this it also resembles with regard to some structural parts.

The *Holy Orders* and the rites of conferring them are obviously related to the rite of the Divine Liturgy.

Thanks to the care of the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches, the rituals for baptism and confirmation, for marriage, the anointment of the sick, penance and for conferring holy orders have been prepared for the use of the Ethiopian Catholics. The

ritual for the Holy Orders which includes the rite of the minor and major orders up to the consecration of bishops was taken from the collection "Ritus Orientalium" of H. Denzinger and translated into the Ge'ez (Ethiopian) language.

Being based on the rules of very ancient canons, the sacramental liturgy still maintains the characteristics which date back to the first centuries of Christianity. Ancient customs as the triple immersion, the joint administration of Baptism and Confirmation, Holy Communion immediately after Baptism also to babies and giving milk and honey to those baptized are still kept in the Ethiopian sacramental liturgy. Ancient customs reflect also the crowning of the baptized and of the spouses, the bestowing of a white gown as a sign of purity and of red vestments in memory of the health acquired through the blood of Christ, to the baptized person; all these are acts prescribed by the respective rituals. The conferring of the Holy Orders also reflects the simplicity of the ancient rites; there are very few ceremonies the rite concentrating itself only on the essential formulas.

The *Ordo Communis* serves also as the basis for the *sacramentary Liturgy*. The funeral rites, the religious clothing rites, the rites of monastic profession, the rites investiture of abbots, of the anointing of kings, of the blessing of the altars and many other rites have as their principal element the *Ordo Communis*.

The Ethiopian rite of the Divine Office-*Maṣḥafa sa'ātāt* (Book of the Hours) comes from the Coptic-Arabic *Horologion*. Prescribed for the day and night hours, it includes the *Weudāsē Māryām* or *Praise of Mary* and prayers of intercession. While this is used mainly in the monasteries, there is still another more commonly used *Maṣḥafa sa'ātāt* the origin of which is in Ethiopia, its author being the famous Abba Gyiorgis of Gasseccia, compositor also of the Anaphora II of Our Lady.

The Ethiopian rite is very rich in *Antiphonaries* and sacred hymns. The main antiphonary is the *Deggwā* which contains antiphons for all the liturgical feasts of the year. The author of the *Deggwā* is Abba Yared who lived in the sixth century; he was a composer of sacred songs and hymns and is venerated as a saint in Ethiopia. Abba Yared is also famous for his writing of Lenten and penitential antiphonaries (*Soma deggwā* the eucharistic antiphonaries *Zemmārē*), the antiphonaries or responses for the funeral rites (*Mawāse'et* and other antiphons for Sunday (*Me'erāfāt*)). The Divine Liturgy, the Lenten and penitential antiphons are sung without being accompanied by instruments, however, the singing of the other antiphons is generally accompanied by the drums and the sistrams.

There are a lot of sacred hymns in honour of Our Lord, of the Holy Virgin, of the Angels and the Saints. Among the hymns in honour of the Holy Virgin, the most famous are the *Nehelete Sāgē* or

Hymns of the Flowers". The period of the greatest development of Ethiopian hymnography was that of Zar'a Yāqob (15th century.) A talented writer and poet himself, it is believed that he composed many works of prose and poetry; among his poetic works, one of the most famous is the *Egziabeher Negse* (Dominus regnavit).

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Appendix II

*Excerpts from the ORDO COMMUNIS and the ANAPHORA of the APOSTLES**

Introit

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

How wondrous is this day and how marvellous this hour in which the Holy Spirit will come down from the high heaven and overshadow this offering and sanctify it. In silence and fear stand up and pray that the peace of God be with me and with all of you. Amen.

*The texts follow the English version of A. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, 1915, 295-373, and the edition of C. Summer. *The Ethiopic Liturgy—Liturgy of the Apostles*, 1958, which, depends on Mercer.

Offertory

Celebrant: Lord, our God, who did accept the offering of Abel in the wild, and of Noe within the ark, and of Abraham on the mountain top and of Eilas on the top of Carmel, and of David in the threshing-floor of the Jebusite and the widow's mite in the Temple, accept likewise the oblation and offering of your servant N. which he has brought unto your holy name, and let it be for the remission of his sins, and for a generous payment of his debt, in this world and in that which is to come, both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

Doxology

Celebrant: One is God the Holy Father, one is God the Holy Son, one is God the Holy Spirit.

People: Truly the Father is holy, truly the Son is holy, truly the Holy Spirit is holy.

Celebrant: O praise the Lord, all you nations.

People: Praise him, all you peoples.

Celebrant: For his merciful kindness is established upon us.

People: And the righteousness of the Lord endures for ever (Ps. 116).

The celebrant and the people alternatively say: Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Prayer for Oblation

Assistant Priest: And again let us beseech the Almighty God, the Father of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on behalf of those who bring offerings in the one holy catholic Church, oblations, firstfruits, tithes, eucharistic offerings, memorials, whether much or little, in secret or openly, and on behalf of those who wish to give and have not wherewith to give, that he accept their ready mind, that they may have their reward in the Kingdom of Heaven from the one who bestows every blessing, Our Lord, our God.

Subdeacon: Pray for those who bring offerings.

People: Accept the offering of the brethren, accept the offering of the sisters, and accept our offering and our oblation.

Prayer to the Holy Virgin

Celebrant: Pray for us.

People: Virgin Mary, Mother of God.

Celebrant: You are.

People: the golden censer who bore the blessed coal of fire which was taken from the Holy Place and which remits all sins and

destroys all offences; that fire is the Word of God who became man of you and offers himself to the Father as incense and pleasing offering. We worship you, o Christ, with your heavenly Father and with the Holy Spirit, the Life-giver, because you came to save us.

Praises of the Blessed Virgin

Celebrant: Rejoice, you of whom we ask salvation. O holy full of glory, ever-virgin, Mother of God, Mother of Christ, offer up our prayer on high to your beloved Son, Jesus, that he forgive our sins.

Rejoice, you who bore for us the very light of righteousness, Christ our God. O holy Virgin, plead for us unto God that he show mercy unto our souls and forgive us our sins.

Rejoice, o Virgin Mary, holy Mother of God, verily an advocate for the race of mankind. Plead for us to Christ, your Son; that he make us worthy of the remission of our sins.

Rejoice, o purest Virgin who are truly Queen.

Rejoice, o pride of our race who for us gave birth to the Emmanuel. We beseech you to remember us, you who implored mercy for us in the presence of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may forgive our sins.

At the Gospel

Deacon: Stand up for prayer.

People: Lord, have mercy.

Celebrant: Peace be with you all.

People: And with your spirit.

Celebrant: O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, you have said to your holy disciples and to your blessed Apostles: "There have been many prophets and just men who have longed to see what you see and never saw it, to hear what you hear and never heard it; but blessed are your eyes for they have sight; blessed are your ears for they have hearing"; like them make us worthy, by the intercession of the Saints, of hearing and practising the word of your holy Gospel.

Deacon: Pray that you may hear well the holy Gospel.

People: Make us worthy of hearkening to the holy Gospel.

Kiss of Peace

Celebrant: O Lord, in your goodness fill our heart with your peace and purify all of us from all filthiness and from all impurity; from all revenge and envy, from all wrong doing and from all evil thought which cause death. Make us all worthy who salute one another with the holy kiss of peace.

Deacon: Pray for the perfect peace and love, salute one another with a holy kiss.

People: O Christ, our God, make us worthy of saluting one another with holy kiss.

Anaphora

Celebrant: The Lord be with you all.

People: And with your spirit.

Celebrant: Give thanks to our God.

People: It is meet and right.

Celebrant: Lift up your hearts.

People: We lift them up unto our God.

Celebrant: **We give you thanks, o Lord, by your beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom in the latter days you sent for us, your Son the saviour and redeemer, the angel of your counsel, this Word is he who is from you and through whom you made all things by your will.*

Celebrant: Grant peace to the souls of these and of all, and have pity on them, *you who sent your son from heaven into the bosom of the Virgin.*

Deacon: You who sit, arise!

Celebrant: *He became flesh, and he was borne in the womb, and his birth was made known by the Holy Spirit.*

Deacon: Look to the East.

Celebrant: To you before whom stand thousands and thousands of holy angels and archangels.

Deacon: Let us attend.

Celebrant: Your glorious creatures that have six wings, the Seraphim and the Cherubim, with two wings cover their faces, with two wings cover their feet, and with two others fly from end to end of the world. As they all then hallow and praise you receive our praise also which we utter unto you: Holy holy, hoyl, God of hosts; heaven and earth are full of the holiness of your glory.

Deacon: Answer!

People: Holy, holy, holy, God of hosts; heaven and earth are full of the holiness of your glory.

Celebrant: Truly heaven and earth are full of the holiness of your glory; by our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, your

* This part, as well as the following parts in italic correspond to the Eucharistic Prayer of the *Traditio Apostolica*.

holy Son. *He came and was born of a virgin to fulfil your will and make a people for you.**

People: Lord, remember us in your kingdom, remember us, O our Master, remember us, O Lord in your kingdom, as you remembered the good thief on the cross.

Celebrant: *He stretched out his hands to the passion, suffering to save the suffering who have trusted in him; ** he offered himself on his own will to the passion that he might destroy death, and burst the bond of Saian, and trample on hell, lead forth the Saints, confirm the law, and make know his resurrection.*

The Institution Narrative

Deacon: O priests, raise your hands.

Celebrant: In that same night in which he was to be betrayed, *He took bread* into his holy and blessed hands which were without spot. He looked to heaven to you, his Eather. *He gave thanks* and sanctifying it with his blessing, broke and gave to his disciples *saying: Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins.*

People: Amen, amen, amen. We believe and confess, we glorify you, our Lord and our God, we believe, that is verily your body.

Celebrant: *In like manner,* he took the *chalice*, gave thanks and sanctifying it with his blessing, gave to his disciples *saying: Take and drink, this is my blood which is shed for you for the salvation of many.*

People: Amen, amen, amen. We believe and confess, we glorify you, our Lord and our God, we believe that this is verily your blood.

Celebrant: *As often as you will do this, you will do it in remembrance of me.*

People: We proclaim your death, O Lord, and your holy resurrection; we believe in your ascension and your second coming. We glorify you and we confess you, we pray to you and implore you, O Lord and our God.

Anamnesis

Celebrant: *Now also, O Lord, remembering his death and his resurrection, we offer unto you this Bread and this Chalice giving thanks to you. You have given us the favour of standing before you and doing your priestly service.*

* In some texts: a *holy* people in correspondence to the *populum sanctum* of the *Traditio Apostolica*. The *holy* is lacking in the *Sinodos*.

** *Sinodos*: who have trusted in you; *Trad. Ap. qui in te crediderunt.*

Epiclesis

Celebrant: We beseech you, O Lord, and implore you, send your Holy, Spirit upon this Bread and upon this Chalice and make these + + + to the Body and to the Blood of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever and ever.

People: Amen, O Lord, have mercy on us; Lord, have pity on us Lord, forgive us.

Celebrant: *Uniting all those who are to receive his body and his blood, grant that it may be for their sanctification and that they may thereby receive the fulness of the Holy Spirit, confirmed in the true faith, they may give you glory and praise through your beloved Son Jesus Christ.*

Fraction of the Host

Deacon: From all our heart let us implore God that he give us union with his Holy Spirit.

People: As it was, is and will be from generation to generation, world without end.

Celebrant and people alternately: Grant us to be united in your Holy Spirit—and heal us by this offering—that we may live in you—for ever and world without end. – Blessed be the name of the Lord—and blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord—and-blessed be the name of his glory. –So be it –so be it–blessed be he. –Send the grace of the Holy Spirit upon us.

Prayer at the fraction of the Host

Celebrant: To you, o Lord, God Almighty, I submit myself. You who sit on the throne of the Cherubim; you who stand on high and are praised by all your creatures; you who remain in the light; you who give peace in the world, unveil to us the sacred mysteries which are contained in the Cross of your Son who is great and merciful like you. Do not withdraw your power from us, a power similar to the one you gave to your apostles – from us who serve you with a pure heart and offer to you a most pleasing sacrifice through the Lord, our Saviour Jesus Christ. O you who rule all things, Lord, our God.

Embolism

Celebrant: O Lord who throne above the Cherubim, who see all your people, your coveted possession, bless your servants, your handmaids and their children; and whosoever comes and partakes of your admirable table with a good conscience, let him receive the pardon of his sins and let him become one with the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of his soul and his body, for the Kingdom of Heaven, his inheritance....

Profession of Faith in the Eucharist

Celebrant: This is in truth the holy Body of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which is given for life and salvation and for forgiveness of sins to those who receive it in faith.

People: Amen.

Celebrant: This is in truth the precious blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which is given for life and for salvation and for forgiveness of sins to those who receive it in faith.

People: Amen.

Celebrant: For this is in truth the Body and Blood of the Emmanuel, our God.

Celebrant: I believe, I believe I believe, and confess until the last breath that this is the Body of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which all he took of our Lady, the holy and pure Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and made it one with his Godhead without admixture or intermingling, without separation or change; and he indeed stood in witness of a good testimony in the days of Pontius Pilate, and offered himself up for our sake on the cross by his sole will for the life of us all.

People: Amen.

Celebrant: I believe, I believe, I believe and confess that his Godhead is not separated from his humanity, no, not for an hour, nor for the twinkling of an eye, and that he delivered it for our sake, for life and for salvation and for forgiveness of sins, to those who receive it in faith.

People: Amen.

Celebrant: I believe, I believe, I believe and confess that this is the Body and the Blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ to whom is due praise and adoration together with his good heavenly Father and with the life-giving Holy Spirit, now and for ever, world without end.

People: Amen.

Prayer of the People During Holy Communion

Holy, holy holy, ineffable Trinity. Grant me the grace to receive this Body and this Blood in salvation and not in guilt; and that I may yield fruit pleasing to you so that I may appear before your glory, that I may live for you in fulfilling your holy will. With confidence I implore you, Father, I invoke your holy Kingship, O Lord, hallowed be your name above me. For you are mighty, blessed and full of glory, and praise is due to you for ever and ever.

Thanksgiving

Celebrant: O Lord, light of eternal life, you have given to us your servants, strength and protection, guarding us in peace throughout past days and nights. Bless us in these days and in the days to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ in whom, Father, with whom and with the Holy Spirit glory and power are due to you, now and for ever, world without end.

Deacon: Let us give thanks to the Lord from whom we have received his holy gifts, so that they be unto us a medicine for the salvation of the soul. We who have received them, let us pray and recommend ourselves, giving praise to the Lord, our God.

The Pilot of the Soul

Celebrant: O God who uphold all, Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give you thanks because you have granted to us to have a portion in this holy mystery. Let it not be unto us for guilt or for judgment, but for renewal of soul and body and spirit. Through your only begotten Son in whom and with whom and with the Holy Spirit glory and power are due to you, now and for ever, world without end.

People: Halleluia, ! halleluia! Our Father, you are in heavens, hallowed be your name. Forgive us all our debt and lead us not into temptation ! Lord, save us from the evil day and free us from all what is bad!

Appendix III

Eucharistic Prayer of the *Traditio Apostolica*.

- + Dominus vobiscum,
- Et cum spiritu tuo,
- + Sursum corda,
- Habemus ad Dominum,
- + Gratias agamus Domino,
- Dignum et iustum est.

Gratias tibi referimus, Des, per dilectum puerum tuum Iesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et redemporem et angelum voluntatis tuae; qui est verbum tuum inseparabilem, per quem omnia fecisti et bene placitum tibi fuit; misisti de coelo in matricem virginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est de Spiritu Sancto et virgine natus; qui voluntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi edquirensextendit manus; cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos, qui in te crediderunt; qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni,

ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et iustos illuminet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet, accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: accipite, manducate: hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringetur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est Sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur; quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis. Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes, quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus, ut mittas Spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des, omnibus, qui percipiunt, sanctis in repletionem Spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Syrian Church of Antioch

The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Syrian Church of Antioch

By Eustathios Joseph Mounayer

In our Near and Middle East, the Christian communities of all denominations, Catholic as well as Orthodox, superpose themselves in one and the same ecclesiastical circumscription or eparchy and are living together rather peacefully in the same territory in spite of the diversity of their theological beliefs, their millenary usages and customs, their multiple canonical disciplines, their liturgical rites and their personal interests. This is why in a country like Syria and in a city like Damascus Christian communities coexist since a very long time.

Each of these autonomous communities is proud of conserving preciously and jealously an eucharistic liturgy of its own. It is not necessary to mention that, among these different eucharistic liturgies, there can be found as well similarities as differences distinguishing them from one another and adding a particular note to their communitarian and ecclesial autonomy.

The similarities go back to their common origin which is the liturgy of Jerusalem-Antioch. On the other hand, the differences are due to the historico-liturgical evolutions and their more or less deep repercussions on each of them giving them thus a particular and distinctive mark.

As it would be impossible, to deal, in one article, with all the venerable eucharistic liturgies of the East to present a comparative study—which would ostensibly go beyond the frame of our contribution—, we are going to restrict ourself on that of the Syrian Church of Antioch which is equally used, with only a few little differences, by the two Syro-Malankara and Syro-Maronite Churches.

The celebration of the eucharistic liturgy of Antioch has its basis in the anaphora of St. James which, on its part, has given birth to dozens of liturgies or anaphoras of the Syrian Church the structure or tenor of which is taking patterns from the first. Consequently the anaphora of St. James may be considered as the mother or proto-type of all the other Syriac anaphoras which, in the course of the centuries, have grown exuberantly in the Syrian Church.

The Syrian authors, the composers of the anaphoras, have not only inspired themselves from the anaphora of St. James, but have even shaped their literary work according to it. Therefore we give our attention, in this study, especially to the anaphora of St. James. In a first part we shall treat of the age of the anaphora of St. James. its editions and its versions.

In a second part we shall broach the particularities of the Syro-Antiochian eucharistic liturgy. We shall give a special stress to the anaphora itself in order to dress the inventory of its prayer-units and to deal with the structure of this liturgy. We shall close with an exposure of the text of the anaphora of St. James in its English translation. Thus we have in view the total of the Syro-Antiochian eucharistic liturgy.

Before penetrating in to our subject, we have judged it opportune to relate, in a few words, what the Syrians understand under the term "anaphora".

What is an Anaphora?¹

The term anaphora is Greek and means the elevation or the offering presented to God. It is understood in this sense with regard to the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice. The text is, of-course, the work of a determinate author as St. James, the Twelve Apostles, St. John, Severos of Antioch, James of Edessa, Barhebraeus etc. If the anaphora is rather often attributed to a Saint, this does not mean necessarily that he is the authentic author; the reason is to give the literary work more prestige and weight more consideration and veneration.

The term anaphora has not the same meaning with all the Eastern Christians. Some understand under anaphora the whole eucharistic liturgy, that means from the arrival of the priest before the altar till leaving the sanctuary to return to the sacristy. Others understand under the same term only the eucharistic part of the liturgy beginning with "Let us lift up our hearts" (*Sursum corda*) and ending with the dismissal of the faithful.

The Syrians, Orthodox and Catholic, Maronites and Malankara rites are giving the substantive anaphora different, rather larger meanings. For them, anaphora is the whole eucharistic liturgy from its very beginning with the arrival of the celebrant at the altar until the ablutions inclusively which follow the dismissal of the faithful. Sometimes, however, they understand under anaphora only the purely sacrificial part of the liturgy, from the "Let our minds and our understanding and our hearts be above....." till the

1. L' Orient Syrien 4 (1959) 386, 5 (1960) 3f.

missal of the faithful. Sometimes its meaning is the offerings or even the large veil covering the offerings and the altar table.²

There is, however, a strict meaning which the Syrians reserve to the anaphora. Its exact definition is that part of the eucharistic liturgy which begins with the prayer of peace and ends with the prayer of the third imposition of the hands inclusively, after the communion. If we take the anaphora in this strict sense, it is composed of 25 prayers, structured according to an *ordo*, a rite or a liturgical classification called Antiochian in order to diversify it from the Byzantine, Latin, Alexandrian etc.

In this literary work which is the anaphora, the *ordo communis* or the common prayers of the eucharistic liturgy are not included. The author of the anaphora has not composed an *ordo communis* belonging to his anaphora, because this *ordo communis* is invariably the same in all the liturgies and with all the anaphorae, as we shall see later.

The Syrian Church, as already mentioned above, possesses a large number of anaphorae, all adapted to that of the Lord's Brother. Mar Ignatios Ephrem Rahmānī dressed a rather long list with the indication of the presumed author and the beginning of the first prayer of the anaphora, the prayer of peace. This list is the result of his research of the manuscripts of London, Paris, Vatican tSafet, Aleppo and Jerusalem which he consulted and examined³.

PART ONE

After this preliminary notes which appeared to me useful or even necessary in order to give the anaphora the right place in the understanding of the Syrians, we are going to deal, in this first part, the generalities touching the anaphora of St. James, the Lord's Brother and First Bishop of Jerusalem.

1. Age

The Syrians have always nourished sentiments of deep deference and sincere veneration towards the anaphora of St. James of which the apostolic origin is undeniable and irrefutable for them. It would be the work of St. James at least in its eucharistic formulae. The following witness of Dionysios Bar Salibi is rather eloquent:

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2. Moses Bar Kiphō asks in the following way: Which is the interpretation of the word 'anaphura? Why is it extended on the mysteries? Why is it audacious? Why is it lifted and lowered three times? – Cfr. R. H. Connolly and H. W. Codrington, Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy, London 1913, page 36 of the Syriac text.
 3. I. E. Rahmani, Les liturgies orientales et occidentales, Beirut 1929, 295-313.

"On Wednesday, James, Brother of the Lord, celebrated the liturgy (Qurōbō) which has his name the beginning of which being 'God and Lord of all'. And being asked wherefrom he had taken it, he replied: "God is living, and I neither added nor left out anything of what I heard from the Lord. This is why this is the primitive and first liturgy"⁴. Other witnesses are not less eloquent nor less extolled. We read very often, in the 'Missals' and the manuscripts, very significant headlines like the following: "Anaphora of St. James the Apostle, Brother of the Lord, which he had recited next to the head of Christ in the upper-room of the mysteries". Similar headlines lead us to believe that the Syrians, though wrongly, do not doubt the authenticity of this anaphora: a work of St. James himself. They are not alone in attributing an apostolic origin to this anaphora. Also the Greek writers have always considered this anaphora to descend directly from the Cenacle.

The sixth and seventh Ecumenical Councils do not hesitate to attribute its authorship to the Lord's Brother. So there is almost unanimity among the Greek and Syrian writers to ascribe to St. James the literary paternity of the anaphora which is named after him.

If modern liturgists, however, agree with regard to the origin of this anaphora from Jerusalem, they dissociate when the date of its redaction is concerned. Some place it in the middle of the third or the fourth century, others between the years 520 and 630.

Renaudot contests the redaction of this anaphora to St. James fixing it, however, in the middle of the fourth century. For Baumstark, the anaphora of St. James is the liturgy of Jerusalem. Antioch which the missionaries diffused throughout the world while transmitting the good message of the Gospel there.⁵

There is not the least doubt that the anaphora of St. James, in its constitutive elements, has its origin in apostolic times. Its high Christian antiquity is evident.

2. Editions

Numerous are the editions and translations of the anaphora of St. James. The most important are those of F. Bodonianus⁶,

4. *H. Labourt*, Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī. *Expositio liturgiae* (=Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 14), Louvain 1903, 392-393.

5. *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959) 392 f.

6. *G. F. Boderianus*, D. Severi Alexandrini quondam Patriarchae de ritibus baptismi et sacrae Synaxis apud Syros christianos receptis, Antwerp 1572 (Syriac text and Latin translation).

Assemani⁷, Lebrun⁸, Renaudot⁹, Brightman¹⁰, Rücker¹¹, Dix¹², Raḥmānī¹³ and O. Heiming¹⁴.

The translation of Renaudot is worth that we remain with it for a while. He separates the text of the anaphora from that of the *ordo communis* following in that the Syriac tradition which prefers that the text of the *ordo communis* be not inserted in that of the anaphora. We have to recognise that generally, if not always, the anaphorae, in the manuscripts, are not accompanied by the *ordo communis*. Only the first two or three words of the *ordo communis* are inserted there. The Syrian authors of the anaphorae who normally are Fathers of the Church did hardly think of inventing or composing a new text of the *ordo communis*. It existed already and is perpetuating itself from generation to generation, from age to age, without any great alteration. What the Syrian Fathers contributed to liturgical Syriac literature, is not the *ordo communis*, but new prayers of the anaphora. At the same time, they always conformed to the anaphorical structure which is the same in all the anaphorae. Consequently only the formulation of the 25 prayers of the anaphora is different from one anaphora to the other.

What differentiates the anaphorae of the Syrians from those of the Maronites, is hardly the text of the anaphora proper which is identical: it is rather the *ordo communis*.

Equally the edition of O. Heiming merits our attention. We find it in the edition of the "Anaphorae Syriacae" published by the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome under the direction of A. Raes. Critical and scientific, it is the very best which ever was done. It is translated into Latin by O. Heiming who had consigned even the least variants discovered by him in about 70 manuscripts which he

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7. J. A. Assemani, Codex Liturgicus IV 131-179.
 8. P. Lebrun, Explication de la messe, Paris 1779, IV 581-625 (French translation).
 9. E. Renaudot, Liturgiarum orientalium collectio, Paris 1716, II 1-43.
 10. F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford 1896, I 69-110 (English translation)
 11. A. Rucker, Die syrische Jakobusanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qob (h von Edessa, Münster 1923).
 12. G. Dix, The shape of the liturgy, Westminster 1954, 187-197 (English translation)
 13. I. E. Rahmani, Missale juxta ritum Ecclesiae Apostolicae Antiochenae Syrorum auctoritate recognitum, edited 1922 at Sarfet, Lebanon. This 'Missal' has the following title: *Book of the rite of the oblation*, i. e. K + tōbō d-Tekso d-Qurōbō. See pp. 62-99, Syriac text and Arabic version. Cfr. also I. E. Rahmani, Les liturgies 123-139. The Jacobite 'Missal' edited in Pampakuda, Kerala, India, in 1957 is entitled *Book of the rite of the anaphora*, i. e. K + tōbō d-Teksō d-annaphura.
 14. G. Heiming, in: *Anaphorae Syriacae quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt*, Rome 1953, II/2, 137-176 (Syriac text and Latin translation).

had consulted. In the introduction to the "Anaphorae Syriacae" A. Raes dissociated the prayers of the *ordo communis* from those of the anaphora rendering each aside. In the text of the Anaphorae Syriacae and in their Latin translation, only the first words of the prayers of the *ordo communis* are indicated.

In the Syriac 'Missal' of Rahmānī, there is i. e. the anaphora of St. James which appears as the prototype of all the other anaphorae; it comprises a good part of the *ordo communis*, and it is translated into Arabic, but transcribed in Karsūnī.

In the edition of the Syriac 'Missal' published by the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith in Rome, the Syriac anaphora with its Arabic translation transcribed in Karsūnī can be found. In this edition, the *ordo communis* appears only in its first words, as it is in conformity with the sound Syriac tradition¹⁵.

3. Versions

There are numerous versions of the anaphora of St. James: the Syriac, the Greek, the Old Slavonic, the Georgian, the Armenian, the Ethiopian and the Arabic.

The Greek and the Syriac¹⁶ are the two main ones from which all the others depend. Which of these two, however, gives origin to the other?

The liturgists tend to believe that the Syriac anaphora was translated on the basis of a Greek text which would be the original. To prove this assertion, they quote a number of Greek terms or expressions which are found in the Syriac anaphora and are nothing else but literal translations from the Greek. But how to explain in the Greek anaphora the existence of typical Aramaic expressions? It is quite normal that an anaphora which came to existence at Jerusalem, in an Aramaic milieu, contains Aramaic liturgical formulae or expressions. This goes without saying.¹⁷

It is useful to stress here the distinction we are making between liturgy and anaphora. The liturgy comprises the anaphora. The anaphora, however, is not the whole eucharistic liturgy, but its only substantial part.

15. cfr. *Missale Syriacum juxta Ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum*, edited in Rome in 1843, by the S. Congregation for the Propagation of faith, PP. 103 - 118 (Syriac text and Arabic version. The original title is Ktobo d—Tekso d—Qurobo

16. G. Heimig, op. cit. 109 (introduction)

17. L'Orient Syrien 4 (1959) 406.

PART TWO

In this second part of our study, our attention, as already was stated, is directed particularly on the literary work of the anaphora of St. James: its form and its background; its liturgical structure and its literary text.

The Syrian liturgy could be divided into two distinct parts: that which is purely or properly anaphorical and that which is not; the latter may be concentrated in the *ordo communis*. Right at the beginning, we are giving a succinct survey of the *ordo communis*. Then we shall quickly pass through the list of the prayer-units of the anaphora. We shall deal with the structure of the Syrian liturgy in general and particularly with that of the anaphora. We shall close this second part by an exposure of the text of the anaphora of St. James.

1. *Ordo communis*¹⁸

Under *ordo communis*, we understand the constant and unchanging prayers recited by the priest, the deacon and the people in every liturgical celebration. These prayers called common, do not vary, they are always the same in any divine liturgy. On the contrary, the anaphora may be different from one eucharistic celebration to the other. The divine liturgy can be celebrated with the anaphora of St. James or any other anaphora according to the celebrant's will.

Among the prayers which do not change, some are reserved to the priest, others to the deacon and others to the people. Those of the priest are invocations and benedictions; those of the deacon are admonitions, exhortations and injunctions while those of the people are answers, gestures and hymns.

All these prayers form, with those of the anaphora, one whole which is the divine liturgy at which everybody participates according to his rôle as celebrant, deacon and faithful.

We mentioned already that the prayers of the *ordo communis* are not consigned in the 'missal' and in the manuscripts; only their first words are mentioned there. It is indeed very rare that their full text is found there.

The *ordo communis* is subdivided in two parts:

(a) the first or pre-anaphorical: Preceding the anaphora, it is composed by the service of preparing the offerings, the service of incense, the liturgy of the catechumens and the liturgy of the faithful.

In the liturgy of the faithful, there are exceptions with regard to the proper parts of the day as the biblical readings, the prayer of

18. Ibid. 415-424.

entrance which can be varied according to one's own choice, and some other variable elements;

(b) the second or anaphorical: This is going along with the anaphora. It is composed by certain prayers of the priest, all the admonitions and injunctions of the deacon and finally all the acclamations and answers of the people. In this second anaphorical part of the *ordo communis*, there are also elements of the proper of the day or variable elements according to the choice of the priest or the deacon which do neither belong to the *ordo communis* nor the anaphora, as the *kathuliqā* the *ḥutōmō* (i. e. the final prayer of the liturgy of the faithful).

As regards the date of the *ordo communis*, we have no precise informations. Until now, the liturgists do not agree in fixing a determinate date. We may, however, presume, that certain elements of the *ordo communis* are very ancient having belonged to the anaphora of St. James. Other elements of the *ordo communis* are less ancient; they would be the work of unknown authors who would have introduced them into the liturgy.

The composition of the *ordo communis* may be divided in two epochs: a) the first: before the council of Chalcedon in 451. It comprises those elements which can be found as well with the Syrians as with the Maronites, because these two branches of the Syrian Church of Antioch were still united then;

(b) the second: after the council of Chalcedon. It comprises all the elements which are found either alone with the Syrians or alone with the Maronites. These elements are certainly of a later date, after the establishment and formation of the autocephalous "Monophysitic" Syrian Church.

2. Anaphora of St. James¹⁹

After this general survey or this rapid glance on the *ordo communis* we pass over to the study of the anaphora, and, at first, to the list of the consecutive prayers of the anaphora.

(a) Inventory of the prayer-units of the anaphora²⁰

The literary work which is the Syrian anaphora is formed by 25 prayers or units or elements of which we give the complete list from the beginning of the anaphora to its end, or, in other terms, from the prayer of peace to the third imposition of hands after the communion.

1. Prayer of peace, or prayer before the peace
2. First prayer of the imposition of hands
3. Prayer of the veil, or prayer before the anaphora or the veil.

19. I. E. Rahmani, Les liturgies 140-258; L'Orient Syrien 4 (1959) 385-515.

20. L'Orient Syrien 4 (1959) 416.

4. Eucharistic prayer of which the first part in a low voice while the second is said aloud.
5. Prayer of the consecration of the bread with a prelude recited silently.
6. Prayer of the consecration of the wine
7. Prayer of "Do this in remembrance of me"
8. Prayer commemorating the salutary economy of Christ
9. Prayer of thanksgiving for all things and by reason of all things.
10. Prayer of the invocation of the Holy Spirit (silently)
11. Prayer above the bread that it becomes the Body of Christ
12. Prayer above the wine that it becomes the blood of Christ
13. Prayer closing the epiclesis
14. Prayer, commemoration or canon of the living Fathers the first part of which is recited silently, the second aloud
15. Canon of the present and absent brethren
16. Canon of the kings
17. Canon of the Saints and, especially, of the holy Virgin Mary
18. Canon of the Fathers who slept in the Lord
19. Canon of the dead
20. Prayer closing the canons which, according to the canons or commemorations, is formed by a first part recited in a low voice and a second said aloud
21. Prayer of introduction to the Lord's prayer
22. Prayer taking up the last petition of the Lord's prayer
23. Second prayer of the imposition of hands
24. Prayer of thanksgiving
25. Third prayer of the imposition of hands.

This is the schematic inventory of all the elements constituting not only the anaphora of St. James, but all the Syrian anaphorae.

We find this number of 25 prayer-units almost infallibly in all the Syrian anaphorae with the exception of one of the two anaphorae of the Twelve Apostles where the six canons of the Great Intercession are reduced to two only: those of the living Fathers and of the dead.

Let us have in mind that the prayers of which the first part is said silently and the second aloud were considered as forming one unit, one whole recited by the celebrant without interruption. This is the more valid, as they are not interrupted by an intervention of the deacon or the people. By the way, the criterion which we have

taken as the basis of our computation and enumeration of the prayers of the anaphora is that of the interferences of the deacon or of the people in the prayer-units of the priest. Even if a prayer of the celebrant is interrupted by an admonition of the deacon or by any response from the part of the people, we counted it as being one only prayer, and that, too, if it is composed by two elements: one recited silently and the other aloud.

This basic criterion differentiates our computation and that of the late Corepiscopus Gabriel Khouiri-Sarkis who counts 33 prayers.

(b) Structure of the Syrian Liturgy of Antioch

Despite the developments of the Syrian liturgy of Antioch during the different centuries, it maintains, in its great lines and its different principal elements, everything which marks its antiquity, its simplicity, its vigour and its beauty. It represents, in the sight of the liturgists, the purest Antiochian rite. By the way, it is that rite which, being spread, gave the tone to all the other rites of the Holy Church. Its different parts can be found in all the other rites, though with a different disposition and liturgical structure. The two great parts of this Syrian liturgy of Antioch are the following: the pre-anaphorical and the anaphorical.

A. The *pre-anaphorical part* is subdivided again in

(1) the Service of preparation of the offerings which is also called the Service of Melchisedech. It is essentially consecrated to the preparation of the offerings on the altar. It symbolizes quite naturally the liturgy of Melchisedech: the offering which this grand priest presented to God, under the natural law. This offering was composed by bread and wine. This service recalls also the sheep of Abraham offered in sacrifice to save his son Isaac. The celebrant, bishop or priest, presents himself before the altar in his ordinary clerical dress. He prepares himself for the celebration of the holy mysteries at the step of the altar, first extending his hands and then joining them on his breast, in a penitential attitude: having recited the introductory prayer (*ḡluto d-surōyō*), he says Psalm, 51 "Have mercy upon me, o God". At the end of the psalm, he turns to the people asking for their prayers on his behalf, ascends the altar-step and begins preparing the matter of the sacrifice. Of course, in the solemn liturgies, the choir sings during this first service, appropriate liturgical hymns.

The deacon has assumed this service of preparing the bread and the wine disposing them on the *tablito* or altar-table. The celebrant, entering into the sanctuary after the canonical office in order to offer the holy sacrifice, has recited first a prayer before the entrance of the sanctuary, then a second before the holy table and then retired to put on the liturgical vestments; returning to the altar-step, he has recited a third prayer.

(2) This first service of Melchisedech is immediately followed by that of Aaron. Naturally also this second service, with the vestition of the celebrant and the offering of incense recalls, in spite of the long offertory prayer called "prayer of divine economy", the liturgy of Aaron and his sons clothed in their priestly vestments and offering incense to the Lord. The so-called offertory prayer or prayer of divine economy seems to be taken from the Byzantine rite. The celebrant effectuates the offertory by taking the paten with one hand and the chalice with the other crossing them and commemorating the divine economy of redemption. Then he begins incensing the altar and the offerings three times. In the meantime, the choir begins executing hymns which vary according to the cycle of the year.

It is useful or even necessary to mention that these two services of Melchisedech and of Aaron were reduced to a strict minimum by the liturgical made operated, though "ad experimentum", by the Holy Synod of the Syrian Church of Antioch²¹.

(3) Liturgy of the Catechumens

This part begins with the hymn "I will exalt you, O King and my Lord, the only-begotten Son, the Word of the heavenly Father" which is executed during the procession with the Holy Gospel around the altar. The aim of this procession is to honour the revealed word in the holy gospels. In pontifical and solemn liturgies, there is great pomp in this procession. All the servers and the clergy carry candles and fans, the deacon, the censor and the celebrant the gospel book at the level of his head; all start off in order and go around the altar. Returning to the point of departure of the procession, before the altar, the celebrant ascends the altarstep and intones three times, the Trisagion: "Holy are you, O God" (qadisat Alôhò). Thereafter the deacon turns to the people to read the epistle at the end of which he recites or sings the hulôlò consisting normally of a verse taken from the psalms followed by the Alleluia. Then the celebrant is singing the Gospel his face turned to the people. Before that, the deacon invites the people to be silent, attentive and respectful. The

21. *Moran Mar Ignatios Antonios II Hayek*, the present Patriarch of Antioch (Syrian Catholic), on decision of the Holy Synod of the Syrian Church, edited a 'Missal' in 1978 which is entitled: *Book of the rite of oblation* (Ktôbô d-Tekso d-Qurôbô) containing the following three anaphorae: a) of the 12 Apostles attributed to St. Luke the Evangelist which contains only two diptychs; b) of the 12 Apostles with the six diptychs; c) of Mar Eustathios, Patriarch of Antioch. In this 'Missal', the first two services of the liturgy, that of Melchisedech and that of Aaron, are reduced to a strict minimum, or rather to their simplest expression. Cfr. also *L'Orient Syrien* 9 (1964) 409-442, 10 (1965) 1-40. *G. Khouri-Sarkis* presents there a project of restauration of the Syrian liturgy according to the norms of the Syrian Fathers.

Gospel is sung with much solemnity. The deacon is placing himself in front of the celebrant censing all the time; two ministers, with a candle in their hands, stand on both sides of the priest. After the Gospel, a hymn is sung by the choir which varies according to the feasts.

The introit follows immediately after the gospel. It comprises three parts: the proemion or introduction, the propitiatory prayer and the introit itself. These prayers of remarkable beauty are full of unction. They may vary according to the feasts and the choice of the celebrant.

At the end of the introit which is sung at the bottom of the altar, the priest takes the censer and, after having blessed it three times, tunes up the creed of Nicaea: "We believe in one God". During the recitation of the creed by the people, the celebrant incenses the altar, the choir, the assistants and washes his hands. He turns himself towards the faithful soliciting their prayers saying: "Brethren and beloved ones, forgive me and pray for me that the Lord may accept my oblation". Then he ascends to the altar.

Before beginning with the anaphora, the celebrant recites the prayer "O Holy and glorious Trinity, have mercy upon me..." making thereafter the commemoration of those in whose intention he is offering the holy sacrifice.

Let us remember here, that until these last years, the offertory was placed at the beginning of the divine liturgy, in the second service called of Aaron, when the celebrant, after the vestition and before incensing the altar and the offerings, recited the prayer of the divine economy. But since the edition of the new Tekso d-Qurōbō ('Missal') by His Beatitude Mar Ignatious Antonios II Hayek, Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, in 1978, the offertory is definitely placed in the common prayer mentioned above: "O Holy and glorious Trinity, have mercy upon me". This offertory prayer which, in the former 'missals' was recited silently is now said aloud. It is in its right place, just before the anaphora²².

In the first centuries of the Church, only the baptized ones had the right to be present at the eucharistic liturgy. The catechumens or postulants could enter the church to hear the readings from the Holy scripture and the homily, i. e. the christianized form of the Jewish synagodal worship. They were, however, dismissed before the liturgy proper.

B. The *anaphorical part* or the anaphora, in its diverse elements, is centred on the eucharistic prayer. It forms a complete liturgical whole the great divisions of which being the following:

22. Ktōbō d-Tekso d-Qurōbō 1978, 21 and 33.

(i) the three pre-eucharistic prayers, because they precede the eucharistic prayer²³.

(a) *The first is called: Prayer of peace.* This is the title which is commonly given to the first prayer of the Syrian anaphora. In some manuscripts, however, it is called: Prayer before the peace. Its theme is generally the peace implored from the Lord for the Church and her children and the salutation which is exchanged by a holy and divine kiss. This kiss of peace has its place in the liturgy of the Roman Church before the communion. The Oriental Churches, on the other hand, place the kiss of peace before the eucharistic prayer in conformity with our Saviour's recommendation: "When you present your oblation at the altar and remember that your brother has something against you, let your oblation at the altar and go first to reconcile yourself with your brother; then come back and present your oblation" (Mt 5, 23).

The Syrian Church begins its anaphora with the kiss of peace which the faithful exchange among themselves. The transmission is executed by the deacon or the servers who, after having kissed the altar and the celebrant's hand, join their two hands, palm against palm, but the fingers of one hand slightly remote from those of the other. The giver of the peace advances his two joined and opened hands towards the receiver who, on his part, lays his two hands into those of the giver, and thus they exchange the salutation saying: "Peace to you". This is the way in which the salutation of peace is practised nowadays in the Syrian liturgy. The kiss on the mouth as it was practised in conformity with the admonition of the deacon, fell into disuse and was substituted by the touching of hands, in spite of the deacon's injunction proclaiming the exchange of the kiss. This gesture of the kiss of peace has been the first thing which the faithful have done, when they were alone after the dismissal of the catechumens. The Maronites exchange the salutation of peace by touching of hands only after the prayer of the veil, and not, like the Syrians, after the Prayer of peace.

(b) *The second is that of the imposition of hands* or the benediction by the extension of the hands above the heads of the faithful who stand inclined after the deacon's admonition ... "let us bow down our heads before the merciful Lord". In our anaphora, there are three prayers of the imposition of hands. The above mentioned one, then that which is said before elevation of the holy mysteries and the third which is placed before the prayer of the dismissal of the faithful. As can be stated, these three prayers of the imposition of hands follow immediately the admonition of the deacon demanding that the faithful bow their heads before the Lord. The third

23. L'Orient Syrien 5 (1960) 7-32, 129-158, 363-384.

and last prayer of blessing by the imposition of hands, closes the eucharistic assembly and precedes the dismissal of the people. The origin of the gesture of benediction by imposition of hands goes back to the Genesis where we see Jacob blessing his grandchildren. On the contrary, the blessing by the sign of the cross traced by the celebrant upon the faithful is rather of Christian comprehension and tradition.

(c) *The third is that of the veil or above the veil* during which the celebrant puts off the veil covering the offerings thus preparing himself for the recital of the eucharistic prayer. According to some Syrian Fathers, the veil symbolizes the grave of the Saviour or the stone of the tomb of Christ's sepulchre. Extended over the chalice and the paten containing the bread and the wine, the veil is the symbol of the stone placed on the grave. So in the liturgy itself, the celebrant while taking away the veil and consequently revealing the oblations, reveals also the grave of Christ when he recites: "You are the rock of flint.... You are the hard rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer".

The offerings in the paten and in the chalice represent the inanimate body of Christ taken from the cross and deposited in the tomb. It is quite natural that, before the Resurrection, the stone of the tomb be removed; therefore, before the eucharistic prayer, this veil has to be removed and the oblations must be revealed. In former times, the deacons surrounding the celebrant took away the veil; today it is the celebrant himself while the deacon urges the faithful to raise their regards towards the holy oblation which is offering himself for them.

(2) Eucharistic prayer²⁴

This prayer constitutes, as a whole, the essential and principal part of the holy sacrifice of the divine liturgy. It consists of the following liturgical elements:

(a) *Eucharistic dialogue.* This dialogue is like the prelude of the eucharistic prayer. The celebrant reveals the offerings by taking away the veil covering them and waving it above them. Then he blesses the faithful signing them with a triple sign of the cross while reciting the formula of benediction composed by St. Paul the Apostle: "The love of God the Father...." Thereafter he invites the people "Let our minds and our understanding and our hearts be above" and to give thanks unto the Lord.

(b) *The preface.* The dialogue is immediately followed by the preface in which the celebrant enumerates all the forces and the creatures of the heaven and of the earth glorifying and exalting the

24. I. E. Rahmani, Les liturgies 181 ff.

Lord by their chant: "Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty..." During this chant, the celebrant continues, in a low voice, with a commemoration which is, at the same time, a commentary of the hymn of victory and an introduction to the words of institution or consecration of bread and wine.

(c) *Consecration* of the bread, then the wine. The two parts are interrupted by the Amen of the faithful. Singing and scanning all the syllables, the celebrant pronounces, in the person of Christ, the words of the last Supper which operate the consecration of the holy mysteries. After the consecration, the celebrant bows profoundly to adore. However, he is not making any genuflection. The prostration of which the genuflection is but a shorter form, is a symbol of penance. This is why, in certain periods of the liturgical cycle, as e. g. in Lent, the clergy has to perform, during the liturgical services, a large number of prostrations called "matūniat". But since the divine eucharistic liturgy recalls the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is a symbol of joy, and this is the reason why the Syrian and Greek Orientals do not have any genuflection here.

(d) *Anamnesis*. This part is constituted by three prayers:

- The first reminds of Our Lord's recommendation given to his disciples to perpetuate this unbloody sacrifice.
- The second is a short reminder of the economy of redemption.
- The third is a thanksgiving to God for all things and by reason of all things.

(e) *Epiclesis*. Waving his hands above the mysteries, as if they were doves beating with their wings, the celebrant, at first in a low voice, then aloud, recites

- the invocation of the Holy Spirit supplicating him to come down:
- upon the bread to make of it the Body of Christ,
- upon the wine to make of it the Blood of Christ.
- in closing this epicletic part he solicits the holiness of the bodies and of the souls of the faithful in this world and in the other.

(f) *Prayer of the great intercession*, or commemorations, which is formed by six canons or diptycs. Each of the six canons is divided in two parts the first of which being recited silently and the second aloud. While the celebrant recites the first part, the deacon sings his diptyc inviting the faithful to remember those of the living and of the departed whom also the priest commemorates. These six canons are the following:

- (1) of the living Fathers, i. e. the Pope of Rome, the patriarch and the local hierarch as well as all the orthodox bishops,
- (2) of the brethren present at this liturgy and of the absent ones,

- (3) of the Christian kings, the clergy and the believing people,
- (4) of the Saints who were agreeable to the Lord and particularly of the holy Virgin Mary,
- (5) of the Fathers and the Doctors who slept in the Lord,
- (6) of the departed ones who died in the Lord,

After these six canons, we have the prayer concluding the great intercession or even the eucharistic prayer. It closes the commemorations demanding God to grant the faithful a Christian end without sin.

(3) *Fraction and signation.* The whole part which follows is said in a low voice. The priest effectuates the fraction of the holy bread, deposes one particle in the chalice and imbibes all the rest with the precious Blood reciting the common prayer: "We break this heavenly bread". It is immediately followed by that of St. Jacob of Sarug: "O Father of Truth, behold your Son..." In the meantime, the server or the deacon sings a canticle proper to the feast of the day or to the liturgical cycle.

(4) *Preparation for the communion.* This part begins with the introductory prayer inviting the faithful to say the Lord's prayer. Taking up the last phrase of the Our Father, the celebrant supplicates God not to lead us into temptation. At the end, this part closes by the second prayer of the imposition of hands, in which the celebrant implores upon the faithful rich divine blessings.

(5) *Elevation or "Holy things to the holy". Communion of the priest. Presentation of the Holy Mysteries. Communion of the people.* The prayers of these different parts are all belonging to the *ordo communis*. There is nothing worth mentioning in regard to the structure of the anaphora.

(6) *Post-Communion.* In this post-communion, we have two anaphorical prayers which are recited by the celebrant.

- (a) The first is that of thanksgiving for the ineffable love of God for mankind.
- (b) The second is that of the third imposition of hands or imploration of divine blessings upon the faithful.

(7) *Prayer of the dismissal of the people.* The anaphora as literary work ends with the third prayer of the imposition of hands. But the divine liturgy closes only with the common prayer of the dismissal of the faithful. Thereafter the celebrant passes to the service of the ablutions consuming what remains of the sacred species and cleaning the paten and the chalice. Then he leaves the altar after having said the farewell prayer and returns to the sacristy to depose there his liturgical vestments.

This is the structure of the Syrian liturgy of Antioch. So we have a general idea of its great lines and different elements.

Let us remember that the Syrian liturgy is somehow always a sung liturgy. Indeed, the celebrant is the representative and the intermediary of the people before God. It is in the name of the people that he formulates the prayers and supplications. Therefore, even if the liturgy is not solemn, the celebrant, with the exception of the rare silent prayers, recites or sings all the prayers aloud. In solemn liturgies he is surrounded by several officiating deacons, sub-deacons, readers and singers all wearing a special liturgical sign who place themselves on both sides of the altar serving the divine mysteries.

(3) *Text of the anaphora of St. James*²⁵

Before passing to the conclusion of this study on the eucharistic liturgy of the Syrian Church of Antioch, we present to our readers the text of the anaphora of St. James, in its English translation. It is the literary work of the anaphora, or, in other words, the 25 prayer-units or elements constituting it which we give hereafter. The interest of our contribution is not so much the eucharistic liturgy in general, but the anaphora of this liturgy. So the prayers of the *ordo communis* will not appear; only the first words will be mentioned. While neglecting the *ordo communis*, we wish to give more relief and importance to the prayers of the anaphora itself, be they silent or ecphonic, according to the liturgical prescriptions. The reader will have thus, before his eyes and in his hands, the anaphora of St. James, in its present structure, as well literary as liturgical. All the other Syrian anaphorae, with the exception of the one or the other, reflect in it that of St. James, as they copy it in their form and in their ground. The Syrian writers of anaphorae traced the anaphora of St. James, in its structure, in all its features, in its small and great lines.

The English text of the anaphora which we propose follows the translation published by the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of North America and Canada, Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel. There is also a French translation made by the late Chorepiscopus Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis on the basis of the Syriac edition of the 'Missal' of Raḥmānī. We have permitted ourselves to make some

25. L'Orient Syrien 4 (1959) 425-448. Cfr. also Anaphora. The Divine Liturgy of St. James The First Bishop of Jerusalem according to the rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, published by Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, Hackensack 1967; J. Madey- G. Vavanikunnel, Qurbana oder die Eucharistiefeier der Thomaschristen Indiens, Paderborn-Changanacherry-Trivandrum 1968, 171-195. See M. Hayek, Liturgie Maronite, Tours-Paris 1964, 341-358.

modifications which seemed opportune to us. We have, consciously and voluntarily, omitted the prayers of the *ordo communis* with the exception of the first words, and this to give more stress to our interest in the text of the anaphora alone. We have also retouched the one or other phrase or word of the translation to resemble it more to the Syriac sense.

Besides the two mentioned translations, we have also consulted the French translation which the same Chorepiscopus Gabriel Khouri -Sarkis has elaborated and published in 1923 by order of His Beatitude Mar Ignatios Ephrem Raḥmānī.

The titles and subtitles we have inserted are taken mostly from the edition of Raḥmānī; they make plain the structure of the anaphora and enable a better understanding of its different parts.

The initial letters P, D, F, which we have introduced before the prayers of the anaphora are abbreviations for: Priest, Deacon, Faithful.

Finally we beg for pardon, with the reader, and confide ourself, to his indulgence, if repetitions are found in our study. If we have wished them, sometimes voluntarily, this was to avoid ambiguities and consequently to facilitate the comprehension of the text.

ANAPHORA OF ST. JAMES, THE LORD'S BROTHER

Prayer before the peace

P - O God and Lord of all, make us worthy to celebrate this liturgy in spite of our unworthiness that freed of all guilt and all hypocrisy and united together by the chain of love and of peace we may, o Friend of mankind, greet one another with the holy and divine kiss of peace, through the Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ through whom and with whom are due to you glory, honour and power, together with your all-holy, good, adorable, vivifying spirit, who is of one substance with you, now and always and forever.

F - Amen.

P - Peace be to you all.

F - And with your spirit.

D - Let us give peace...

F - Make us worthy...

D - And after the holy and divine kiss...

F - We bow down our heads...

Prayer of the imposition of hands

P - O you who are alone the merciful Lord, send your blessings to those who have bowed down their necks before your holy altar. You who dwell on high and yet behold the humblest things, bless them through the grace, the mercy and the love of your only begotten Son through whom and with whom are due to you...

F - Amen

Prayer of the veil

P - O God the Father, who by your great and ineffable condescension towards mankind sent your Son into the world to bring back the sheep that had gone astray, do not turn your face from us, as we are celebrating this awful and bloodless sacrifice. For we rely not on our righteousness but on your mercy. We also invoke and supplicate your goodness that this sacrifice instituted for our redemption be not for the condemnation of your people, but for the forgiveness of our sins, the remission of our offenses and our gratitude towards you; through the grace, the mercy and the love of your only-begotten Son...

P - Amen.

D - Let us stand in order...

P - Mercy, peace...

P - You are the rock...(in a low voice)

Eucharistic dialogue

P - The love of God the Father....

F - And with your spirit.

P - Let our minds...

F - They are with...

P - In awe, let us...

F - It is meet...

Eucharistic prayer

P - (in a low voice) It is truly meet, lawful, worthy and necessary to glorify you, to bless you, to exalt you, to adore you and to thank you, o author of all visible and invisible creation (*ekphonesis*). You whom glorify the heavens and the heavens of the heavens and all their hosts, the sun, the moon and all the stars, the earth, the seas and everything they contain, the heavenly Jerusalems and the Church of the first-borns inscribed in heaven, the angels, the archangels, the principalities, the powers,

the thrones, the dominions, the virtues who are above the world, the heavenly services, the many-eyed cherubim, the six-winged seraphim who, veiling their faces with two wings, covering their feet with two wings, and with two wings fly one to another singing with a mouth which does not tire and with a divine accent which does not end, the hymn of the glorious and magnificent victory, and proclaim with a melodious voice crying and saying:

F - Holy, holy, holy...

Resumption of the eucharistic prayer

P - In truth, you are holy, o King of the worlds and giver of all holiness. Holy is also your only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Holy is also your Holy Spirit, the scrutineer of all things and even of your mysteries, o God and Father. In truth, you are holy, o all-mighty, omnipotent, awful, good, merciful, particularly towards your creation; you who made man out of the earth and granted him the luck of Paradise. And when he transgressed your commandments and fell, you did not abandon him, o good-one, but you have re-admitted him like a Father of great goodness. You called him by the Law. You instructed him by the prophets and at last, you sent your Son into the world in order to renew your image. When he descended and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit and of the holy Virgin, Mother of God, Mary, he lived among the men and established all the things for the redemption of our race.

Consecration of the bread

P - (*Ekphonesis*) When he, the sinless one, of his own will prepared himself to accept death for us sinners, in that night in which he was delivered for the life and the redemption of the world, he took bread in his holy, spotless and undefiled hands and, showing it to you, God the Father, he gave thanks, blessed + + it, consecrated + it, broke it and gave it to his disciples saying: Take, eat of it, this is my body which is broken for you and for many and given for the forgiveness of the sins and for life everlasting.

F - Amen.

Consecration of the wine

P - Likewise, after they had supped, he took the chalice, mingled it with water and wine, gave thanks, blessed + + it, consecrated + it and gave it to his disciples and apostles saying: Take, drink you all of it. This is my blood, that of the new covenant

which is shed for you and for many and given for the forgiveness of sins and for life everlasting.

F – Amen.

Anamnesis

P – Do this in remembrance of me, because, whenever you will eat this bread and drink this chalice, you will commemorate my death and confess my resurrection until I come.

F – We commemorate...

P – Remembering therefore your death, your resurrection on the third day, your ascension into heaven, your throning at the right hand of God the Father, and your second and glorious coming in order to judge the living and the dead and to recompense everyone according to his deeds, we offer you this awful and bloodless sacrifice that you may not deal with us according to our sins nor reward us after our iniquities, but according to your great gentleness and your ineffable love for mankind blot out our sins, of us who supplicate you. In view of all these, your people and your inheritance pray to you, and through you and with you supplicate your Father saying:

F – Have mercy...

P – And we also, o Lord, give thanks to you and praise you for all things and by reason of all things.

F – We praise you...

Epiclesis

D – How dreadful is this moment...

P – (*in a low voice*) Have mercy on me, o God the Father, almighty, and send upon us and upon these present offerings your Holy Spirit, the Lord and Lifegiver who is of one substance with you, equal in the eternity, who spoke by the Law and the Prophets and also in the New Testament, who descended upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, in the likeness of a dove, who descended upon the Holy Apostles under the form of tongues of fire. (*ekphonesis*) Hear me, o Lord....

F – Kyrie eleison ..

P – (*ekphonesis*) That while descending he makes of this bread the body of Christ + Amen, the lifegiving body+, the redeeming body of our souls and our bodies, the true body of our Lord, the great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ for the purification of the faults, the forgiveness of the sins and life everlasting for those who partake of it.

F - Amen.

P - And make that the mixture of this chalice, the blood of the + new covenant, the redeeming + blood, the life giving + blood, the blood which saves our souls and our bodies, the true blood of our Lord, the great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, be for the forgiveness of the sins and life everlasting for those who partake of it.

F - Amen.

Conclusion of the epicletic prayer

P - (*ekphronesis*) May they be for the holiness of our souls and bodies and of all who receive them and partake of them; that they may bear the fruits of good deeds; for the confirmation of your holy Church which you have firmly established on the rock of faith and is invincible to the gates of the hell. Deliver her from all heresy and the traps of those who commit iniquities to the end of time, through the grace, the mercy and the love...

Prayer of the Great Intercession

D - (*Canon of the living, Fathers, i. e. the Pastors*)

P - (*in a low voice*) We offer you this dreadful and bloodless sacrifice for your holy Church throughout the world, especially for Sion, the mother of all the orthodox Churches. Grant her, o Lord, the rich gifts of your Holy Spirit. Remember also, o Lord, our venerable bishops who distribute, in righteousness, the word of truth, and, particularly, our blessed fathers Mar N., Pope of Rome, Mar Ignatios N., our Patriarch, and the venerable Mar N., our Metropolitan (*or: our Bishop*), and also all the orthodox bishops. Grant them, o Lord, a respectable age and keep them as pastors of your people in all sanctity and righteousness, for long years. Remember also, o Lord, the venerable presbyterate of this place and of all the other places; the diaconate in Christ and all the other ministries and the whole ecclesial board. Remember also my misery; though I was unworthy of the vocation, you made me worthy of it. Do not look on the sins of my youth nor on those I ignore, but remember me according to the abundance of your mercies; because if you consider my iniquities, o Lord, who will be able to subsist? But since forgiveness comes from you, visit me and make me clean. And where sin abounds, let your grace surabound. Remember all those who are cast in the irons, in prison or in exile: they are our brethren. Remember the sick, the infirm, the persecuted and subjugated by evil spirits. Remember, o Lord, the winds and the rains, the fruits of the earth and of the crown of the year, because the eyes of all of us pin their hopes on you, and you give them food at the opportune time.

(*Ekphonesis*) And deliver us, o Lord, from all trial, wrath, affliction, and from all machinations and hostility of wicked men, and from all assault and all injustice of the devils, and all scourge brought upon us because of our sins. Keep us in the orthodox faith and in the observance of your holy commandments, and all who have been made worthy to stand before you and who await your rich mercies. Because you are compassionate, o merciful God, who are pleased in your mercy.

F - Amen.

D - (*Canon of the brethren*)

P - (*in a low voice*) In your grace, remember also those who are present here and pray with us and those who are absent. Remember those who asked us to remember them in our prayers. Remember, o Lord, those who offered oblations at your holy altar and those for whom each one offered them; those whom eachone has in his intention, and those who are mentioned now. (*ekphonesis*) In the abundance of your mercies, remember, o Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned. Bestow on them the joy of your salvation accepting their sacrifices in the heavenly abodes and making them worthy of your visit and your help. Strengthen them with your power and arm them with your might, for you are the helpful and protecting God.

F - Amen.

D - (*Canon of the kings*)

P - (*in a low voice*) Remember, o Lord, our very pious kings and queens. Take the arms and the buckler and raise to help them. Subdue them all their enemies and adversaries, that we may live a calm and peaceful life, in all fear and seriousness. (*ekphonesis*) For you are the refuge of salvation, the helping force and the dispenser of victory for those who trust in you, o Lord.

F - Amen.

D - (*Canon of the Saints*)

P - (*in a low voice*) Because you prevail over life and death, o Lord, and you are a merciful God and a friend of mankind, grant to remember those who have been agreeable to you at all times, the holy Fathers, the prophets and the apostles; John, the forerunner and baptist; St. Stephen, the archdeacon and first martyr; and the holy and glorious Mother of God, the ever-virgin and blessed Mary, and all the saints.

(*ekphonesis*) We beseech you, o Lord, all-merciful, for whom the impossible things are possible, unite us with this blessed assembly; count us in this Church; and place us, in your grace,

into the Church of the first-borns who are inscribed in heaven. This is why we remember them, that, on their part, while standing before your dreadful and very high throne, they remember our misery and our neediness and offer you, with us this dreadful and bloodless sacrifice, for the preservation of the living and our strengthening, because we are weak and unworthy; and for the repose and the memory of all those who have slept in the true faith and have taken rest: our fathers, our brothers and our masters.

F - Amen.

D - (*Canon of the Fathers of the Church*)

P - Remember also, o Lord, our bishops who preceded us and fell asleep and who, until these times, gave glory to your true word of faith, especially our Fathers.....

(*ekphonesis*) Remember, o Lord, the doctors, the torches of your holy Church who fought the good fight of the faith; who bore your holy name before the nations, the kings and the children of Israel. By their prayers and intercessions grant peace to your Church. Disperse the heresies which afflict her. Confirm their teaching and their witness in our souls and make us worthy to stand, without confusion, before your dreadful judgment. For you are holy and take pleasure in your saints, you, the perfecter of the saints.

F - Amen.

D - (*Canon of the departed*)

P - (*in a low voice*) Remember, o Lord, the orthodox priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, psalmists, interpreters, exorcists, monks, ascetics and those who live in chastity, and the lay-people who slept in the faith of Christ; and also those for whom each one offered the oblation or whom he has in his intention.

(*ekphonesis*) O Lord, Lord, God of the spirits and all flesh, remember those we commemorated and we did not commemorate and who left this world with very glorious faith. Grant repose to their souls, their bodies and their spirits, saving them from the future condemnation which is without end; make them worthy of that felicity in the lap of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob where the light of your face beams and wherefrom pains, anxieties and groaning flee. Do not charge them with their faults. Do not enter into judgment with your servants, because nobody is free from sin nor pure of any defilement among the men of this earth with the exception of only Jesus Christ, your Son, our Lord, by the merits of whom we hope to find mercy and forgiveness of the sins for us and for them.

F - Grant them repose.....

P - *(in a low voice)* Grant the repose, forgive, pardon, o God, our faults and theirs, committed before you willingly or unwillingly, deliberately or undeliberately.

Conclusion of the Great Intercession

(ekphonesis) Keep us, without sin for a Christian end and gather us at the feet of your elect ones, when you will; there where you will and as you will, but without shame by reason of our sins, that in this and in all things your all-honoured and blessed name be glorified and praised, together with that of our Lord Jesus Christ and of your Holy Spirit, now...

P - As it was in the beginning...

Fraction and Signation

P - Peace be to you all.

F - And to your spirit-

P - May the mercy of God...

F - *(sing the Qatuliqi)*

P - *(in a low voice)* We break the heavenly bread...

F - We entrust our lives...

The Lord's Prayer

P - O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who are throning above the cherubim and are glorified by the seraphim. Before you, there stand thousand of thousands of archangels and myriads of angels, sublime and heavenly servers. You who granted to sanctify and to make perfect the sacrifices, the offerings and the ripe fruits offered to you for a sweet smelling fragrance, sanctify, o Lord, by the grace of your only-begotten Son and of your Holy Spirit, our souls, our bodies and our spirits, that with pure hearts, with enlightened soul! and with faces unshamed we dare to call upon you, o God, heavenly Father, almighty and holy, and pray saying: Our Father in heaven...

F - Hallowed be your name...

P - Yes, o Lord, do not lead us into temptation which we might not endure, but make that, with the temptation, there be an outlet, that we be able to resist; through our Lord Jesus Christ with whom are due to you glory...

F - Amen.

Second Prayer of the Imposition of hands

P - Peace be to you all.

F - And to your spirit.

D - Before partaking of these divine mysteries...

F - Before you...

P - Before you, your servants have bowed their heads awaiting your abundant mercy coming from you. Send forth, o Lord, your rich blessings and sanctify our souls, our bodies and our spirits that we may become worthy to partake of the body and the blood of Christ, our Lord; by the grace, the mercy and the love for mankind of our Lord Jesus Christ with whom you are blessed and glorified in heaven and on earth, together with your all-holy, good, adored, lifegiving Spirit who is of one substance with you, now and always and for ever.

F - Amen.

Holy things to the holy

P - Peace be to you all.

F - And to your spirit.

P - The grace and mercies...

F - Amen.

P - Let us look with fear...

F - Be compassionate to us...

P - Holy things...

F - One Holy Father...

P - The one Holy Father

F - Amen

P - The one Holy Son...

F - Amen.

P - The one Holy Spirit...

F - Amen.

F - Let us remember in our sacrifices...

Communion of the celebrant

P - (*in a low voice*) Make me worthy...

F - Adored and praised be...

Presentation of the holy Mysteries

P - From your propitiatory altar...

F - Amen.

P - Stretch forth, o Lord...

F - Amen.

P - The mercies...

F - Amen. Glory to God...

Communion of the faithful

P - Glory to you...

F - All the world...

Prayer of thanksgiving

P - We thank you, o Lord, God. We give thanks unto you especially for the abundance of your mercies and your ineffable love for mankind. O Lord, you made us worthy to partake of the heavenly table. Do not condemn us because of having received your holy and spotless mysteries, but preserve us, o Good-one, in holiness and righteousness, that, having become worthy, we may participate in the holiness of your Holy Spirit; that we find share, part and inheritance with all the saints who have pleased you from eternity; by the grace, the mercy and the love for mankind of your only-begotten Son through whom and with whom are due to you...

F - Amen.

Third prayer of the Imposition of hands

P - Peace be to you all.

F - And to your spirit.

P - After having received...

F - Before you...

P - O great and marvellous God, you bent the heavens and descended for the salvation of us men. Turn to us in your mercy and compassion. Bless your people and preserve your inheritance, that at any time and always, we glorify you and God the Father who engendered you, and your Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever.

F - Amen. Bless us, Lord.

P - (Hutōmō) God who...

F - By the prayer of your Mother...

Dismissal

P - Go in peace...

CONCLUSION

At the end of this article on the eucharistic liturgy of the Syrian Church of Antioch, we certainly have a general view over the whole of the religious eucharistic service of the Antiochian Syrians. In all its parts, as in all its divisions and subdivisions, this liturgical

service is centred on the anaphora of St. James, the brother of Our Lord and first bishop of Jerusalem. This anaphora which is the prototype of all the other Syriac anaphorae, was studied and analysed here, though in a concise form, at first its generalities, then its particularities, always with particular insistence on its structure: its background and its form. Our special attention was given to the anaphora and its contents.

This liturgical complex is divided in two parts: the first, pre-anaphorical, which is the liturgy of the Word comprising the introit, the profession of faith and the offertory; the second, the anaphorical one, which consists of the eucharistic prayer with its antecedents, especially the kiss of peace and the eucharistic dialogue, and its subsequents, namely the anamnesis, the epiclesis, the diptychs, the Lord's prayer and the post-communion.

Therefore the anaphora is not to be understood solely in the meaning of oblation and offering, but also, in the sense of a literary work which is serving the eucharistic prayer.

All the other Syriac anaphorae, or literary works, are structured according to that of St. James; we should even say that they are traced on it, as it is so much venerated by the Syrians because of its apostolic origins from which it comes down.

Let us mention also, with the experts, that Our Lord Jesus Christ, at the Last Supper, and after him the apostles and the disciples, spoke Aramaic in the Syro-Palestinian dialect which is hardly different from the dialect of Edessa which is nowadays used in the Syrian liturgy and is commonly called Syriac.

Consequently it is for the Syrians a title of honour and glory to have precious and jealously preserved, in their celebration of the eucharistic oblation, to this day, the language which is nearest to that used by Our Lord for the institution of the bloodless sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist before his death.

Besides this liturgical language, the Syrian Church possesses, in the anaphora of St. James, an ancient, most venerable patrimony, which has come down to her directly, in its substance, from St. James, the Lord's brother.

We may not hide the historico-liturgical evolutions the Syrian Liturgy of Antioch was subject to during the ages. These are rather amplifications which have burdened its tenor, without, however, altering its essence and obscure its original and primitive purity. By the way, the liturgical renewal operated recently tries to render the Syrian Liturgy of Antioch its always authentic and attracting freshness as well as its beauty and its reputation, for the greatest glory of God and of the holy Church.

Genesis and Development of the Maronite Divine Liturgy

Genesis and Development of the Maronite Divine Liturgy

By Emmanuel Khoury

1. THE MARONITE CHURCH

A. Saint Maron

Saint Maron, an Antiochian diocesan, lived as an anchorite in the 4th and 5th centuries. Two great references inform us about his life and renown with his contemporaries. The first one is the letter addressed by St. John Chrysostom in 404 to "Maron, priest and solitary"; it shows us the great friendship linking the two Saints and the high consideration of St. John Chrysostom for St. Maron. This is why he is soliciting the help of his prayers.¹ Moreover, Theodore of Cyrus, author of the "Religious History", writing the history of the most famous ascetics of the East around 440, reserved a chapter to the hermit Maron and his disciples. We learn that Maron retired on a mountain dressing his tent in a pagan temple which he consecrated to God. The Lord gave him the charism of healing: by his blessings he relieved the bodies and by his prayers he healed the souls. Theodore concludes that, "this garden which is now flourishing in Cyrene is that which he has planted."²

St. Maron died in 410, acclaimed as a great saint by all his environment. The Maronite Church is celebrating his feast on February 9th. This feast has become a national feast. The Byzantine Church celebrates his memory on February 14th.

B. The formation of the Maronite community

St. Maron, while living and after his death, attracted numerous disciples around himself. This group of disciples became the core of the Maronite community. Fr. I-H. Dalmais interpreting this fact, says: "It is a unique fact in the history of Christianity, that a monastic community has become the main organiser of a

1 Ep. 36: PG 53, 630.

2 *Theodore of Cyrus*, *Religiosa Historia*: PG 82, 1223-1236,

Church giving birth to a patriarchate to which tradition has recognized the distinguished title of Antioch.”³ Above his tomb, his disciples constructed a large sanctuary the considerable radiation of which making it the first of all Syria. This is why the emperor Marcian enlarged this sanctuary making it a monastery during the second year of his reign in 452. This monastery gathered all the disciples of St. Maron; it enjoyed a remarkable prestige and presided over all the monasteries of the region. It was even the centre of resistance to the anti-Chalcedonian Monophysites. So its monks had to fight gloriously for the cause of their faith: 355 of them merited martyrdom. All the Christians who attached themselves to this monastery following the doctrine of its monks took the name of Maronites; they formed later a community independent of all the other Christian communities of Syria.

This community, originally monastic, became, during the vacancy of the See of Antioch, ecclesial, having, between 702 and 742, its first patriarch, John. The chronicle of Patriarch Dionysios of Tellmahārē (8th/9th cent.), adversary of the monks of the St. Maron Monastery, gives us a very important testimony: “The Maronites remained, as they are still today: they continue to ordain a patriarch and bishops of their monastery.”⁴

After the council of Chalcedon, there are two tendencies: Chalcedonian or orthodox and monophysite. Later, the Chalcedonian fraction divided itself into two: the Melkite Church and the Maronite Church. This is the origin of the three branches of the Church of Antioch, namely: the Jacobite Church, the Melkite Church and the Maronite Church. However, their ecclesiastical and liturgical discipline remained as before the separation; but finally each of them got a personality of its own, its liturgical and ecclesial characteristics. In the further development, the Melkite Church turned itself towards Constantinople, and the Maronites and the Jacobites alone kept their Antiochian authenticity.⁵

C. The Maronite Liturgy

The Maronite liturgy belongs to the Antiochian family of the West Syrian type. It has its origin in the Monastery of St. Maron and developed with the community and the followers of this monastery. What are its characteristics?

3 *J. H. Dalmais*, *L'Héritage antiochien de l'Eglise maronite : Mélanges Mgr Pierre Dib*: Melto 3 (1967) 61.

4 *J.-B. Chabot*, *Chronique de Michelle Grand ou Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1899 ff., II 511.

5 *P. Naaman*, *Théodore de Cyr et le monastère de saint Maroun*, Kaslik 1971; *P. Daou*, *L'Histoire des Maronites*, Beirut 1977, I.

a) Because of its origin, this liturgy, its ritual structure, the literary genius of its prayers, the patristic patrimony etc. is attached to the West Syrian type.

b) Its proper and most ancient anaphora, however, which is called Sarar (Fortify), is closer only to the Chaldean liturgy and consequently the East Syrian type.

c) It has been and is still the liturgy only of a Catholic community, as the Maronites have no Orthodox branch; this facilitates the liberty of changes and liturgical reforms.

d) In its instability, because of the persecutions, the Maronite community has had always a liturgy at full speed and easily adaptable: "In all circumstances of times and places, in caves as well as in valleys, on summits as well as in towns, in small communities as well as in large, in monastic communities as in cathedral churches, in the Greek language as well as in the Syriac, Arabic or any other language of the countries of emigration; but, under all these forms and these variations, it has kept its proper figure."

e) Since the crusades, the Maronites have accepted as presents: vestments, holy vessels, liturgical instruments and prayers of private or popular devotions, then the bull of Pope Innocent III in 1215, and later the first edition of the Missal; all this had to give a Latin colour to this liturgy. Peter Dib interpreting this phenomenon of "latinization" says: "despite all these modifications produced under the influence of the Roman rite, the Maronite liturgy is still possessing its ancient mark and keeps this accent of grand simplicity and the note of its beautiful prayers of the Church of Antioch, lived and composed in the calm of meditation, the tears of penitence and the turmoils of the persecution for the sake of the faith."⁶

These relative approaches to the West Syrian, East Syrian and Latin rites have made the Maronite liturgy "the third way", situated between the breath of the West and of the East. And it is this approach which will multiply the duplicates as well in the Office as in manual action, which we shall see in examining the structure and the texts concerned. We limit ourselves here to the Eucharistic liturgy of the Maronite rite.

II. The divisions of the Maronite Liturgy

All the Eucharistic liturgies are but the living realization of the words of Jesus during the last supper: "Do this in memory of me"; their ritual development in the different liturgies took place by repeating the gestures and the words of the Lord: "On the eve of the

6 P. Dib, *Etude sur la liturgie maronite*, Paris 1919, 15.

day when he had to suffer, Jesus took bread, and having given thanks, he broke it and gave it to his disciples saying: This is my body....this is my blood...." Accessory rites developed, and the Divine Liturgy, in the East and in the West, became more or less complicated, according to the century and the rites; but it is easy for us to distinguish the junction of the eucharistic synaxis to the synaxis of the word. These two parts had different names: Liturgy of the Catechumens or Liturgy of the word; Liturgy of the faithful or Eucharistic liturgy.

To make oneself a right idea of these two components of the Maronite Divine Liturgy, of the concrete celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy, we have to go back to the sources of this liturgy. These are: the anaphora Sarar, the manuscript missals, the printed missals, the testimonies of the Apostolic Visitors to the Maronite Church, and finally the projects of reforms which are, up to now, *ad experimentum*.

1. The Anaphora Sarar

All the liturgical families glorify in having a basic anaphora of their own: the anaphora of St. James for the Church of Jerusalem, the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles for the Church of Antioch, that of St. Mark for the Church of Alexandria, and especially the anaphora of Addai and Mari for the Chaldean Church. As regards the Maronite Church, it possesses the anaphora called Sarar (Fortify) according to its beginning.

This anaphora is also known by the names "Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles" and particularly "Third Anaphora of St. Peter." It is considered as the first Eucharistic prayer of Christian antiquity; some elements go back to the end of the second century.

J. M. Sauget was the first to study it seriously reconstituting the Syriac text according to several manuscripts, translating this text into Latin and presenting the whole by an introduction which showed it as belonging exclusively to the Maronite Church.⁷

Before him, Patriarch Ignatios Ephrem Rahmani had reserved several pages of his book *Les Liturgies Orientales et occidentales* to this anaphora; he also stresses its relation to the Maronite Church and its relationship with the anaphora of Addai and Mari of the Chaldeans.⁸

7 *Anaphorae Syriacae*, Rome 1973, II/3 : *Anaphora Syriaca Sancti Petri Apostoli tertia*.

8 *I.-E. Rahmani*, *Les Liturgies orientales et occidentales*, étudiées séparément et comparées entre elles, Beirut 1929, 317-335.

P. E. Gemayel, in his doctoral dissertation "L' Avant-Messe Maronite", has studied its pre-anaphora proving that this eucharistic prayer does not belong to the Maronites only because of the literary patrimony, but was rather liturgically used. He indicates the following reasons:

1. Only the Maronite missals know this anaphora in its present state. It is noted that these are the most ancient and the least Jacobitized missals. Besides, the Parisiensis 71 (A. D. 1454), the most ancient manuscript, seems to make of it the only anaphora of the Maronites.

2. The leaves of the manuscripts indicate a frequent use: they are soiled on the edges of the pages, there are traces of wax which have no other origin than the altar candles.

3. The Maronite Diaconicals, manuscripts and printed editions, are following the structure of Sarar.

4. The ancient Maronite formularies of the consecration of water and of mooron are composed according to the type of Sarar.⁹

The manuscripts containing this anaphora are found in the following libraries:

Vatican (Fond. Syr.): V. 309 (fragments of the 12 th cent.); V. 28 (17th cent.), V. 29 (1535), V. 434 (1541), V. 414 and V. 279 (17 th cent.).

Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale – Fonds Syr.) 71 (1454).

Aleppo (Maronite Archbishop's House) 619 (1490).

Dimane (Maronite Patriarchal residence) 7 (15 th/16 th cent.).

Bkerké (Maronite Patriarchal residence) 116 (1501), 117 (16th cent.), 118 (16th cent.), 112 (17 th cent.), 120 (1675).

Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) 5 (1546).

All these manuscripts were inventoried by Sauget and Gemayel. The conclusions drawn from them, confirm what was said above.

The most ancient and the most representative among these manuscripts are Parisiensis 71, Aleppo 619 and Vatican 309. They are considered as the basic elements for the study of the anaphora Sarar. We draw from them the following structure of the Maronite Divine Liturgy as well as the most ancient Ordo of the Eucharistic service.

⁹ P.-E. Gemayel, *Avant-Messe Maronite. Histoire et Structure*, Rome 1965 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165), 211-242.

A. (*Liturgy of the Word*)

I. *Preparation of the oblations*

The priest, clothed in his vestments, prepares the bread and lays it on the altar saying a paryer.

Then he prepares the wine.

Thereafter he is praying for himself.

II. *Pentitential Office*

Doxology

Proclamation of the deacon

Initial prayer

Psalm 50 and prayer

Sedro according to the metre of St. Ephrem

III. *Trisagion and Readings*

Trisagion

Prayer of the Trisagion (which remains the same till now)

Psalm of praise

Lesson of St. Paul

Preparation for the Gospel: Hallel ... prayer

Imposition of incense

Gospel

Thanksgiving

Dismissal of the hearers

B. (*The Eucharistic liturgy*)

I. *The Pre-anaphora*

Hymns and memento

Creed

Rite of peace

Doxology

The first prayer which opens the anaphora Sarar and which has given it its name is the following:

“Fortify (Sarar), O Lord, in our hearts and establish in our souls the orthodox and blameless faith that, through it, we may find ourselves throughout our life before you in purity and sanctity; may it be for us the way and the path leading to the kingdom of heaven. Through it may we become rich in your love, fortified in your hope and covered by your mercy; and we will raise glory to the glorious Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, glory to you for ever and ever.”

Secret Prayer “which, has crept into all the editions”

Long prayer of peace

Peace is given

II. *Anaphora*

Trinitarian doxology

The mementos or intercessions which, as in the Chaldean liturgy, precede the words of institution

The dialogue between the priest and the assembly is different from the other dialogues. The assembly answers to the priest's prayer: "it is worthy and just and perfect".

The celebrant continues: "Yes, O Lord, in truth it is worthy and legitimate, it is nice and perfect, it is just and good that our spirits, our thoughts and our hearts be raised always in purity." The assembly: "To you, our Lord, God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Israel, glorious and holy king for ever.

The celebrant: "To you, Our Lord, God of Abraham, Saviour of Isaac, comforter of Israel, glorious and holy king for ever, it is convenient to thank, to adore and to glorify."

Then the celebrant recites a prayer of blessing for the assembly, imposes incense and says a prayer of pardon taking up all the already mentioned intentions.

(The celebrant begins the anaphora of St. Peter the Apostle secretly):

Doxology

Preface and Sanctus

Secret prayers

(Memorial of the Son)

Words of Institution (we quote them, because its presence here is taken as a criterion to solve the problem of their absence in the anaphora of Addai and Mari of the Chaldeans)

Consecration of the bread

We commemorate your passion, O Lord, as you have taught us: on that night in which you were delivered to the crucifiers, you took, O Lord bread in your pure and holy hands and, looking up to heaven, you blessed +, you consigned +, you consecrated +, O Lord, you broke and gave to your disciples, the blessed apostles saying: This bread is my body which is broken and given for the life of the world, for the forgiveness of the faults and the remission of the sins of those taking it. Take, eat of it and it will be to you for life eternal.

He takes the chalice saying:

Alike above the chalice: in the same manner you gave thanks and glory, O Lord, saying: This is the chalice of my blood, new

covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of the sins. Take, drink of it all, and it will be to you for the forgiveness of the faults, the remission of the sins and life for ever and ever. When ever you will eat of this holy body and drink of this chalice of life and salvation, you will remember the death and the resurrection of your Lord till the day of his coming.

Assembly

We remember, Our Lord, your death...

After the response of the assembly "We remember..." the celebrant prays and supplicates the Son and the Mother of God.

Secret intercessions

Epiclesis

Communion: symbolical fraction and consignation followed by this prayer which has found its way into all the editions of the Missal and even into the very last project of reform:

"O delicious Victim who have offered yourself for us, O immolated Redeemer who have offered your person, O Lamb who were yourself the offering pontiff: by your mercy may our prayers be a perfume and through you may we offer it to the Father.

Our Father, introduced by a prayer and followed by an embolic prayer and the prayer of inclination

Sancta sanctis, followed by secret prayers which prolong the proclamations

Fraction, intinction, commixtion, accompanied by prayers which are still used

Procession with the Eucharist

Prayers of Thanksgiving

"We offer you thanks, living Lamb of God who descended from heaven to the earth, who clothed yourself with the body of our humanity and died bodily for us, for the life and the salvation of men; you whom the prophets and kings desired to see and did not see, you, O Lord gave us weak ones and sinners to receive you from our carnal hands and to purify us through you. Glory to you for your grace towards us and for your ineffable majesty, O devouring fire, whom our fingers have carried, O living coal, whom our lips have kissed: the seraph could not take it by his hand, but the prophet could do so and was purified thereby; purify, O Lord, the mouths, the lips and the hands which carried your body; sanctify the bodies, the souls and the spirits of those who received your blood; make bright their hearts, their consciences, their spirits, their senses and

their limbs; mark them by the seal of your cross and install your hidden power in them...

Because of your body which you gave us to eat, do not judge us, O Lord, according to the multitude of our sins, but according to your mercy; extinguish the fire of our limbs that we be not, O Lord, the part of the fire, we who have been a part of yourself, but grant us to live and to be justified by your body and your blood which we have received and will still receive; that, by them, we may obtain a new life and, also by them, we rise at your right together with the elected ones and with those who have fulfilled your will, O our Lord and God, glory to you ..."

Prayer of blessing of the assembly

He blesses the assembly: Peace to you all.—Stretch forth, O Lord, your right on those who have carried your gift, and extend, O God, the dew of your benedictions on the bodies who have eaten your body; may the mouths which have quenched themselves by your blood, be protected in the shadow of your wings against the evil ones; that they rise at your right together with the just and the saints who have loved you and fulfilled your commandments, at the grand parousia of your coming. May the grace, the benedictions, the mercies and the compassion of our Lord Jesus Christ accompany you as well as all the spirits and souls who, having prepared themselves, have carried the body of God from his purifying altar; may it be to you for the forgiveness of the faults and the remission of the sins, for a happy resurrection from among the dead and for the new life in the kingdom of heaven, for ever. Amen."

This anaphora and its ordo are the most representative for the ancient properly Maronite liturgy and this because of the importance which the liturgists unanimously attribute to it, especially in the recent years, either by studying it or by comparing it with the other Oriental liturgies, particularly of the Chaldeans, or by translating it into Latin and French. For more precisions, we refer to the following studies and testimonies:

"The most traditional in its development, the anaphora Sarar or anaphora of St. Peter which has made use of many elements of Addai and Mari..."¹⁰ "If the anaphora of the actual Maronite eucharistic liturgy incontestably presents aspects of jacobitization as well in the text of the used formularies as in its structure, there is not less an anaphora of a rather different type proper to the Maronite tradition."¹¹ "The importance of this anaphora is remarkable as

10 L. Bouyer, *Eucharistie*, Paris-Tournai ² 1968, 345.

11 J.-M. Sauget, *La bénédiction de l'eau dans la nuit de l'Épiphanie selon l'ancienne tradition de l'Église maronite*; *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959) 319-333.

well for the Chaldeans who call it anaphora of Addai and Mari, as for the Maronites because of the fact that all the scholars agree in seeing here the most ancient eucharistic formulary which has conserved and transmitted a characteristic, different tradition of the period of the Church Fathers.”¹²

“The straight relation existing between the anaphora of Addai and Mari and the Maronite anaphora Sarar as well as the points of concordance and discordance which can be discovered there, make it necessary not to study the one or the other, but rather their common sources. As early as 1899, Rahmani noted their direct relationship; Ratcliff and Botte did not pay attention to it, but in 1932, H. Engberding already defended the opinion that the Sarar could not remain outside the discussion. Righty H. Wegman observes: “There where two texts agree, we could be in the presence of another text (archetype) which is common to them but which did not come down to us in manuscripts.”

“If we compare the two anaphorae with certain orations of the blessing of the baptismal water, it seems that the eucharistic dialogue of Addai and Mari was conformable to that other Nestorian anaphorae and that Sarar has conserved the original common source of the dialogue and consequently also the beginning of the first Gehantā which was modified in Addai and Mari to make it accord with the revised dialogue.”¹³

The first Maronite missal printed in Rome in 1592/94, reserved to Sarar the last place among the fourteen anaphorae, while the second edition, Rome 1716, eliminated it. The following editions reserved for it a place as a formulary for the liturgy of the presanctified gifts to be celebrated only on Holy Friday.

We hope that this text will be rehabilitated in the new reforms of the Maronite missal.

Conclusion

The Maronite anaphora Sarar is one of the examples-types which are detaching the Maronite rite from its relationship with Western Antioch to link it with Eastern Antioch. This means that this rite is situated half-way between the hellenized Antiochians and the Chaldeans of Aramean flavour. These roots meet, in more than one point, with the Jewish data of the Berakoth.

12 J. Tabet, Panorama of the Maronite liturgy: Al-Fusul Allubnaniah no.3 (1980) 145 (in arabic).

13 A. Verheuil, La prière eucharistique de Addai et Mari: Questions liturgiques 1 (1980) 25.

It would be interesting to develop this parallel with the Chaldeans, particularly with reference to the Divine Office.¹⁴ By the way, this liturgical affinity, particularly based on the eucharistic part, gave birth to the hypothesis according to which the Maronite rite would owe more to Edessa than to Antioch.¹⁵

2. The Structure of the Divine Liturgy in the manuscript missals

These manuscript missals of the Maronite Divine Liturgy were inventoried, described and compared by several competent authors in this field; we refer only to the studies in languages generally accessible by Dib¹⁶, Gemayel¹⁷ and Hayek¹⁸. It is useful to study these extensive works to get a global idea of the whole Maronite liturgy and particularly of the Eucharist which is the object of this article.

P. Dib resumes the actual state of the manuscripts as follows:

“Before the definitive adoption of the printed missal, the copists took sometimes, as it seemed them good, anaphorae and liturgical formulae from here and there, as well without any modifications or corrections as with some corrections to bring them in harmony with the faith of their respective Churches. This is why the missals were more or less complete. There was also a large variety with regard to the anaphorae, the rubrics and the liturgical formulae...In this way, one could grasp the variety of the missals.”¹⁹

This Phenomenon of copists, Jacobite and Maronite, made the manuscript missals more and more complicated: double offices, variety in the prayers to be chosen, and variety in the uncontrolled anaphorae.

P. E. Gemayel, in his work quoted above, made a division of the so far discovered manuscripts which have their origin between 1454 and 1594, into four groups. In the development of the “Before-Mass”, three dates are to be kept:

a) 1454. The “Before-Mass” presents itself in two parts: preparation and laying down of the oblations on the altar; incense office accompanying the access to the altar.

b) 1501. Between the preparation of the oblations and their laying down on the altar, penitential sedrô is introduced, somehow as a preparation for the access to the altar.

14 J. Tabet, *L'Office commun maronite*, Kaslik 1972, 206-209.

15 W. F. Macomber, *A theory of the origin of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean rites: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 39 (1973) 235-242.

16 P. Dib, *op. cit.*

17 P.-E. Gemayel, *op. cit.*

18 M. Hayek, *Liturgie Maronite. Histoire et textes eucharistiques*, Paris 1964.

19 Dib, *op. cit.* 40.

c) 1509. This first sedrô, called penitential, is preceded by a rather long preparatory series. This series is still prolonged in 1535, 1555 ... 1569. It is a real accumulation of introductory pieces, penitential prayers, repeated incensings.

The reasons of this evolutions, with the Maronites, are to be sought in the decadence of the liturgical spirit and, with regard to the Jacobites, in the spread of their writings and in their zeal to propagate their liturgy; there was no severe intervention by the Maronite authority. The principle of "taking from others" and combining it with "what we have" finished in a several times repeated accumulation of similar elements. On an ancient basis formed by Maronite elements, a root constituted of Jacobite elements was added ...²⁰ A. Raes, in several of his studies and especially in his introduction to the Oriental liturgies²¹, stresses continuously the phenomenon which took place in the development of the Maronite liturgy, and several times he affirms that, to reach authentic elements or structures of the Antiochian liturgy, these can be found with the maronites.

We should add to these affirmations those proposed and defended by M. Rajji²², especially on the occasion of his elaboration of the Maronite ritual which is in force since 1942. We are summing them up as follows: If we leave out from the texts of the Maronite liturgy everything which is alien to it, there remains a liturgy having properly Maronite formularies and structures.

3. The Structure of the Divine Liturgy in the printed missals

From the chaotic manuscript heritage we just have dealt with, come the first printed Maronite missal. It contained all the heavinesses of the repetitions, of the duplications and also some modifications which made its official access very difficult with the Maronite hierarchy. This is why we have to go back to this edition as the clue to understand and evaluate the following editions.

This first edition was done in Rome in 1592/94 and entitled "Missale Chaldaicum juxta ritum Ecclesiae Nationis Maronitarum". Its elaboration, its printing and its imposition on the Maronite hierarchy remain mysterious; and instead of becoming an historical event, this edition created problems. In fact, it has two dates: on the first page, in Syriac figures, the date is 1592, but in the end, in Roman figures, it is 1594. The use of this missal was prohibited by Patriarch Sergios Rizzi (+1596), not because of distrust

20 Gemayel, op. cit. 87 f.

21 A. Raes, *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem*, Rome 1947; *idem*, *L'étude de la liturgie syrienne: son état actuel: Miscellanea Liturgica* L. C. Mohlberg, Rome 1948, I 333-346.

22 M. Rajji, *De la liturgie Maronite: Proche-Orient chrétien* 1 (1951) 71-85.

of Rome, as it was interpreted by Renaudot²³, but rather because of the substitution of the formulae of the Institution proper to each anaphora by the only formula translated from the Roman rite. It is to be added that also the epiclesis had been transformed the first part of which was cut away. This interpretation is the most valid, as it was given by patriarch Stephen Douaihi (+ 1704), eminent Maronite historian and liturgist.²⁴

The absence of a press, the mark of union in the same faith and the insistence of the Apostolic Visitors, all these induced patriarch Sergios Rizzi to lift the Prohibition and to authorize the missal at the Synod of September 18, 1596, held in the presence of the Apostolic Visitor, Fr. Jerome Dandini²⁵ who, in fact, had brought from Rome 200 copies of that missal. Its detailed history has been the object of long chapters in the studies of Dib, Gemayel and Hayek.²⁶

This edition stopped the evolution of the structure and of considerable new elements, with the exception of a few corrections, modifications and additions. All the texts are in Syriac, except that of the anaphora of St. Cyril which is edited here with an Arabic translation, also of the words of institution; so also two prayers of which one became the offertory prayer, will be translated into Syriac and occupy even a place in the structure of the Maronite Divine Liturgy.

As regards the number of the anaphorae contained in this edition, there are fourteen, chosen among the long lists of anaphorae. Their number given by the different liturgists varied according to the manuscripts they had studied: Douaihi who systematically has gone through the manuscripts for this purpose, has collected them in a volume called "The book of the anaphorae"²⁷; in the "Lamp of the sanctuary", he dressed a list of the Maronite anaphorae: he accepts 26 rejecting 20 others, although they are found in the Maronite manuscripts.²⁸ Rahmani enumerates 58³⁰; Renaudot

23 E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Frankfurt ² 1847, II 84.

24 Stephen Douaihi, Patriarch (1670-1704), known as serious historian and eminent Maronite liturgist. Among his very known liturgical writings: *Manārat al-Aqdas* or *The Lamp*, an explication of the Maronite Divine Liturgy (in Arabic), ed. by R. Sartuni, Beirut 1895/96, 2 volumes.

25 J. Dandini was sent by Pope Clement VIII to make an enquiry concerning the faith and the morals of the Maronites and to hand over the copies of the missal to them. He published his report entitled: *Missione apostolica al patriarca, e Maroniti del Monte Libano*, Casena 1656.

26 Dib, op. cit. 34-77; Gemayel, op. cit. 98-110; Hayek, op. cit. 61-74.

27 Cf. the analysis of this prayer in Gemayel, op. cit. 277-281.

28 Ms. Bkerké 112, written by Douaihi himself.

29 Douaihi, op. cit. II 147-152.

30 Rahmani, op. cit. 295-307.

translated 41³¹; Raes reviews 70³²; Rajji retains the number of Renudot; Hayek refers to all these recensions and concludes : ".... so we have to regret the progressive impoverishment with regard to the anaphorae, to which the successive editions of the missal have lead. The liturgical possibilities were in this way limited. Consequently one can only vividly hope that they be not still more in a reform which would limit itself to the only anaphorae of the Twelve Apostles and the Sarar which are considered as strictly Maronite; on the contrary, this reform should comprise, according to the principle of Douaihi and after a critical examination of the texts, all the anaphorae attested with the Maronites since the ancient times, the oldest ones possible." ³⁴

The anaphorae mentioned in the first edition of the missal are those of St. Sixtus of Rome, St. John Chrysostom, St. John the Evangelist, St. Peter, Twelve Apostles, St. Dionysios, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Matthew the Pastor, St. John Bar-Sūsān, St. Eustathio Mārūtā of Tagrit, St. James the Apostle, St. Mark the Evangelist, St. Peter head of the Apostles known by the name of Sarar. This edition renders also, in Syriac, the pericopes for some feasts and two pericopes for the days of the week.

The second edition and the following editions

About 125 years later, a new edition of the missal was made by the press of the Propaganda at Rome in 1716; it had the title "Missale Syriacum juxta ritum Ecclesiae Antiochenae nationis Maronitarum." Several Maronite priests residing at Rome, prepared this edition. In the introduction a short history of the Maronites and a calender going from 1716 to 1800 as well as a directory for the celebrant following the pattern of the directories of the Latin missals were inserted. At the end of the volume, several blessing prayers, in Arabic, for the water, the oil for the sick, the agonizing, the obsessed, the travellers etc. were added, too. Three anaphorae of the former edition were suppressed: John Bar Sūsān, Mārūtā of Tagrit, Sarar. They were substituted by the anaphora of the Roman Church, of John Marūn and the Liturgy of the Presanctified gifts which integrates a large part of the anaphorical prayers of the Sarar. So we can state that the same number of anaphorae was kept although the ones were substituted by others and the order was overturned.

A third edition in Rome, 1763, the existences and orgin of which are suspected³⁵, only restricts the number of the anaphorae to nine.

31 *Renaudot*, op. cit. II 29f.

32 *Anaphorae Syriacae* I/1, XI-XIV.

33 *Rajji*, The anaphorae: Manara 18 (1947) 167-179.

34 *Hayek*, op. cit. 77-84, esp. 81f.

35 *Ib.* 70.

They are: the second anaphora of St. Peter joined to the common ordo, that of the Twelve Apostles which is, according to A. Raes, strictly Maronite, those of St. James the Apostle, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mark, St. Sixtus, the Roman Church, St. John Marūn and, finally, the liturgy of the presanctified.

All the other editions which followed were published in Lebanon. They were printed in the monastery of Qozhaya without any change in the number of the anaphorae nor of the rubrics in 1816, 1838, 1855 and 1872.

After these we owe an edition to Archbishop Joseph Debs of Beirut (1872-1907) which was realized in 1888; it was ameliorated by him as far as translation and presentation are concerned; in this edition, the anaphora of the Roman Church is introduced into the common ordo in place of that of St. Peter; the evangelical pericopes were revised, too.

A new edition appeared at Beirut in 1908 which is a faithful re-production of the preceding one, but with a new commentary of the rubrics due to the Fathers, Lebanese Missionaries.³⁶ The same Fathers effected a new edition in 1959 entitled; "Book of the Mass according to the rite of the Holy Antiochian Maronite Church". The karsuni characters of the Arabic translation were reproduced by Arabic ones.

The Diaconical

M. Hayek says: "From among all the Maronite liturgical books, the diaconical was the most printed, modified, adapted, before it reached us in the state, as it was fixed by the last editions, emaciated and impoverished. Let us immediately note that these modifications did in no way affect the Syriac original which remained unchanged, until it got out of use. They attain rather the different Arabic versions which were tried on that original since five, if not more centuries.... The first edition was published in Rome in 1596."³⁷

The diaconical contains all the proclamations, the diptychs reserved to the deacon, the pericopes of the epistles of St. Paul for the feasts..., the hymns and the psalms, the admonitions. From its beginning, it was following the structure of the anaphora Sarar. The last editions were very numerous and made without any control.

³⁶ Ib. 72.

³⁷ Ib. 85

Conclusion

At the end of the study of the anaphora Sarar, we stressed the relationship of the anaphora with the Chaldean liturgy. In closing our study on the development of the missal, we find ourselves before a visible Jacobite influence as well in the text as in the structure. It commences since about the 13th century.³⁸ This question was studied by M. Hayek³⁹. P. E. Gemayel has studied this question still longer in his work.⁴⁰

Presentation of some elements proper to the structure of the Maronite Divine Liturgy

We have pointed out that the manuscript missals as well as the printed ones are not everywhere uniform with regard to the rubrics, to the liturgical formularies and to the order of the prayers.

The development went from a simple structure without duplications, in the most ancient manuscript, Par. Syr. 71 (1454) to a complicated and overloaded ritual, within 140 years; it was fixed in the first edition of the missal at Rome in 1592/94, with all the infiltrations of Jacobite scribes and of the zelotes of the Maronite College in Rome, and it continued in all the following editions with more or less perfection in the presentation, the revision of the language and the enrichment of the evangelical pericopes.

We find all these in the last editions of the missal. We shall point out and present the constitutive elements proper to the Maronite Eucharistic liturgy. In the end, we shall present the projects of reform which are still either *ad experimentum* or under a second revision to come definitively in force.

As in all the other Oriental rites, the Maronite Divine liturgy is essentially a communitarian celebration, a eucharistic solemnity. This is the reason for the unicity of the eucharistic celebration on one and the same altar. Dandini, in his report, points to this fact, and all the witnesses who have come after him, confirm his statement.⁴¹ Private celebration was considered as an exception. But in the 17th century, the Maronite Church, as all the Catholic Churches of the Orient, finally recognized this practice. The Lebanese Synod of 1736 favoured it prescribing: "The priests are not authorized to concelebrate the mass whenever they wish, but they will limit themselves, with regard to this practice, to solemn feasts,

38 Ib. 75.

39 Ib. 74-84.

40 *Gemayel*, op. cit. 145-199.

41 *Dandini*, op. cit. 110ff.

to Requiem Masses in the presence of the dead body, and to anniversary Masses for the departed.”⁴² But this should not be understood, as if the private liturgy were a low Mass in which the assembly has no rôle; the rubrics and the tradition show that this liturgy was always communitarian. And the names of the liturgy also signify well this communitarian understanding: “knusôyô” or “ekklesia”: gathering; “sawtôfutô” or “koinonia”: communion, participation.

For the structure in question, we shall follow the concrete way of the celebration to explain, as far as possible, the rubrics, as found in the last editions of the missals, and indicate the deformations and the modifications which they have undergone in the course of the development.

The Preparation

The preparatory part comprises several elements: vesting of the priest, lighting of the candles, preparation of the offerings with accompanying prayers and hymns.

Several manuscripts describe the priest in the priestly mantle or “jobba” preparing himself innerly and preparing the offerings, while other manuscripts, especially Par. syr. 71, mention the vestition before the preparation of the offerings, and this will be fixed as obligatory in the first edition and prescribed by the synod of 1596 presided over by Dandini.⁴³

The vestments in question of the celebrant are described by Dandini in the following way: “They (the Maronites) do not make at all use of the maniple and the stole, and they have no chasubles similar to ours, if these are not sent to them from Rome made according to our fashion. But instead of the maniple, they wear, on both arms, piece of silk or linnen which are sewn to the alb or which are detached of it; and they pass the stole to their neck through an opening which they let there, while the rest is everywhere joined. It is at least half a foot large and is pending before the stomach down to the feet. Then they take the chasuble which they make not pass through the head, as we do, nor descend in the front and the back sides, but it is put above the shoulders, comes to the breast and is joined there, as if it were a cope, with the only difference that it goes down to the earth behind and not in front.”⁴⁴

42 Lebanese Synod part II chapter XIII c. 17.

43 Dandini, op. cit. 110f.

44 Ib. 111.

Several factors contributed to the change of these vestments: the presents of the crusaders, the bulls of the pope⁴⁵ and the Lebanese Synod.⁴⁶ Nowadays, a true return to the origins is taking its way, and the new orientations of the projects of reform demand this return.

The offerings which are prepared for the eucharistic celebration have not changed, as the wine is concerned; as for the bread, the Maronites have indifferently used both the kinds of leavened and unleavened bread till the Crusades. With the Lebanese Synod, unleavened bread was imposed on them.⁴⁷

The prayers recited by the celebrant, show us a confusion, in the same part, of the personal preparation of the celebrant and the preparation of the offerings. M. Hayek resumes this phenomenon of duplication and confusion in these words: "The preparation of the oblations has thus turned to become complicated acquiring new pieces as the double offertory prayer awaiting a third which takes place at the moment of the kiss of peace. In the beginning, this rite had no particular solemnity; standing at the altar, the priest recited a penitential prayer before the beginning of the preparation of the oblations. This was very simple, too."⁴⁸

The First Office

According to the model of the little hours of the Divine Office, this office is composed of the following elements: doxology, diaconical litany, initial prayer, Glory to God in the highest (which is a series of psalm verses), proemion, *sedrō*⁴⁹, *qōlō* and *etrō*.

The Second Office

Like the first office, this one also has a doxology, a diaconical litany, Psalm 50, a collect, *sedrō* or variable "ephramiat" (according to the feasts of the year or the days of the week), *qōlō* and *etrō*.

This second office is attested by all the manuscripts, while the first is an invention of the 16th century. In the attempts of reform, only a penitential office, variable according to the feasts of

45 *Innocent III*, Quia divinae sapientiae, 1215; *Eugene IV*, 1439; *Leo X*, 1515; in this regard cf. *Hayek*, op. cit. 151f.; *Dib*, op. cit. 16-20.

46 Lebanese Synod part II chapter XII c. 7.

47 *Ib*.

48 *Hayek*, op. cit. 157.

49 The *sedrō* is a form of priestly prayer proper to the Syriac liturgy of the Maronites and the Syrians of Antioch. Cf. *J. Mateos*, "Sedre" et prières connexes dans quelques anciennes collections: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962); *G. Khouri-Sarkis*, Le Sedre dans l'Eglise Syrienne d'Antioche: *L'Orient Syrien* 1 (1956) 88-96.

the year or replaceable by the rituals of the sacraments administered at the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, has been kept.

The Trisagion

The problems concerning the Trisagion are out of date. Therefore it is enough to remind here of the interpretation of the Maronite Patriarch Douaihi who was the first to speak of it in his "Lamp": He proves that the invocation of the Trisagion is addressed by the Maronites as well to the Trinity as to the Son alone. In the latter case, the insertion before "Have mercy on us" varies according to the feasts: At Christmas "Christ born of David's daughter, have mercy on us"; at Epiphany "Christ who were baptized by John, have mercy on us"; at Easter "Christ who rose from among the dead, have mercy on us"; during the Holy Week "Christ who were crucified for us, have mercy on us", etc. In his interpretation, Douaihi refers to Ephrem of Amida, bishop of Antioch (526-545).⁵⁰

The lessons

The printed Maronite missals render pericopes, in Syriac, for the great feasts, and later for the seven days of the week are added. The manuscript patrimony, however, of which the most ancient and most precious of the Maronite Church is the famous Evangeliary of Rabbula which was executed in 586, contains the repartition of the different lessons according to the liturgical year of that time.⁵²

For the solemn liturgy, we have a description of the celebration of the Liturgy of the word in Douaihi's "Lamp": after the Trisagion, the archdeacon leaves the diaconicon carrying the Gospel on his breast symbolizing in this way that the eternal Word comes out from the bosom of the Father entering into the world. The procession is led by deacons carrying luminaries, singing psalms and waving their fans, while the priests carry the thuribles. After the epistle, the archdeacon kisses the celebrant's hand and is led by two hypodeacons to the ambon. After the proclamation of the reading and the blessing of the catechumens and the faithful, the text is read first in Syriac and then translated into the language of the people.⁵³

50 Douaihi, op. cit. I 506.

51 Gemayel, op. cit. 253-330.

52 This codex is in the Medici library of Florence, Italy, under no. Plut. 1. 56. A precious reproduction, in facsimile, of its famous miniatures was edited by the publishing firm Cecchelli-Furlani-Salmi, Olten and Lausanne 1959, entitled: The Rabboula Gospels. These miniatures are representative for Maronite art; in this regard, the very ancient frescoes of the following Maronite churches can be admired: Bahdidat, St. Charbel Méad, Eddé-Batroun,.... Cf. also Hayek, op. cit. 94-102, 131-138.

53 Douaihi, op. cit. 540-541.

This solemn rite is always mentioned in the rubrics of the pontifical liturgies, but in the present practice of the Sunday and ferial liturgies, the priest recites a prayer which, closing the Trisagion, prepares us for the reading. "Holy, glorious, strong and immortal Lord who dwell in the saints and whose divine will is pleased in them, sanctify our thoughts and purify our consciences from all filth of sin, that we render you, in the holy Church, a glory without stain now, at all times and for ever." Then the deacon announces the "Psalm of Praise" (mazmūrō d-tesbohtō) composed of three stanzas which is based on a biblical verse, variable according to the days of the week and the feasts. The "hallel" is proclaimed, and then the priest announces the gospel twice, blesses the assembly and reads or sings the evangelical pericope.

The Scriptural readings are actually reduced to two. The epistle is always taken from St. Paul. This reduction and the choice of the epistle are with the Maronites recent. Formerly, and according to the Antiochian tradition, there were six readings: three from the Old and three from the New Testament. Very ancient traces exist still in the "Lectionaries", so also the blessings of the celebrant who, at the announcement of the reading of the epistle, blesses the deacon saying: "Glory to the Master of Paul, of the Prophets and the Apostles. May the mercies of God be on the readers and the hearers, on this place and all its inhabitants, for ever." After the reading of the Gospel, the celebrant gives thanks to the Lord saying now this is sung or proclaimed by the assembly): "To Jesus Christ, praises, thanks giving and benedictions for his words of life which he addresses to us, and to his Father who sent him for our salvation, and to his living and holy Spirit, now, at all times and for ever."

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

1. The Pre-Anaphora

In the rites of the preparation of the offerings, we have seen that this preparation had been executed in a very simple way, with or without liturgical vestments; the deacon or the priest could make this preparation of bread and wine on the altar.⁵⁴ We have, however, in the pre-anaphora some indications which are witnessing in favour of a transfer of the oblations: the hymn *unītō* which is found in all the manuscripts in this place. We give here its translation:

"The Lord has reigned and endowed himself with splendour. Alleluia. I am the bread of life, says the Lord. I have come down from the heights to the depths, that the world live through me. The

⁵⁴ *Emmanuel Khoury*, Les canons sur l'eucharistie dans "Kitab al-Huda: Melto 2 (1966) 251-271.

Father has sent me, incorporeal Word, such a delicious grain of ferment; Mary's womb, similar to a fertile ground, has received me and behold, the priests carry me by their hands in procession to the altar. Alleluia, accept our oblation."⁵⁵

Another indication is the incensing accompanying the Creed; it can only be understood in relation to the transfer in question.

In this regard we point to the fact that it is in the plural form: "We believe..." The priest washes his hands immediately after the Creed and sings the "I will enter" which is rightly here, when we have in mind that the office of the lessons had taken place on the bēmā.⁵⁶

The Kiss of peace

Three orations follow here: the first is called "prayer of peace", the second "prayer of the imposition of hands" and the third "prayer of the veil". There upon the celebrant gives the server of the liturgy the kiss of peace who, in his turn, communicates it to the assembly either with joined hands, by an accolade or by a real kiss.

The Maronites have been faithful to these three prayers which are also found in the Syrian Churches.

II. The Anaphora

Considered as literary unit, the anaphora begins with the prayers preceding the kiss of peace; but, strictly, it means the eucharistic oblation centred on the mystery of the economy of salvation in its trinitarian aspect.

The celebrant opens this new liturgical action tracing three signs of the cross above the assembly, with the veil, saying: "May the love of God the Father +, the grace of the only-begotten Son + and the participation and effusion of the Holy Spirit + be with you all, my brethren, for ever."

55 For the liturgical Maronite music in general, see the fundamental work of L. Hage, *Le chant de l'Eglise Maronite*, vol. I: *Le chant syro-Maronite*, Beirut 1972.

56 For the Maronite architecture, cf. Lebanese Synod part IV ch. I c. 5; *Dib*, op. cit. 27-29; *Hayek*, op. cit. 131-138. Here we find, in a note, several bibliographical orientations and historical notes of the most ancient Maronite churches. Douaihi, in his "Lamp of the sanctuaries" describes the Maronite church and interprets the symbolism of each part, pp. 93-136. A completely new discovery concerning the orientation of the Maronite churches was communicated by J. Tabet in his introduction to the *Annuaire de l'Universite Saint-Esprit de Kaslik*, 1981/1982, where we read on p. 13: "It is not surprising to state, following eminent Lebanese architects, that certain ancient Maronite churches of the Lebanon are not orientated to the East, as this is the normal case with the churches, but rather to Antioch."

After a three times repeated doxology follows the eucharistic dialogue, common to all the rites and differing from that of the anaphora Sarar mentioned above.

Now comes the preface prepared by a secret prayer and followed by a more or less long prayer, according to the respective anaphora. It is addressed to the Father who is proclaimed together with the angels as "Holy, holy, holy..."

The Memorial of the Son and the Institution

The present recital of the Institution was substituted to the recitals proper to each anaphora. It is a copy conform to the recital of the Roman rite. It was adopted in the first edition of the missal, as we have pointed out above, and prescribed by the Lebanese Synod because of the demands of the notions of form and matter... This was strange to the Maronites before the 16th century. For them, all the anaphorical prayers consecrated. This is why they had not less than 25 different formulae. We render that of the anaphora Sarar which its parallel of Addai and Mari does not mention.

Consecration of the bread

"We commemorate your passion, O Lord, as you have taught us: in that night in which you were delivered to the crucifiers, you took, O Lord, bread in your pure and holy hands and, looking to heaven, you blessed +, you consigned +, you consecrated +, O Lord, you broke and gave to your disciples, the blessed apostles saying: This bread is my body which is broken and given for the life of the world, for the forgiveness of the faults and the remission of the sins of those taking it. Take, eat of it and it will be to you for life eternal."

He takes the chalice saying:

Alike above the chalice: in the same manner you gave thanks and glory, o Lord, saying: "This is the chalice of my blood, new covenant which is shed for many for the remission of the sins. Take, drink of it all, and it will be to you for the forgiveness of the faults, the remission of the sins and life for ever and ever. Whenever you will eat of this holy body and drink of this chalice of life and salvation, you will remember the death and the resurrection of your Lord till the day of his coming."

The recital of the institution is prolonged by the command of Jesus: "Do this in my memory until I come." This brings us in face of the eschatological reality which is very explicit in the Syriac

rites.⁵⁷ The prayer called "anamnesis" expresses in the anaphorae in different ways the whole economy of salvation. This is the translation of the anamnesis of the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles: "Therefore, o Lord, lover of mankind, we also, remembering now your economy (madabronūtō), pray and supplicate you, o Lord, to have pity and mercy on your worshippers and to save your inheritance, when you will appear in the end of times to retribute in all justice each one according to his deeds. This is why your Church supplicates now and, through you and with you, supplicates your Father..."

The Maronite rite reserves, at this place of the anaphora, a commemoration of the Holy Virgin. It is perhaps a survival of an ancient rite of intercession which had its place before the epiclesis, by the way known to John Chrysostom, the anaphora of Sarai and the anaphora of Addai and Mari.⁵⁸

The epiclesis

Alike the recitals of the institution, the form of the epiclesis is variable in each anaphora; among all these variants, the sense and the aim is the same: to invoke God that he send his Holy Spirit in order to descend on the offerings and to consecrate them, on the celebrant and on the assembly to make their participation salutary. The first edition of the missal has annulled the first slice, but the proclamation of the deacon witnesses to the original form, because the diaconical was not revised:

"Bless, o Lord. How dreadful is this moment and how fearful this time, my beloved, when the living Holy Spirit is moved to descend from the most high of the heights and hovers and rests on this Eucharist which is set in the sanctuary and consecrates it. Stand and pray in concentration and fear that the peace be with us and the tranquillity of God, our Father of all. Let us cry and say thrice: Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison."

There are three anaphorae of the same missal, namely those of Matthew the Pastor, Eustathios of Antioch and of the Twelve Apostles, in which the epiclesis was not touched.

The Lebanese Synod had to be awaited for the precision of the sense of the epiclesis which can neither be separated from the preceding nor from the subsequent parts.

57 J. Tabet, *L'eschatologie dans l'office commun maronite*; *Parole de l'Orient* 1 (1971) 5-29.

58 Hayek, *op. cit.* 188.

The question of the epiclesis does no longer present any theological difficulty: it is the Proof of the consecration, as the Holy Spirit is proving Christ.⁵⁹

Diptychs or Intercessions

The place these diptychs occupy in the anaphorae, indicates their belonging to this or that liturgical family. So, for example, the Antiochian type gives them the place following the epiclesis while the Alexandrian type places them before the Sanctus. In the Chaldean rite, they are before the epiclesis, the Anaphora Sarar gives them a double place before the Sanctus and before the epiclesis. Generally there are six in each anaphora: three for the living and three for the dead.

In the Maronite missals, these intercessions have undergone some changes: the Council of Chalcedon was intercalated, the names of heretic doctors were removed and the name of the pope as the head of the pastors of the Church was inserted. All these changes were taken up by the Syrian Catholics.

These prayers contain a secret commemoration, one said aloud and the reminder of the names of those to be commemorated by the deacon, while the celebrant recites the supplications and commemorations.

The Communion

This part of the Divine Liturgy which is the preparation of the priest and the faithful for Holy Communion is one of the most complicated of the whole Maronite liturgy. Indeed, if the "Before-Mass" presents difficulties because of the duplications: double preparation, double penitential office, which can be easily recognized and easily solved, the part in question, in its turn, causes problems to the liturgists and especially to the reformers of the Maronite liturgy by everything it is containing of Symbolical preparations and manual acts.

Unlike the other Oriental liturgies, the Maronite liturgy does not follow any of their schemes; in fact, in the Byzantine and Armenian liturgies, the preparatory rites for communion have the following order: Our Father, Holy things to the Holy, manual acts; in the Syrian and Chaldean liturgies: manual acts, Our Father, Holy things to the Holy; in the Coptic and Ethiopian liturgies: fraction, Our Father, Holy things to the Holy, other manual acts; our Maronite liturgy: consignation, Our Father, Holy things to the Holy, manual acts. To regroup and place these rites before Our Lord's prayer and

⁵⁹ Ib. 193.

the "Holy things to the Holy" is important; the identity of this part would depend on this option. This is why this question has been the object of several studies of the most competent scholars in this matter who, however, did not attain to an agreement in their conclusions.⁶⁰

The project of reform which is ad experimentum since 11 years, opted for the restitution of this part, as it is in the East Syrian and west Syrian liturgies, because there are no reasons why it should differ from them in this point.

So the celebrant signs, breaks, dips in one part of the host, signs the other particles and, at last, puts the imbued particle into the chalice saying the appropriate prayers which keep their full meaning. Some of this prayers are:

"O delicious Victim who have offered yourself for us, o immolated Redeemer who have offered your person, o Lamb who were yourself the offering pontiff: by your mercy may our prayers be a perfume and through you may we offer it to the Father."

"You have united, o Lord, your Divinity to our humanity and our humanity to your Divinity, your vitality to our mortality and our mortality to your vitality; you have taken what is ours and we render you what is yours, for the life and salvation of our lives. praise to you, for ever."

Our Lord's Prayer

The Lord's prayer which is preparing for the communion, is introduced by a prayer and concluded by another which develops it and is called "metabolism". In the Sarar, the two prayers are: "With the familiarity which is yours and the knowledge which comes from you, we address you, o Lord, this pure, holy and acceptable prayer which you have taught your blessed disciples saying: Whenever you gather in my name and celebrate among you my memory and this mystery, you will pray, give thanks and praise saying thus: Our Father...."

"Make us not enter into the temptation, o Lord God, because the force to resist the cunningings of the fraud is harmful to us; but deliver us from the evil one and his powers, his snares and his ambushes as well as from his accomplices, his agents, his resemblings and his adherence, because yours are the kingdom, the power and the glory in heaven and on earth, o Hope of the Church and Saviour of her children, now...."

⁶⁰ M. Doumith, Les actes manuels dans la messe maronite: *Revue Sacerdotale* 7 (1961) 174-184; B. Gemayel, Fraction, consignation, communion dans la liturgie syro-maronite: *Symposium Syriacum* 1972 (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 197), Rome 1974, 163-181.

Holy things to the Holy

Thereafter the priest receites a secret prayer and, raising the host, says: "Holy things to the Holy" while tracing with it, a sign of the cross. So also he does with the chalice.

The liturgical texts prior to the 7th century mention an elevation of the hand accompanying the "Holy things to the Holy", and it may be stated that the elevation of the holy mysteries was introduced later in the Syriac rites. The first edition of the Maronite missal mentions but the elevation of the host; the development of this rite in the following editions is a Latin influence. The projects of reform have kept one only elevation of the host and the chalice accompanied by the formula: "Holy things to the Holy".

In the missals, the fraction and commixtion passed to this place, but in the project of reform *ad experimentum*, the celebrant and the faithful are now preparing themselves for communion reciting the following prayer:

"Make, o Lord God, that our bodies be sanctified by your holy body and our souls be purified by your blood, and that this be for the pardon of our faults and the remission of our sins. Glory to you, our Lord and God, for ever."

The celebrant communicates, and then he blesses the assembly and sings, alternately with the deacon, a processional hymn which is continued after the communion of the faithful, but in the intention of the dead. Thereupon the celebrant blesses the assembly with the holy mysteries and consumes what remains of the Eucharist.

The "Book of Direction" informs us about the communion of the faithful. We read there:

"The priest carries the body and goes towards the people. He (= the faithful) approaches, uncovers his head and prostrates thrice before the body which he then receives. When the priest lays the Pearl into his mouth, he places beneath his right hand above his left hand, but in the opposite way that they render the form of the life-giving cross. After finishing the consumption, he approaches the chalice, prostrates thrice before it and then he drinks enough to moisten his lips, his tongue and all his mouth to the larynx. Thereafter he stands in the attitude of a poor and pious giving thanks to God the Highest for the gift which He has made to him and of which he was made worthy."

"Elsewhere it is said: 'If there remains something after the faithful have communicated the body, the priest has to begin again to distribute, up to three times, if necessary; if there still remains something after the third turn, he will no more begin again,

but he will carry it to the place where the mysteries are kept (Bet-Gaza) and at its side a lamp will be lighted till the next day, when he will redistribute it to them; this provided a safe place for the body; otherwise he will recommence the distribution until there is nothing left. As regards the blood, it is forbidden to keep it till the next day; it must be distributed to the assembly as many times as necessary until there is nothing left.”⁶¹

The Lebanese Synod introduced other customs prescribing: the prohibition of the spoon for the communion, of the two species for the communion of lay people, of giving them the host into the hand, of giving communion to new-born baptized ones; the consecration of small round hosts.⁶²

Actually, with all reserves from the part of the hierarchy, communion under both the species becomes more and more general.

The Thanksgiving and the Dismissal of the Assembly

The thanksgiving after the eucharistic meal is composed of two prayers which vary according to the different anaphorae, and two prayers of later origin, the Arabic original of which is found in the manuscript which was used for the elaboration of the first edition of the missal. A third concluding prayer is reserved to great feasts. We render here the thanksgiving prayers of the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles:

To the Father: We thank you, Lord God, and ask you with supplication to make that this divine communion be for the pardon of our faults, the remission of our sins and of all our transgressions, and for the glory of your holy name, that of your only-begotten Son and your living and holy Spirit.....”

To the Son: Lord, God of salvation, who have become man for us and saved us by your immolation, deliver us all now from the exterminating corruption and make that we be temples for your holy name, because we are your people and your inheritance. To you are due glory, honour and dominion, together with your Father and your living and holy Spirit, now, at all times and for ever and ever.

And another prayer of dismissal of the common eucharistic prayer: “Go in peace, my brothers and beloved ones, after having received, from the Lord’s purifying altar, the provision and the benedictions we confide you to the grace and the mercy of the holy and glorious Trinity, you who are far and near, living and dead, redeemed by the victorious cross; may this cross protect your lives from

61 Book of Direction (in Arabic: Kitāb al-Hudā), ed. Fahed, Aleppo 1935; quoted from Hayek, op. cit. 207f.

62 Lebanese Synod part II ch. XII cc. 21 and 22.

the corruption and the power of sin. As regards us, o our masters and brothers, we recommend ourselves to your helpful prayers, for ever."

The priest who was ordained for this altar and lives there his priestly mystery, does not leave it without bidding farewell reciting the following prayer:

"Remain in peace, holy altar. May I return in peace to you. May the offering I received from you, be for the pardon of the faults and the remission of the sins, and the standing before the throne of Christ without confusion and shame. And I do not know whether I return or not to offer another sacrifice on you again."

The Necessity of a Reform and the Reform projects

The necessity of reform in view of a Maronite authentic, simple, clear eucharistic liturgy, radiating the Antiochian spirituality, was felt with each elaboration of a new edition of the missal, each Maronite Synod and each new Patriarch.

The pastoral needs, at any moment and occasion, made a revision, an adaptation or a rediscovery of the true figure of this liturgy, and its riches necessary. This is in view of an "aggiornamento" of this rich patrimony the wealth of which, however, remaining unknown to the most concerned, to those within.

In order to respond to these necessities, these demands and these needs in the field of the Divine Liturgy, attempts of reform going back to about 1960, were undertaken in private or in common, as e. g. by the Association of Priests, in scientific or pastoral studies, the latter profiting from the first. They lead to the establishment of official commissions presided over by eminent Maronite prelates or Their Beatitudes, the Patriarchs. These commissions presented one project after the other. In our study we deal only with those which were turned into practice ad experimentum, officially or officiously.

First Project

The first project was presented in its introduction as follows: "In early 1970, the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches established a liturgical Commission which was charged to examine the project of the Maronite Divine Liturgy which His Most Eminent Beatitude, Cardinal Paul Peter Meouchi, Maronite Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, had submitted in 1969."

"Prior to this, other projects of reform of the Divine Liturgy were received and examined.... The commission had always in view

as well the missal edited in Beirut in 1908 as the first edition made in Rome in 1592-1594....."⁶³

Among other merits of the present Ordo of the liturgy, the Congregation, tells us, the considerable number of suppressions, abbreviations and simplifications that must be stressed and which have been introduced into the liturgical text and actions... To be stressed are especially the suppression of the second office, the reduction of the Great Intercession, the limitation of the incensings and the possibility of replacing the first office by other occasional offices, as e. g. marriage.

This first project edited in French, was also published in Arabic to be put ad experimentum; but its fate will be that which we will learn from the introduction to the second project.

Second project

This second project which effectively enters into use, but "ad experimentum", is almost a second edition of the first. So we read in the introduction:

"Different projects of the Ordo of the Maronite liturgy were elaborated of which a unique project could be made which we sent to the Holy See. It was returned to us after having been revised by eminent specialists.

Our brothers, however, Their Excellencies the Bishops, wished to introduce there some accommodations to make it closer to that liturgy our faithful are accustomed to.

In reply to their wishes we have decided that this revised Ordo be the only one of the attempts to be put ad experimentum for one whole year beginning with the feast of Easter which falls on April 22, 1973.

... while knowing that this is but the first step which will be followed up by the Ordo of the solemn liturgy and the necessary texts for the services of the liturgical year according to the feasts and the circumstances as well as the biblical pericopes and the anaphorae."⁶⁴

This project is used to this day, although it contains only the Ordo of the liturgy with an appendix containing two offices, one for the dead and the other for the Holy Virgin.

In the meantime, i. e. during nine years, other project-attempts have circulated: that of His Excellency Mar John Chedid, Maronite Bishop of Brasil, which has a personal and local character; that of

63 *S. Congrégation pour les Eglises Orientales*, Liturgie Maronite. Révision de l'Ordo de la Messe, Vatican 1971.

64 Ordo simple de la messe divine Maronite, Bkerke 1973.

His Excellency Mar Francis Zayek, Maronite Bishop of the United States of America which is a good adaptation of the first project mentioned above. It was enriched by several anaphorae and adapted to the Maronite liturgical year thanks to the good offices of Rev. Joseph Kamar, Maronite priest of the eparchy of the U. S. A.⁶⁵; Finally the project elaborated by the Higher Institute of Liturgy at the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik⁶⁶, under the direction of Rev. Dr. John Tabet: this project presents two formularies for the preparation of the offerings which the celebrant may chose, and three anaphorae (St. Peter, Twelve Apostles and St. James), resumed and adapted in several points. Since 1972 till now it is used in the monasteries of the Lebanese Maronite Order (O. L. M.).

The last project was prepared by a commission designated ad hoc and composed of the best specialists in the field of liturgy; it was presented to the Synod of the Maronite Bishops to be studied and promulgated ad experimentum. This project recommends itself for the following reasons:

1. Together with the Ordo of the Divine Liturgy which is well structured, profiting of all the liturgical, scientific and pastoral, useful and generally admitted givings, this project has also 25 "Before-Masses" distributed according to the liturgical year and is promising other occasional offices, as e. g. matrimony, baptism... The same project contains seven anaphorae and is prepared to adopt still others from the long list of anaphorae existing in Maronite manuscripts.

2. It presents two beginnings for the offices: the one for ordinary days begins with the doxology, a prayer and a psalm; the other for more solemn days with the celebrant's proclamation: "Peace to the Church and her children" which is followed by the "Glory to God in the highest" and the prayer; then comes, in both cases, proemion, sedrō, qōlō and 'etrō.

3. It decided on the place of the preparation and the moment of the transfer of the oblations, returning at the same time to the simplicity of the preparation which may take place in the absence of the faithful and before the vesting.

4. It has restituted to each anaphora its own text of the institution and the epiclesis.

5. Though the intercessions are part of each anaphora, the project takes into consideration special circumstances and needs of the assembly, offering a plan and texts for different occasions.

⁶⁵ Detroit, Michigan, U. S. A. 1969.

⁶⁶ The Institute of Liturgy was founded in 1969 within the Theological Faculty of the Holy Spirit University (Universite Saint-Esprit) of Kaslik, Lebanon.

6. The manual acts: fraction, consignation, commixtion etc. preceding communion are put before the Lord's prayer, together with the accompanying prayers interpreting them.

The explications of the formularies, the liturgical actions and the pastoral needs were presented together with justifying documents in their favour.

We hope that this project will be admitted and promulgated and be also a point of departure for the other projects of reform which are awaited for the ritual, the pontifical and the calendar.

Conclusion

This Agape or eucharistic liturgical celebration continues to attract, especially in the Orient, large assemblies belonging to different rites; consequently it would be desirable to conceive common liturgical reforms for the good of all the faithful.

"It imposes itself on all the heirs of the Syrian tradition to become, in common, conscious of the patrimony the guards of which they are, in the name of the whole Church and for the world surrounding them...Two among them, at least, can reform themselves together according to the same principles: the Maronites and the Syrian Catholics. And why not also the others including the Orthodox?"⁶⁷ The common aim, the "bonum animarum", the mission in the Orient and, finally, the ecclesiological vision of the Second Vatican Council—would they not demand to act in this sense and this kind of reform?

We close our study with the wish of Fr. Dalmais: "One would not wish too much, that the Maronite Church which was able to integrate elements of the one or other of these expressions (East Syrian and West Syrian) and to array them with relation to the Latin West, opens itself in a broader way to those Christianities of India the exchanges with which could only be fruitful. In these different ways, it could largely contribute, to the advantage of all the Churches, to fructify what it had received, safeguarded and brought to bear."⁶⁸

67 Hayek, op. cit. 84.

68 I.-H. Dalmais, L'héritage antiochien de l'Eglise Maronite: Melto 3 (1967) 69f.

The Holy Qurbono In The Syro - Malankara Church

The Holy Qurbono in the Syro - Malankara Church

By P. T. Givergis Paniker

Introduction

THE SYRO - MALANKARA CHURCH: IT'S ORIGIN AND GROWTH

The Syrian Church in India, originally known as the St. Thomas Christians, is a remnant of a once great and illustrious Church which extended its influence from Antioch on the shores of the Mediterranean, right across Asia to India and China in the East. The home of this St. Thomas Christians is known by different names such as Malabar, Malankara, Malanadu, Malavarem, and Kerala. This South Indian Syrian Church was founded between A. D. 52 and 72, by St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Christ. From early times until after the middle of the 17th century the Syrian Church of Malabar was an Eparchy in the Patriarchate of Babylon. In other words, the St. Thomas Christians were affiliated to the ancient Syrian Church of Mesopotamia in the early centuries. Hence they had followed the East Syrian Rite or Syro-Chaldean Rite. Thus the Syro-Chaldean Rite was used by all the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala, until the 17th century.

From the time of its establishment until 1653 A. D., (the year of Koonan Kurissu Sathyam) (oath) the Malankara Church was an undivided whole. During the Portuguese rule in India, the Syrian Church was brought under the Portuguese Latin Regime. The reduction of the Metropolitan See of Angamali to the status of a mere suffragan diocese and the extension of the Padroado of the King of Portugal, over it, led to wide unrest among the St. Thomas

Christians. In 1652, there arrived one Ahathallah from Mesopotamia carrying a letter from the Pope of Rome. The Portuguese authorities without delay, deported him to Goa via Cochin. There followed revolt and schism and hence the Koonan Kurissu Sathyam (oath) in 1653. Thus a section of the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala broke away from the communion with Rome and placed themselves under the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. This was the first time the Jacobites of Syria came into contact with the St. Thomas Christians of South India. Malankara Jacobites thus came to adopt the West Syrian Rite of Antioch, which they continue to use even at the present day.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Malankara Jacobites made several futile attempts at re-union. Mar Ivanios, the celebrated Metropolitan of Bethany in the Malankara Church, initiated the successful Reunion Movement of the 20th century. Realizing the heinousness of the schism and anxious to bring the Jacobites back to the unity of the Catholic Church, Mar Ivanios requested the Holy Father to receive them into the Catholic fold. Accordingly, Pope Pius XI received Mar Ivanios and his suffragan bishop Mar Theophilos, together with their priests and faithful into the Catholic Church and also permitted them to continue the use of the Syro-Malankara Rite. The Malankara Jacobites have, since 1930, met with a promising ecumenical movement towards reunion with the Catholic Communion. At present, the followers of Mar Ivanios, the Catholic Malankarese, are relatively the prolific in vocation to priesthood of any Church in India and full of great zeal to bring Christianity to non-Christians also.

This new branch of the Tree of Life—the Syro-Malankara Church, has grown to such an extent that within the 52 years of its existence, it has reckoned among its adherents, three Archbishop-Metropolitans (2 since deceased), 7 bishops (3 since deceased), 2 Rembans (2 since deceased), 3 Chorepiscopos (1 since deceased), as well as 470 priests, 755 parishes and 2,90000 faithful; 78 Major Seminarians, 140 Minor Seminarians, 2 Arts Colleges, 1 Training College, 2 Training Schools; 27 High Schools, 23 Middle Schools, 92 Lower Primary Schools, 85 Nursery Schools, 12 Hospitals, 10 Dispensaries, 3 Homes for Destitutes, 3 Orphanages, 2 Industrial Centres, 4 Parallel Colleges and 2 Printing Presses.

THE HOLY QURBONO

In the Catholic Church, though the Holy Qurbōnō¹ is essentially the same everywhere, various accidental modifications and peculiarities of ritual enjoy authoritative recognition and compose various rites in which the Holy Qurbōnō is offered in different parts of the Christendom. In other words, the Holy Qurbōnō is one, but the ways of celebration are many. This aspect of diversity in unity is as clear and striking as it is important. Hence we

1 *Qurbono*: This Syriac word means 'offering' or 'sacrifice'. It is the name given to the offering of the Eucharist in the Syro-Malankara Church. It is also known by various other names each of them emphasising one of these aspects. *Qurobo* (Access): Applied to the Eucharist, *Qurobo* means 'bringing near' or 'offering'. It signifies that it is through it that man draws near to God. It is called so, because by it they that were far off and they that were near, and they of heaven and they of earth, have been brought near to one another, as St. Paul says in Eph 2, 18.

Roze means Mysteries. It is called so, because Christ delivered these secretly to the disciples in the Upper Room and also because he revealed to them the mysteries concerning his Passion.

Sawtopūto means communion. It is so called, because we communicate mystically in the Body and Blood of Christ and become one body with him. This name emphasizes the corporateness of the worshippers in sharing of the holy species. *Ewkaristia* means thanks-giving. It is the thank-offering to God. The word is derived from the thanksgiving of Christ at the Last Supper (Lk 22, 19; Mk 14, 23; Mt 26, 27; 1 Cor 11, 24). It is called so, because it is the actualizing of the salvific reality 'Christ' through the words of thanksgiving pronounced over the bread and wine.

Annapāro means sacrifice; the 'offering up' of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Hence, properly the thanksgiving and the consecration, anamnesis, epiclesis and the accompanying great intercessions and the fraction; extended to include the whole of the divine service from the kiss of peace to the final blessing and dismissal. The word is also used for the great veil covering the oblation. Cfr.

Susepo. K'nāsiyo (assembly). Applied to the Eucharist, this word means the liturgical assembly. It is called so, because it assembles the scattered faculties that are in us into the unity of One God.

G'mīrūt G'mīrūto means perfection of perfections, because without it, not one of the other holy mysteries in the Church is perfected. In other words, it is the one sacrament that perfects all other sacraments.

Potūre d'Morio means the Table of the Lord. Applied to the Eucharist, it means the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 10, 21) or the 'breaking of bread', a meal, a feast (Ps 23, 5; 78, 19). The name reminds us who instituted it for our spiritual nourishment. Not only the Holy Qurbono but everything that we enjoy, is the gift of Our Lord, because he is the unseen Host at every meal and not the unseen guest. Compare the feast prepared in the prodigal son's house.

Tesmesto means the holy liturgy. It is the celebration of the holy Eucharist in the East.

Qudoso means sanctification, 'the sacrament'. It is an apt word for Qurbono. (George, Bishop of Arabs, Exp. of the Mysteries; Mose Bar Kipo; Dionysios Bar Salibi; Dionysios Areopag., Eccl. Hier. ch. III: PG III 424 C).

find more than twenty rites in the Catholic Church today. The Holy Qurbōnō in the Syro-Malankara Church is one of these. When Archbishop Mar Ivanios and his followers were received into the Catholic Church in 1930, the Holy Roman See agreed that they continued to use their own liturgy which is but the time-honoured Indian adaptation of the ancient pure Syrian Rite of Antioch. The Malankara liturgy in Kerala is very similar to the Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) liturgy in India, and is a variation of the well-known Syrian Rite of Antioch, with divergent and supplementary practices, peculiar to the Maphrianate of the East.

The great freedom in extending and arranging the Eucharistic Service which was allowed in the early centuries, gradually led, with the further spread of Christianity, to considerable differences, in the liturgies of the Holy Qurbōnō. The West Syrians favoured the imaginative, elevated style, increased the number of scriptural lessons and prayers, and on account of the bitter controversies concerning the christology of the times, introduced dogma and mysticism into their liturgical prayers. Since liturgy is a ritual enactment of our beliefs, it contains within itself a symbolic interpretative scheme. In short, the Syro-Malankara liturgy is pregnant with symbolism.

The Syro-Malankara liturgy is a grand and harmonious manifestation of man's homage to God. Its words, ceremonies, rituals and devotions are the development of centuries. It was under Ya' qōb Burd'ōnō in the sixth century that the liturgy was translated from Greek into Syriac. About A. D. 703, Ya' qōb of Edessa revised the Syriac text of the liturgy of St. James using the corresponding Greek liturgy. Final revision and abridgment of certain prayers were made in the thirteenth century by Mar Gregorios Barhebraeus (Grīgōr bar 'Ebrāyā, Grīgōr abu l-Farag ibn al-'Ibrī), the then Catholicos of Tagrit. Thus the present Syrian liturgy came into being. The Jacobite version of the liturgy of St. James now used in Kerala is not very different from the manuscript copy of Mar Gregorios Barhebraeus kept in the British Museum and in the London university library. It is interesting to note that the Syro-Malankara liturgy is really a true copy of the Pampakuda version of the above.

During the course of its development, this liturgy received much from the traditions and customs of the East Syrian and Byzantine liturgies. In this way, the West Syrian liturgy continued to grow from the sixth to the thirteenth century, receiving many things from the East Syrian and Byzantine rites. Finally, it became a "liturgy of incomparable splendour and beauty". The essentials of the Church's worship have been embellished with a wealth of rituals and observances of which every detail is symbolic of the purpose for which that worship is offered.

The prayers of the Syro-Malankara liturgy are imbued with sturdy piety and are filled with echoes and idioms of Holy Scripture. The prayers and manual actions are very rich in symbolical imaginery and beauty of devotional expressions and few prayers are longer and more emotional than those of the Western Church. Moreover, of all the Eastern liturgies, the Syro-Malankara Holy Qurbōnō is the richest in symbolism. The profundity of its symbolism and wealth of its theological teaching make the prayers invaluable for the devotion and edification of the faithful.

To the Syrians, everything is mystery in the sphere of faith. They attach more importance to symbolism than the Latins. Every place, thing, person or ritual has symbolical significance attached to it. In many cases, the meanings assigned to places, things, persons or rituals may strike the less mystically minded people as somewhat strained and far-fetched. But it is very difficult to understand the Syro-Malankara rite, if the West Syrian fondness for symbolism is not primarily and sympathetically taken for granted. The most important quality of the Syrian liturgy is its sense of awe and wonder before the divine mystery. It is greatly influenced by the scene in the vision of the prophet Isaiah (Is 6, 1-9). This scene is introduced at the first entrance of the pilgrim worshipper² into the Church-building, at the beginning

2 Pilgrim-worshipper.

The believer in the Syro-Malankara Church who goes to the church for Sunday service is generally known as the pilgrim-worshipper, including the priest. His journey to the church as well as his active participation in the liturgy are conceived as a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem. A pilgrimage is a sacred journey made by believers to a place consecrated by some manifestation of the divine or by the activity of some great religious figure, in order to offer their prayers and sacrifice there, in particularly favourable surroundings. That is what happens in Sunday worship in Syro-Malankara churches. Thus pilgrimage is a quest for God and an encounter with him in the context of liturgical worship. Jesus goes up to Jerusalem with his parents when he is twelve years old in obedience to the Jewish law (Lk 2, 4), and throughout his mission Jesus continues to go up there for the various feasts (Jo 2, 13; 5, 1; 7, 14; 10, 22; 12, 12). More than 25 years after Christ's death, St. Paul himself is determined to make the Pentecost pilgrimage (Acts 20, 16; 24, 4). It is the life of the People of God (New Israel) themselves which is regarded as the real eschatological pilgrimage (2 Cor, 5, 6;

and end of canonical hours, at the recitation of the Trisagion (qaumō) at the open celebration of the liturgy; at the Hymn of the Seraphim before the Institution Narrative of the Holy Qurbōnō; at the fraction ceremony; and lastly at the distribution of the Holy Mysteries (communion).

The Holy Qurbōnō is really a sublime mystery. It is called the mystery of mysteries. It is as profound and as unfathomable as that of the Incarnation and the Trinity. After the Incarnation of Christ, the ceremonies and rites of the Church have deeper significance than the external appearances. They are the means of entrance into the divine sphere. They receive this significance

Hebr 13, 14). This pilgrimage is also an exodus under the leadership of Jesus Christ (Acts 3, 15; 5, 31; Hebr 2, 10) to the heavenly Jerusalem. In the liturgical gatherings of Sunday in the consecrated parish church, the Syrian Church sees an opportunity for the faithful to show their fellowship in faith and prayer; and above all, it seizes this golden opportunity, to remind them that they are on a journey toward their Saviour and under his leadership. As far as the Malankara Church is concerned, the faithful conduct their pilgrimage to the parish church every Sunday in the following way. Every morning, after his night prayers, the faithful prepares himself for the pilgrimage by taking bath and wearing clean clothes and reading certain parts of the Holy Scriptures. Finally, when he hears the church-bell, he reads the 25th psalm, a meditation song. Then he starts making the sign of the Cross on himself and whispers as he moves to the western door of the church: 'I will go near the sanctuary of God and near God who gladdens my childhood' (Ps 43, 4). Again looking to the church and remaining outside of the church, the pilgrim-worshipper says silently: "Truly the Lord is in this place, and I did not know it. How fearsome is this place! This is no other than the House of God, this is the gate of Heaven" (Gen 28, 16-17). To this he adds: "Open to me gates of victory. I will enter by them and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord" (Ps 118, 19-20). Then, removing the head-dress, bowing and making the sign of the Cross on himself, he says: "O God, with reverence do I enter your house and make my offerings unto you" (Ps 66, 13). After entering the haiklo (nave of the church) and bowing before the sanctuary and placing his hands on the chest by crossing his right palm over the left, he says in a low voice: "Into your house, O God, have I entered and before your throne have I worshipped. O heavenly King! pardon whatever sins I have committed against you" (*Barhebraeus*, Nomocanon ch. 5 sect. 5). In the first part, he envisages the scene in the temple-vision of the Prophet Isaiah (Is 6, 1-9) and by this, he reminds himself of the supreme presence of God in the church and is careful, for it is a specially dedicated place where God's universal presence, promised presence, dedicatory presence and Eucharistic presence are together felt by the faithful souls. But the second part of the prayer has a reference to the prodigal son's appeal to his ever-loving father (Lk 15, 18-19). Then, in accordance with the directions of the said Nomocanon (ch. 5, sect. 5), he moves forward, meditating upon the vision of Isaiah and recites the 'Sanctus' and the 'Benedictus', making three obeisances at each step. In the end, he kisses the Holy Bible permanently placed either on the bimo or on the table in the qestromo. This kiss recalls the embrace and reception made by the prodigal son's father. In this situation, this kiss symptomatically shows the reception of the pilgrim-worshipper in the church by God the Father who is signified by the Holy Bible. The pilgrimage detailed above, is a special feature of the spirituality of the Malankarese. Then, the pilgrim-worshipper joins the community for the canonical prayers of Sapro, Third Hour and Sixth Hour. The celebration of the liturgy immediately follows the canonical prayers, since the Malankara Sunday liturgy consists of the recitation of the divine office, reading of the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Qurbono (*Barhebraeus*, Nomocanon ch. 5 sect. 3).

from the Spirit of God. In the mystery of the Holy Qurbōnō, the matter is filled with Holy Spirit.

II

According to the teaching of the Church, the Holy Qurbōnō is a living and precious memorial of Christ; for, as we celebrate this greatest memorial action, Christ becomes really present among the assembly of worshippers, even though concealed beneath the appearances of bread and wine. The Holy Qurbōnō gives, to the Sacred Humanity of Christ, an ubiquity and a marvellous mode of existence. Thus the realistic foundations of the Holy Qurbōnō is the real presence of the Sacred Victim, which, under all circumstances, lifts it out of the sphere of a mere, bare and external souvenir. Body and Blood is a sacrificial notion in Holy Scripture (Lev 17, 11-14; Dt 12, 23; Ez 39, 17-20; Hebr 13, 11-12). The great sacrifice which Christ offered on Golgotha (Gugoltha), was anticipated by him at the Last Supper, saying: "This is my body which is given for you, this is my blood which is shed for you." The same sacrifice, anticipated at the Last Supper and consummated on Golgotha, is made present in our midst in the Holy Qurbōnō. The Holy Qurbōnō is not only a living and precious memorial of Christ, it is also his sacrifice, making present among us the sacrifice of Golgotha. Hence, the Holy Qurbōnō is our one, unique and perfect Christian sacrifice and the greatest act of worship possible on earth. Besides being a living, precious memorial of Christ and making present again his sacrifice of the Cross, the Holy Qurbōnō is also the food of our Christian life. In other words, the Holy Qurbōnō is the most significant memorial repast and sacrificial banquet which imparts everlasting life in union with Christ. "Eat of it, drink of it. Do this in remembrance of me." In short, the Holy Qurbōnō is the actualization of the salvific reality 'Jesus' through the words of thanks-giving pronounced over bread and wine.

When Christ instituted the Holy Qurbōnō at the Last Supper in the cenacle at Jerusalem, he gave his Apostles the power to reproduce this most sublime sacrifice saying: "Do this in remembrance of me" (Lk 22, 19). The word 'remembrance' (dukrōnō; anamnesis; memoria) in Holy Scripture meant the liturgical re-enactment of some past significant event in the Old Testament (Ex 22, 14, 27; 13.3, 8-10; Dt 16, 3; Num 10, 10). Jesus Christ might have contemplated in that way when he used the same word at the Last Supper. "Anamnesis, in the biblical sense, means not only the subjective representation of something, in the consciousness and as an act of remembering mind. It is also the objective effectiveness and presence of one reality in another, especially, the effectiveness and presence of the salvific actions of God in the liturgical worship."

The Syrian liturgy interprets this inaugurative command 'Do this in remembrance of me' in the widest sense. In this sense, the Holy Qurbānō is not only a living and precious memorial of Christ's passion and death, but also the sacrificial and living commemorations of his entire life in Palestine and his glorious heavenly life, both past and present, including his future second Advent. In other words, the whole mystery of Christ is presented in all the dimensions from the creation of the cosmos to the parousia.

III

The division of the Holy Qurbānō of the Syro-Malankara Church into that of the Catechumens and that of the Faithful is most clearly indicated in our liturgy. All forms of the Eucharistic sacrifice equally derived from the Last Supper in the Cenacle of Jerusalem (whatever and however great their difference of languages, prayers, ceremonies and rituals may be). They have certain essentials in common: 1. *tūyōbē* (Prothesis=preparation and offering of bread and wine), 2. *tulmōdō* (liturgy of the Word=the Scripture lessons), 3. *debhō* (liturgy of the sacrifice) or *annapurō*: the Eucharistic sacrifice proper. 4. *mestūtō* (sawtopūtō): the communion. These are the four distinct parts of the Holy Qurbānō.

The Holy Qurbānō of the Syro-Malankara Church is so constructed as to bring before us Christ in all the fullness of his Person and mission. The four parts of the Holy Qurbānō are fitted together on the basis of the four offices of Christ the King, the Prophet, the High-Priest and God-incarnate, in accordance with the four themes as portrayed respectively in the four Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John. The four corresponding fruits of the above four offices of Christ are *Redemption* through Christ the King, *Revelation* through Christ the Prophet, *Reconciliation* through Christ the High-Priest-Victim, and *Reunion* through Christ our God. These four fruits must be applied to each and every soul in all future ages and in all places. As the Holy Qurbānō was instituted to apply these four fruits of the four offices of Christ our Saviour, it is absolutely necessary that the structure of the Holy Qurbānō should represent these four offices and reproduce their four fruits mentioned above. These four fruits of the four offices of Christ render possible the adequate fulfilment of the four ends of Religion, namely *Propitiation*, the complement of Redemption, *Adoration*, the complement of Revelation, *Petition*, the complement of Reconciliation, and *Thanks-giving*, the complement of Reunion, which are renewed in every Holy Qurbānō.

The above procedure was inevitable because the process of Adam's fall resolves itself into four steps, namely *Disobedience*, *Disbelief*, *Disruption* and *Disunion*. As a result of man's sin God

and man were parted. Christ made both whole again by the one-for-all eternal sacrifice of the cross on Golgotha. St. Paul says: "But now in Christ Jesus, you, who once were far off, have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility" (Eph 2, 13-14). This he did as *King, Prophet, High-Priest* and *God-incarnate* by *Redemption, Revelation, Reconciliation* and *Reunion* with God. In other words, redemption undid the harm done by *Disobedience*, Revelation undid the injury done by *Disbelief*, Reconciliation annulled the damage done by *Disruption*, and Reunion removed the harm done by *Disunion*. In this manner, the four parts of the Holy Qurbānō were for all time to re-enact the four offices of Christ the King, the Prophet, the High-Priest and God; were to renew the four corresponding fruits of these four offices: *Redemption, Revelation reconciliation* and *Reunion*; were to fulfill the four corresponding ends of Religion: *Propitiation, Adoration, Petition* and *Thanks-giving*. Hence these are the foundations on which the four distinct parts of the Syro-Malankara liturgy are constructed. Consequently the Holy Qurbānō must necessarily continue to the second coming of Christ, until through the instrumentality of the Holy Qurbānō, the ingathering of the Elect into the heavenly kingdom has been accomplished, where Redemption will yield to *Possession*, Revelation to *Vision*, Reconciliation to *Fruition* and where the Reunion will be consummated in ultimate and everlasting *Union* with the Holy Trinity.

IV

First Part of the Holy Qurbano

After the foregoing survey of the structure of the Holy Qurbānō, we shall study the four distinct parts of the Syro-Malankara liturgy in the form in which we have it today.

First Part: Tūyōbō (Prothesis. Service of Preparation and Offertory. The liturgical preparation for the Holy Qurbānō is three-fold:

1. That *of the soul* by reciting the canonical hours (Sap̄rō, Third Hour and Sixth Hour) and by performing the service of repentance given in the preliminary part of the liturgy;

2. That *of the body* by washing the hands and putting on special liturgical vestments for the celebration of the Holy Qurbānō;

3. That *of the matter of the sacrifice*. Properly speaking, it is this which is designated under the tūyōbōd' potūr hayē (Prothesis or Preparation of the Table of Life).

Man's Redemption by Christ the King from the bondage of Satan: This preliminary secret service of the Holy Qurbānō is built

upon the two prototypes of the Old Testament, viz. (1) Service of Melchisedech (Gen 14, 18; Hebr 6, 20; 7, 1), (2) Service of Aaron (Ex 28; Lev 6, 9; Hebr 5, 4).

The first Service of Preparation: The Service of the Oblation of Melchisedech. This shows that Christ, the messianic King, came to fulfill not only the sacrifice of the Jewish law, but also those of the pre-Mosaic period of human history, so that Christ the King is the sole Redeemer of the whole human race. After the recitation of the canonical hours of Saprō, Third Hour and Sixth Hour with the congregation, the celebrant, in his wide sleeved black cassock, comes in front of the sanctuary door (symbolizing the homeward pilgrimage of the prodigal son with torn and untidy dress; Lk 15, 22) and says the doxology³ and the initial prayers, asking for grace to perform the sacrifice in a worthy manner. Then he recites the penitential psalm 51 which is a confession of his sinfulness and a plea for divine mercy before beginning a sacred rite. After that, turning to the people, bowing his head and stretching forth his hands, in humility, the priest begs their prayers for the worthy celebration of the Holy Qurbānō. Having thus asked forgiveness of the gathered community, he enters the sanctuary saying Ps 43, 3-4. As he approaches the thronos, he worships saying: "Into your house, o God, have I entered, and before your sanctuary have I worshipped, o Heavenly King. Pardon whatever sins I have committed against you". By this prayer he reminds himself of the presence of God, the heavenly King, on the thronos and is careful, for it is a specially dedicated place where God's abiding presence is

3. "Glory be to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. And upon us weak and sinful be mercy and grace in both the worlds for ever and ever. Amen" While reciting the *doxology*, the priest makes the *sign of the Cross*. The Malankarese make the sign of the Cross with one finger of the right hand, the thumb and second finger joined together below the first finger. This shows that there are three distinct persons in the Trinity. The thumb denotes the Father, the first finger the Son, the second finger the Holy Spirit. The first finger is extended above the other two showing thereby that only the second Person of the Trinity came down from heaven and became man and redeemed the human race by his saving death on the cross. The Malankarese make the sign of the Cross from the left shoulder to the right which practice was begun in Syria from the time of Mar Severios the first 'Jacobite' Patriarch of Antioch in the sixth century. Barhebraeus notes specifically that the West Syrians' sign of the Cross is made in the way opposite to that of both Byzantines and Nestorians. The Malankarese hold the thumb and the first two fingers joined together like the Greeks and Nestorians, yet with the difference that the first finger is extended to signify that the second Person of the Trinity was made man for our salvation. While blessing persons or things, Malankarese do not make a cross over the object with two movements of the right hand, as do the Latins, but with four punctuating as it were the extremities of the cross with dots. When blessing is done by touching the objects, Malankarese make a cross over the object with two movements of the thumb only (*Barhebraeus*, *Nomocanon* ch. 5 sect. 5; *Mar Ya'qob Bar Sako*, *Simoto* 31; *Barhebraeus*, *Ethicon*, *Memra* 1 ch.1 v. 6; *Simoto* ch. 23; *Zalgae* 3:2; *Common Prayer*, by *Abraham Marasseril*, 18-19; *Dionysios Bar Salibi*, A treatise against Melkites: Woodbrook Studies).

particularly felt by the assembly of worshippers in the church. The thronos (God's throne) is the Holy Table in the middle of the sanctuary. According to *Dionysios* of Athens, the thronos signifies Emmanuel who is the tree of life; Māsē Bar Kīpō says, it is the symbol of Christ. It represents the tomb of Christ, according to St. John Chrysostom and Māsē Bar Kīpō.

The thronos is duly vested with Chithola consisting of an invisible inner lining which directly touches the Holy Table and a visible outer part which is made of fine red silk in the front. Another white linen cloth is also spread over the surface of the table, concealing the invisible lining of the Chithola. These three clothes signify the faithful, the members of Christ's mystical body, the Church, for the Church is threefold: The outer red symbolizes the Militant Church of the Pilgrim Church on earth, in invisible lining underneath the red symbolizes the suffering Church, and the uppermost white cloth symbolizes the Triumphant Church in Heaven. These clothes also symbolize the virtues which should adorn the faithful as living members of Christ's mystical body, for the fine linen are the justifications of saints (Apoc 19, 8). The Chithola is intended to stress the dignity of the thronos as the heavenly thronos of Christ the King, on earth. The clean white linen cloth is meant to show the dignity of the thronos as the sacrificial table and the sacrifice itself as a clean oblation (Malach 1, 14). The Chithola symbolically represent Christ's robe of glory and the costly burial cloth in which Christ's body was wrapped. That the thronos is covered, represents the ignorance of Adam in not recognizing the tree of life in the Paradise of Eden.

The celebrant kisses in the middle and the four corners of the thronos saying Ps 118, 23-29. This kissing is an expression of respect, love and spiritual fellowship. It is also a means of receiving blessing from Christ. Since the priest represents the assembled worshippers, the kiss is the reverential greetings of the Church, the Bride of Christ, to her divine Bridegroom. In other words, the kiss of the thronos is the greeting of the bridegroom and the bride (like the embrace of the father and the prodigal son; Lk 15, 20). Every Qurbōnō is a fulfilment of the work of Redemption which Christ described as a spiritual espousal (Mt 22, 2). Hence the kiss is a symbolic gesture expressing the purpose and effect of the entire Qurbōnō, the work of Redemption. Every Christian who comes for

the Holy Qurbōnō is embraced by Christ the Bridegroom. In this way we have the kiss of reconciliation and peace.

On entering the sanctuary, the deacon lights the candles⁴ saying "You are the true light that enlightens every creature. Enlighten us with your glorious light, o Effulgence of the Father. In your light, we shall see light, o Jesus, full of Light" (Jo 1, 9). Meanwhile the celebrant puts the tablītō on the thronos. The tablītō⁵ is a plank of wood or marble 18" × 12 × 1/2", used to denote the portable altar and the thronos. The sanctification service for both the thronos and the tablītō is the same and is done often together. Both are anointed with Holy Mūrōn in the same way. It is consecrated only by bishops and is handled by persons in sacerdotal orders. The Holy Qurbōnō cannot be celebrated on the thronos without this. In places where a dedicated thronos is not

4 The Syrians light three candles on the gradines, occasionally more (*Brightman*, Eastern Liturgies 1580). For the Malankarese, there is definite and universal rule as to the exact number of liturgical lights to be used. For the Divine Office, at least one candle must be lighted in the centre. For the administration of Sacraments and other services there should be two lights, signifying the appearance of two angels at the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Moreover the Word of God is contained in the two Testaments, Old and New. On account of certain divine operations, light is regarded as the symbol of God. God created light, appeared to Moses in the burning bush and went before the people of Israel as a pillar of the light. He inhabits light inaccessible (1 Tim 5, 16) and is himself "light and in him there is no darkness" (1 Jo 1, 5). It is a symbol of Christ, "the true light which enlightens every man that comes into the world" (Jo 1, 9). Christ is the light of light and is called the Sun of Justice. His teaching enlightens the minds of men and delivers from the spiritual darkness of moral death. As the glorified lamb, Christ is the lamp of the heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc 21, 23). At Holy Qurbono, it points to Christ who is present in person as the principal priest of the sacrifice. The light at the Gospel reading is a vivid symbolical representation of the Person of Christ. Three candles at the Holy Qurbono is the general rule in the Syrian Church, the middle one represents God the Father, the northern one represents the Son of God and the southern one represents the Holy Spirit. Five candles represent the five wounds of Christ, seven recall the seven lights of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. It also signifies the seven sacraments and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Nine symbolize the nine choirs of angels worshipping before the Almighty God. Eleven candles recall the one God, the law-giver, and the ten commandments on Mount Sinai (Ex 20, 1-17). Thirteen candles signify Christ the High-Priest and the twelve apostles.

5 The word *tablito* is used to denote the altar-board as well as the altar, because the two are identical in a real sense. The sanctification service for both the thronos and the tablito is the same (*Barhebraeus*, Nomocanon ch. 1 sect. 7) and is often done together. Both are anointed with Holy Muron in the same fashion. The tablito is made from defectless and very nice wood or marble slate (*Barhebraeus*, *ibid*; (*Malpan Konat*, Holy Qurbono 24; *Howard*, The Thomas Christians and their liturgies 186). It is consecrated by bishops only and handled by the clergy (*Barhebraeus*, *ibid*. ch. 1 sect. 6). The Holy Qurbono cannot be celebrated on the thronos without the tablito (*Barhebraeus*, *ibid*.). In places where a consecrated thronos is not available, the tablito alone is used on a clean table. The tablito is generally not used bare but tightly covered over with a cloth. This covering represents the covering of Christ's five wounds (*Malpan Konat*, 24).

available, the *tablītō* alone is used. In the middle of the *tablītō* is written a verse crosswise: The Holy Trinity sanctified this *tablītō* by the hands of Mar N. (Name of the bishop) on (date, month and year).

The celebrant then spreads the *talbēstō*⁶ on the *tablītō*. This *Virikoottam* consists of three pieces of fine silk, white, green and red respectively. It represents Christ who was offered on the cross. The front part of the *talbēstō* is usually decorated with ornamental embroidery work. The red piece signifies the entire created fiery cosmos; the green is smaller than the red and is set over the red, to symbolize the green earth, the central planet of the cosmos from the spiritual point of view, wherein God created and placed man for whose salvation the second Person of the Trinity became man on earth. The white piece which is still smaller in size, is set over the green and signifies the Church on earth wherein is treasured the Holy *Qurbānō*. The paten and chalice containing the bread and the wine are placed on the white piece. Three pieces that make up the *talbēstō* have each a narrow border surrounding it. This border is either of invisible colour or of gold. The border signifies the nine choirs of angels who guard the created cosmos the earth and the Church. The invisible colour symbolizes the incorporeal nature of the heavenly hosts in whom God is glorified. The gold colour signifies that their glory is the reflected glory of the Divine Majesty. The *hupōyē*⁷ that cover the paten and the chalice, have similar borders to signify the same interpretation.

The celebrant uncovers, arranges the paten and the chalice with the sponge,⁸ spoon⁹, star¹⁰, cushion etc.: the paten in the

6 The *talbesto* is the corporal in the Malankara rite. It is known also by two other vernacular names: *virikootam* and *sheelakootam*. The tricoloured Malankara corporal is a square silk material 33" × 33". In the front, we can see five crosses symbolizing the five wounds of the crucified Jesus; two on the red silk, two on the green, and one on the white piece. In between the two crosses on the red piece, we can see the embroidered figure of a chalice and in between the two crosses on the green piece, we can see the embroidered figure of the Malankara bread. See-note 11.

7 The *hupoye* are two small veils to cover the chalice and the paten during certain parts of the *Qurbano*. The *hupoye* are generally embroidered with a cross in the centre.

8 A small *sponge* is used for sweeping the remainder of the holy bread into the chalice after the communion. *G'murto* is used for drying. It is a small cushion, about 3 inches long, one and a half inches broad and one inch thick. It is a substitute for the sponge which was used originally in the Church. In the beginning of the *Qurbano*, the cushion is kept on the northern side of the thronos with the star on it, but later it is transferred to the southern side with the spoon (*tarwodo*) on the top of it.

9 The *tarwodo*, a spoon made of gold or silver, is used for giving communion and receiving communion by the celebrant.

10 *Kawko* (asterisk, star). It is composed of two hoops of metal crossed one over the other. It is placed over the paten to prevent the veil from touching.

west, the chalice in the east. But this is contrary to the general practice elsewhere which is described by the commentator Mar Dionysios Bar Salibi. But the Malankara practice is in accordance with canon-4 of John of Harrān. Bread¹¹ and wine must be set in readiness for the sacrifice. It seemed fitting that this action, too, should be made a ceremony not only because the people's share in the sacrifice of Christ could suitably be expressed by material gifts from their hands, but also because the East clearly saw in these gifts a presage of the great King's coming. The circular, wheaten bread is leavened and is divided into twelve sections impressed with thirteen crosses (one large and twelve small crosses). It is generally known as bukrō (the first-born) symbolizing that it is an offering of the first-born and it is a symbol of Christ, the first-born of the heavenly Father (Col 1, 15). The celebrant marks on the lines of the bread with the paten saying: "He was led as a lamb to slaughter and as a sheep before the shearer is silent, so he opened not his

the lahmo (bread) and disturbing the order of the portions which have been arranged upon it. The form of the star gives a certain resemblance to a star, consequently the name 'kawkbō'. Originally the custom was to cover the paten and chalice with metal lids instead of small veils (hupoye).

11 *Lahmo*, the bread used for the Eucharistic service, is leavened. The unleavened bread is patrio. Lahmo is leavened by the malko (leaven). It is directly derived from a loaf of the bread given to St. John at the Last Supper, and is transmitted through St. Thomas, the Apostle of India. The leavened bread is called hamiro. It is made out of flour of wheat, leaven, water, salt and olive oil. They represent the five elements even as the human body is created out of these. Flour represents earth, leaven, the air, salt, the fire, water itself, oil life or soul (cfr. *Malpan Konat*, Holy Qurbono 5; *Malpan Abraham Maracherril*: Church Weekly 4/3 (1960) 16; *V. Jameson*, Pessaha 67). But David Pooniki gives another interpretation: flour signifies the Holy Spirit got in Baptism, leaven the true faith, salt love and olive oil God's mercy towards men. Generally a portion of the leaven is kept while the hamiro is being made, so as to leaven flour on the next occasion. This continuity is being maintained with much care in all orthodox churches of Malankara. According to the commentator Dionysios Bar Salibi, the lahmo is taken from the four elements and offered for the secret sacrifice, as the Son from Divinity, soul and body was one united personality (*Bar Salibi*, Commentary 3). The Eucharistic bread is known in the liturgy by various names: It is *pursono* (portion set apart; separation); this word is used of the Old Testament: 'heave offering' (Lev). *Pristo* (divided, a flat cake), *Tabh'o* (seal) *bukro* (the first-begotten); the first fruit, *k'zoto* (broken), Malko (the leavened), hamiro (leavened bread) (*Hanssens*, Inst. Liturg. II n. 323; *E. Renaudot*, Liturg. Orient. Collect 343; *Codrington*, Studies in Syr. Lit.). The name tabh'o (seal) is used because the lahmo is sealed with thirteen crosses. A particle when separated from the consecrated bread is called g'murto (coal) (Cfr. Is 6, 6-7) or margonito (pearl). The lahmo is made by clerics in the church while psalms and hymns are recited in a low voice (Tākosō of *Mar Ivanios* 54). The round bread of the Holy Qurbono is leavened with the holy leaven and is divided into twelve sections impressed with twelve small crosses and one large cross. The bread is stamped like a wheel with four diametres (the alternate radii being cut off halfway from the circumference by a concentric circle). Five spots representing the five wounds of Jesus, are stamped on the four extremities and the centre of the large cross. At the prothesis, the bread is known as the bukrō and signifies that it is an offering of the 'first-fruits' and represents Christ, the First-born of the Father (Col 1, 15).

mouth in humiliation" (Is 53, 7-8). This signifies Christ's immolation on the cross. Looking at the table, he continues: "The place, o Lord, which you have made for yourself to dwell in, your sanctuary, o Lord, which your hands have established. "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever" (Ex 15, 17-18). He then makes the first offertory by lifting up the bread and placing it on the paten saying: "O first-begotten of the heavenly Father, do accept this First-begotten from the hands of the weak servant." Finally the priest pours wine mixed with water into the chalice with prayers from Jo 19, 34-35; 21, 24 and Ps 115, 12-14. The paten is covered with a bent cross of gold (asterisk; star) over which a small veil is lastly arranged; the chalice also is veiled. All this is intended to indicate that the Pilgrim Church and the suffering Church join with the triumphant Church, even with Christ himself, in celebrating the heavenly liturgy.

The second service of the Tūyōbō. It is called the *Service of the offering and of incensation of Aaron*, the Highpriest of the Old Covenant, because during it the celebrant is duly vested; he makes the second offertory and incenses the offerings recalling the vestments and the incense which were ordained for the priests of the Old Covenant, of which Aaron was the head. After the prayer of the beginning, the celebrant goes to the diakonikon, washes his hands, takes off his outer garment (i. e. the wide sleeved black cassock; Arabic: jubba) and puts on the liturgical vestments one after another, reciting prayers befitting each (symbolizing the bath and dressing of the prodigal son; Lk 15, 22). He then comes before the thronos within the veil and prays for himself. Then he kisses the step (dargō), ascends the thronos, uncovers the paten and the chalice, and crossing his right hand over the left, he takes the paten in his right hand and the chalice in his left hand and holds them so crossed while he recites a lengthy second offertory prayer. This action shows symbolically that all the blessings come through the cross. The prayer of commemoration recalls the mysteries of the life of Christ, and then the remembrance of all the Saints from Adam and Eve downwards, including the prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors and holy fathers and all the faithful departed. This prayer is reminiscent of the ancient Book of Life (sparhāyē) which was used in the Church; it recalled the names of all the living and dead who were specially to be remembered in the Holy Qurbōnō. Having remembered the special intention of the Qurbōnō, the celebrant places the offerings on the tablitō, covers the mysteries with the susēpō¹², comes down and incenses the gifts

12 *Susepo* (large veil) or *annapūro* is the large veil which is spread over the oblations, i.e. over the two smaller veils and thus covers the paten and the chalice. This embroidered large silk-veil is spread over the gifts. It has a rich symbolic significance and is solemnly waved over the gifts before the Eucharistic prayer.

saying prūmiyōn and sedrō, and then ascending again, during the qōlō and 'etrō and the rest of the service, he incenses the mysteries and the thronos and worships the Trinity. All these ceremonies have mysterious dimensions. This part indicates the period of preparation for the advent of Christ as God-incarnate.

First mystical hour¹³

Since these two stages of the preliminary service are hidden from the view of the congregation by a curtain at the Holy Door, it is called the g'nizō (unseen). It is otherwise called the 'First Mystical Hour' because

1. the ceremonies at this part of the Holy Qurbōnō have mysterious dimensions.

2. It is the time when portions of the Tuyōbō Service are read in silence and corresponding manual acts are performed within the Holy of Holies with the Holy Door closed.

3. At this time, the holy table is mystically conceived as the "heavenly thronos"¹⁴ (Hebr 12, 3; 8, 1; Is 6, 1-2; Apoc 22, 3) upon

13 *See G'nize.* The Mystical Hours in the Liturgy. In every service of the Holy Qurbono, there are three times when portions of the Holy liturgy are read in a low, inaudible voice and corresponding manual acts are performed within the curtain of the sanctuary. These are called unseens (g'nize). The first Mystical Hour is known as B'suroyo (in the beginning) because it is the beginning of the holy liturgy. The second Mystical Hour is known as B'mezoyo (in the middle) because it comes about the middle of the service. The third mystical hour is known as B'sulomo (in the end) because it is almost at the end of the sacrifice.

14 The *thronos* the Holy Table whereon the Holy Qurbono is celebrated, is placed in the centre of the sanctuary. It is generally called the 'thronos' (throne), the place where the Almighty God appears seated, as in the vision of Isaiah (6, 1-3) There is never any retable, the liturgical ornaments being placed on pedestals behind the thronos; neither is there ever any reredos, dossal or hangings behind it, though the architectural canopy or dome (qub'to) supported by columns over the thronos is not uncommon. The thronos is sometimes surmounted by a q'dusqudsin (qub'to) the pillars of which stand clear of the Holy Table and are joined by trellis work at the back and sides. A veil hangs in front. This is drawn during certain parts of the Qurbono. This veil is not to be confused with the sanctuary curtain. The thronos stands clear of the eastern wall, thus enabling the circumambulation to be made at the manito d-Qurobo (anthem of Mar Severios) at the open celebration. The enclosed thronos is regarded as a symbol of heaven into which the eternal High-Priest has entered and where he dwells for ever to make intercession for us (Hebr 6, 19; 7, 15). The thronos is also called the potur haye, table of life the place where the divine life is communicated to man. It is also called madbho (place of sacrifice or altar.) Immediately behind the Holy Table, there is generally a large golden or silver or wooden cross. Tradition prohibits the use of sculptured figures or images. "The cross may be plain or ornamental, but not with graven image on it" (*Gopala Panicker*, Malabar and its folk 901). The cross is regarded as the symbol of Christ's resurrection. It is called the "Cross of light" Shibo d-Nuharo) and is held to represent the triumph of life over death. For this reason, it is normally made of silver or gold and studded with precious stones. It is usual to decorate the wooden cross with a red stole, signifying the Priesthood of Christ in his sacrifice and the glory of his resurrection. The cross reminds us of the redemptive work of Christ the King. It is a symbol of Sacrifice and victory.

which the "King of Glory" (Ps 24, 7-9; Is 6, 5; Jer 10, 10; Mal 1, 14; Mt 2, 21; Tim 1, 17; 6, 15) sits, so as to enable us to offer our homages to his Majesty. Hence in the Malankara rite, the word 'thronos' is generally used for the holy table.

The *first mystical hour* represents the period of the heavenly life of Christ "as the lamb of God slain in sacrifice ever since the world was made" (Syr. Apoc. 13,8). It also recalls the Old Testament period of expectation for the Messianic King. The Eucharistic commemoration during this first mystical hour has reference to the following mysteries:

a) the eternal preexistence of the Son of God in the mystery of the Holy Trinity, namely the eternal generation of the Logos from God the Father (Jo 1, 1-2);

b) the eternal self-oblation of the Son of God, the First-begotten in the Trinity, in silence. Jesus Christ is the lamb of God slain in sacrifice before the cosmos was made (Apoc 13, 8.). The Son of God gave himself up from eternity to be slain for the redemption of the sinful human race;

c) the self-manifestation of God in creation and in history;

d) the supreme self-revelation of the Son of God in the sublime mystery of incarnation, namely the temporal generation of Christ "in the fullness of time" (Gal 4,4). All these are *unseens*. The vestments of the thronos, the liturgical sacerdotal vestments, and the arrangements of the thronos, namely spreading of the tri-coloured corporal, the bread and the wine, the lighting of candles, and finally the prayers and manual actions symbolize all the above realities. The prothesis above all signifies the birth and the hidden life of Christ.

When the first mystical hour is over, the sanctuary curtain is drawn aside to signify that the time of expectation is over and the promised Messianic King (Jo 1, 4,9) has now appeared in the river Jordan for baptism. The celebrant then begins the public celebration of the Holy Qurbōnō commemorating the manifestations of Christ, the promised Messianic King, as the "Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (Jo 1, 29) and as "the beloved Son with whom God the Father is well pleased" (Mt 3, 17). This is the climax of the first part of the Holy Qurbōnō when we see and adore Christ as King. The celebrant and the congregation together sing with all solemnity: "I will magnify you, o Lord, the King, the only begotten Son, the Word of the Heavenly Father, immortal in his nature". Preceded by the deacon holding the candle and accompanied by all the servers in the sanctuary, the celebrant waving the censer goes in procession round the thronos and incenses the congregation. At the circumambulation, the deacon going in

front with a burning candle, signifies John, the Baptist, the Forerunner of Jesus, to prepare (Lk 3, 4) the way for the Gospel of Christ. Besides, in the East, there is a usual custom of holding a lighted lamp before the procession of a King. Here the celebrant represents Christ the King. Hence the priestly vestments are adopted from the royal dress. The celebrant is vested to resemble Christ in heaven; Christ the warrior-king of the world; the conqueror of worlds, bringing with him captives to his Father, by the weapon of love (Rom 8, 37). The vestments represent the four offices of Christ the King, the Prophet, the High-Priest and God-Man, in which the catholic Church shares with Christ, in the work of Redemption, Revelation, Reconciliation and Reunion. The liturgical vestments worn by prelates show the plenitude of the gifts of the Holy Spirit whereby they have been anointed to function as the apostles of Christ, the King, the Prophet, the High-Priest and ambassador of God. The priest who has fully vested resembles a two-winged angel. The prelate who has fully vested resembles a six-winged seraph. Bible compares internal sanctification to putting on vestments, a new garment, a wedding garment, or to putting on a new men (Col 3, 10). The wearing of the liturgical vestments signifies also that every priest and prelate is anointed to share in the victim life of Christ.

SECOND PART OF THE HOLY QURBONO TULMODO (LITURGY OF THE WORLD OF GOD) REVELATION OF CHRIST THE PROPHET

This part of the Holy Qurbōnō recalls the public ministry of Christ the Prophet who, as the way, the truth and the life (Jo 14, 6) went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity (Mt 9, 35). This is commemorated by the various scriptural lessons read by the celebrant and the lectors and by the living voice of the Church in the sermon. Since *adoration* is the complement of *revelation*, the scene of the Seraphic hymn is introduced here by the solemn recitation of the *Trisagion* (*kaumō*), as a preparation for the liturgy of the Word of God. It shows the deep reverence and adoration before the infinite sanctity of God. In our liturgy, Trisagion is addressed to Christ, God-incarnate. The phrase 'who was crucified for us' was added to the Trisagion by Mar Patrōs Knapheus ("the Fuller", Patriarch of Antioch, 468-488). The Trisagion takes the following form in the different seasons of the liturgical year:

1. during the Christmas season: "who was born man for us";
2. in the Epiphany season: "who was baptized for us";
3. in the Easter season: "who gloriously rose from the tomb for us";

4. in the Ascension season: "who ascended into heaven for us", etc.

A triple *Kurielaison* comes after the Trisagion. *Kurielaison* means 'Lord, have mercy on us'. Then comes the didactic service consisting of at least seven readings from both the Old and the New Testament scriptures and finally the sermon. It is the solemn announcement of the Word of God. Four Old Testament lessons and three New Testament lessons are read here in the Patriarchate. But according to the tradition of the Maphrianate, four Old Testament lessons are read after the canonical hours, and only three New Testament lessons are read in this part of the Holy Qurbānō, which practice is also followed in Malankara. The scriptural lessons are each preceded by a chant (*sūmōrō*) in which the congregation join recollecting the divine character of the apostolic preaching. Formerly there was a procession to the *bīmō* in the *qeštrōmō* carrying the Gospel book, incense, burning candles, seraphic disks, tingling bells etc. to the accompaniment of music. But at present, the scriptural readings are conducted at the sanctuary door and its steps. All the scripture lessons are read facing the congregation. Only the celebrant reads the Gospel¹⁵ solemnly at the Table of the Word (*Potur-Meltō*); only on the feast of St. Stephen the Deacon (January 8), the fully ordained deacon-evangelist reads the Gospel after the celebrant has intoned the preliminaries, e. g. 'Peace be to you all' etc.

After the Gospel reading, the congregation sing the *qōlō d-mā' altō d-rōzē* (hymn for the entrance of the holy mysteries), during the procession back to the thronos carrying the gifts. This indicates that up to the tenth century, the Syrians had a procession of the mysteries inside the church, like that of the Byzantine rite (Great Entrance). But since long this has disappeared, as Mar Dionysios Bar Salibi testifies. After the above *qōlō*, the deacon cries 'Stomen Kalos' which means 'Let us stand well'¹⁶, and the congregation reply 'Kurielaison'. The solemn prayer of entrance (*sedrō*

15 *Hūlolo* and *Petgomo* are chanted before the Gospel reading. *Hūlolo* means canticle or hymn. It is a psalm versicle sung with, before and after, the chant of a two fold *Haleluya*. It is recited before the Gospel reading. *Petgomo* means word, phrase or verse: the verses of an ecclesiastical composition (*Mateos*, *Lelya-Sapra* 488, 493; *Brightman* 576; *Codrington*, *Studies* 13).

16 *Stomen kalos* literally means "let us beautifully stand", "let us stand in order". It is one of the Greek ritual expressions which have been transliterated into Syriac. The *prumiyon* is always preceded by the exclamation 'stomen kalos' said by the deacon, and the reply 'Kurielaison' by the congregation. It serves as an exclamation to exhort the congregation to take part in the service as reverentially as possible. Very often it marks the beginning of an exceptionally solemn prayer.

d-mā' altō d-rōzē), i. e. Prumiṃyōn-Sedrō¹⁷, introduces the "Qurbānō of the Faithful." Now the celebrant says the Prumiṃyōn (preface) to the prayer of entrance. At the close, he sets on incense and begins the invariable prayer of general absolution which asks forgiveness of sins for all the faithful, both the living and the dead. Then the celebrant lifting up his hands in supplication, recites a variable prayer, namely the Sedrō of Entrance. Sedrō means a set form of prayer which contains petitions for God's graces to be given to the people. At its conclusion, the celebrant sets on incense again and blesses the censer and intones, holding the first chain 'Holy is the Holy Father'; holding the two other chains, he intones 'Holy is the Holy Son'; these two chains symbolize the two natures in Christ. Holding the fourth chain, he intones 'Holy is the living and Holy Spirit'. Then he incenses the thronos, the mysteries, the clergy and the whole congregation after which he gives back the censer to the deacon. This rite is the most stirring glorification of the infinitely Holy Trinity and it is a very solemn movement for the Syrians. This ceremony recalls the Baptism of Christ in the river Jordan. We know that the mystery of the Trinity was revealed at his baptism. The liturgy of the word of God reaches its end in the Nicene Creed, a profession of our faith in response to the Word of God and in anticipation of the sacrificial action which is about to begin in the third part of our Holy Qurbānō. This Nicene Creed was inserted here in our liturgy by Mar Patros Knapheus. The creed expresses our glad acceptance of the divine truths which have been spoken to us in the various scriptural lessons read and in the homily, and our readiness to follow Christ the Prophet who is our way, our truth and our life (Jo 14, 6). Thus, faith is the door-way by which we enter the Holy of Holies, the sanctifying part of our Holy Qurbānō.

17 *Sedro*, lit. series, order. A long set form of prayer in prose or verse. The verb "s' dar" is used absolutely with the meaning "he recited the sedro". Originally it was a series of short prayers not unlike the litany, but in course of time, it developed into a long prayer fitting to the liturgical situation. It is a prayer constructed by the insertion of verses into a more or less constant frame-work consisting of what seems to be survivals of psalm verses with glories and preceded by a prumiṃyōn. In some cases, the structural clauses have disappeared. The sedro is recited by the priest or bishop standing before the thronos while the censer is swung (*Baumstark*, *Festbrevier* 86; *Brightman*, *Eastern Liturgies*, ed. 1965, I 587; *Codrington*, *Studies* 14; *Liturgisch Woordenboek* 2535-2536).

Prumiṃyōn (proemion, preface). Prumiṃyōn and sedro is a typical form of solemn prayer in this Church. It is used in all the prayers of the Divine Office and in all the Sacraments and other services. It first offers praise and thanksgiving for the blessings which God has given us; above all in the sacrifice of Christ and then makes petition for his grace to be given to the congregation assembled. There are several Prumiṃyōns and sēdrē to be used in the Holy Qurbānō. In between the two, there is the prayer of absolution which does not vary according to the change of the liturgical seasons. It asks for forgiveness of sins of all kinds of people, both the living and the dead. Prumiṃyōn is an introduction to the sedro (*Brightman Eastern Liturgies* I 586).

During the recitation of the creed, carrying the censer, the deacon proceeds to the farthest end of the haiklō incensing the whole congregation and announcing that the catechumens may disperse now, and the sacrifice of the Holy Qurbōnō is about to start. Meanwhile, the celebrant washes his fingers as a ritual preparation for the Holy Sacrifice because hands are a symbol of action and washing them is a sign that we ought to be pure and free from all sinful deeds. The celebrant, turning to the congregation, bowing his head and stretching forth his hands, in humility asks the help of the prayers for him worthily to celebrate the Holy Qurbōnō. By gestures he invites them to unite with him in the prayers, praises and intentions of the Holy Qurbōnō. Then, prostrating before the thronos, he performs the third offertory prayer silently. Thereafter he ascends the step (dargō) and kisses the thronos.

THIRD PART OF THE HOLY QURBONO ANNAPURO (LITURGY OF THE SACRIFICE) RECONCILIATION BY CHRIST THE HIGH-PRIEST

In this part of the Holy Qurbōnō, the Holy Table is mystically conceived as the *sacrificial table* on which the lamb of God immolates himself by perpetuating his unique sacrifice for our salvation. Besides, the word thronos, another Syriac word madbhō includes the holy table and all the ministers worshipping within the curtain of the Holy of Holies. The Syrian idea is that the congregation and the earthly madbhj are all lifted up to heaven, so that it is there, in the heavenly Holy of Holies, that the faithful are worshipping. Our bread and wine are lifted up to be there presented to God as the body and blood of Christ. This is emphasised by the screening of the sanctuary during certain parts of the celebration, so that the worshippers in the church may realize that it is the heavenly worship in which they are taking part and that the ministers in the sanctuary may realize that they also must keep their hearts lifted up to heaven in worship of God. In short, the Syrians describe the madbhō as a "visible representation of the heavenly Holy of Holies, and the Church is mystically understood as the "Heavenly Jerusalem". In other words, madbhō, used in the liturgy, means the sacrificial table, a place of sacrifice, the house of sacrifice and the sanctuary. Hence both the Holy Table and the Sanctuary are called, in liturgy, by the same word.

The solemn prayer of thanksgiving constitutes the fundamental element of the Syrian liturgy. It is generally called Annapūrō (sendup), since in this prayer, the celebrant, as the minister of the Church, sends up, as it were, the Eucharistic oblation to Heaven. Annapūrō is therefore the backbone of the Syrian liturgy.

A greeting and the Kiss of peace serve as an introduction to the Eucharist. The kiss of peace is of apostolic origin. St. Peter

and St. Paul exhorted the Christians “to greet one and another with a holy kiss” (1 Peter 5, 14; Thess 5, 26; Rom 16, 16; 1Cor 16, 10; 2 Cor 13, 12). This kiss of peace is an expression of fraternal charity. It reminds us that the love of neighbour is a necessary part of our participation in the Holy Qurbānō. It symbolizes the “fellowship of the Spirit” of which the Holy Qurbānō is the visible sign. It is a sacramental which gives grace for further purification of our souls. It is a splendid symbol of Christianity, of the union of Christians among themselves and of their union with Christ. Hence, it is Christ himself who embraces all who participate in the Holy Qurbānō. As it is passed from one to another throughout the gathered community, it unites all the faithful among themselves and with Christ: a beautiful symbol of the mystical union of all in Christ. Formerly the kiss of peace was given by a holy kiss. But the present custom is to place one’s palm in another’s palm.

After the kiss of peace, there are still two prayers in preparation of the Eucharist. The first of these is a prayer of the Imposition of Hands, in which the celebrant addresses God to grant graces and favours to the faithful. Then comes the prayer of the Veil. The priest lifts up the veil (sūsēpō) and makes it flutter. The sūsēpō may have a star or a cross or a dove made on it. The star symbolizes the star of Bethlehem which invited the wise men and all the nations to the Divine Babe of Bethlehem. The cross symbolizes the saving Passion of Christ. The dove symbolizes the Holy Spirit, the agent of God’s self-revelation. The lifting of the veil symbolizes the self-revelation of God in the Incarnation and in the Eucharist. The fluttering signifies the earthquake on Golgotha. When the Mysteries are unveiled, the nine choirs of the angels and other saints come to meet and honour the holy mysteries. The removal of the sūsēpō signifies thereby that the doors of heaven are opened then. The celebrant then gives the first blessing using the words of St. Paul (2 Cor 13, 14) and making the sign of the Cross on the congregation three times. At this time the prefatory dialogue occurs¹⁸. The congregation is exhorted to lift up their hearts to the place where Christ is enthroned and then to “give thanks” to which they reply: “It is meet and just”.

¹⁸ *Prefatory dialogue.* The dialogue between the celebrant and the congregation is one of the most ancient liturgical formulas found in all liturgies at this moment. The faithful are requested to lift up their hearts where the Risen Christ is enthroned at the right hand of his Father and to give thanks in holy fear. They thus associate themselves with the celebrant in the sacred action which is about to follow. The people recite the Sanctus with Benedictus. This Sanctus signifies that the angels are making a pilgrimage to the thronos at this solemn occasion in order to join their praise to that of the Church on earth. It is interesting to note that almost all the manuscript copies and printed editions of the Tekse in Malankara contain a special rubric at this point, i.e. before the recitation of the Sanctus by the congregation: “Here incense is offered” (The order of the Holy Qurbano of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, ed. by Mar Ivanios, 1929, 13; The Syro-Malankara “Book of Anaphoras”, 1956, 81; The order of the Holy Qurbana of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, published by the Orthodox

The Syrian tradition puts before the Sanctus a simple invocation to all the powers of heaven and earth and the nine angelic choirs to praise God. The text of Sanctus is based on the vision of the prophet Isaiah and St. John (Is 6, 1-9; Apoc 4, 8). This hymn of adoration was already in use in the synagogues. It is a joyful expression of homage to Christ. It is accompanied by the ringing of the seraphic disks and bells. The Benedictus which continues this homage, is a joyful greeting of the Son of God who comes down to the thronos. In the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, the Jews greeted their expected Messianic King in a similar way, and in the procession on the festival, the Jews sang Ps 118, 26 (Lk 19, 38): "Hosanna, blessed is he the King who came and comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna is the highest." These same words with which the people greeted Christ on Palm Sunday (Mt 21, 9), were used frequently by the Jews to express their longing for the coming of the saviour. The Syrian liturgy adds the Benedictus to Sanctus in order to express the longing for the appearance of Christ upon the thronos. After the Sanctus-Benedictus, the celebrant gives him thanks for the mighty deeds of redemptive history and their fulfilment in Christ. Then follows the Institution Narrative.¹⁹ The celebrant placing his hands crosswise on his breast, and with great reverence and gratitude recalls to mind the intention of the Church in the sacrifices of the Holy Qurbānō. He then takes the offered bread, blesses it performing the prescribed manual acts and reciting aloud the words of institution. The priest then takes the chalice of the offered mixture of wine and water and blesses it performing the prescribed manual acts and intoning the words of Institution.

The act of consecration which is just accomplished, is the central act of the Holy Qurbānō. It comprises within itself

Theological Seminary, Kottayam 1961, 13; Pampakuda Syriac editions of 1886; 1911, 36 1950, 46; 1957, 90; 1964, 94; Chingavanom Syriac-Malayalam edition, 1928, 60 Malayalam Tekso, Kunnamkulam 1920, 96; Kunnamkulam edition of 1949, 86; Malayalam Tekso, edited by Bishop *Mar Theodosios*, Kottayam 1940, 32).

19 At the conclusion of each of the words of institution, the congregation says "Amin" thus uniting themselves to the sacred action by which Christ becomes present in the offering of his precious body and blood. The celebrant and the congregation together recall the mystery of the death and resurrection of Christ which is present in all its saving power. They look forward to Christ's second coming for which this mystery leads them. Thus in this sacred action, both Past and Future are brought together, through the presence of Christ in person among his people. By the rite of the Holy Qurbānō, the glorified Christ makes himself present that we may join ourselves to the body and blood he has offered, and that in this way we may all be one body glorifying the Father by and with Christ through the impulse of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 10, 16; 11, 24; Phil 3, 3). By this fact we have access to the heavenly sanctuary where Christ, the eternal High-Priest (Hebr 7, 24; 9, 11-24) dwells. Hence the Syriac word "Qūrobo" is employed in the liturgy. There in heaven is celebrated the worship of the Father in Spirit and Truth, the only worship worthy of the living God (Jo 4, 23; Hebr 9, 14).

several mysteries. These mysteries are elaborated one after another in the service that follows. The admonition 'Do this in remembrance of me' is followed by the anamnesis. The deacon offers incense to the holy mysteries. The celebrant and the congregation together remember the mystery of the death and resurrection of Christ which is made present in all its saving power. They look forward to the second coming of Christ, for which the Holy Qurbānō prepares them. In short, both, 'Past and Future' are brought near in this sublime mystery through the real presence of Christ in person among the congregation. Then follows the Epiclesis. The celebrant, fluttering his hands and fingers on the Holy Mysteries, says secretly the prayer of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. 'Transsubstantiation' is effected by the operation of the Holy Spirit. This operation is symbolically represented at the Epiclesis by the prayer and manual acts. The manual acts include the waving of both hands and the contemporaneous fluttering of the fingers. The purpose of these actions is clearly to portray the hovering of the Holy Spirit whose manifestations to us have been in the form of the dove (symbolized by the hands) and also in tongues of flame (fluttering of fingers). The deacon incenses and the servers ring the bells and seraphic disks. The celebrant waving his right hand upon the paten, blessing the Holy Body, says the prayer of the epiclesis and similarly on the chalice also.

Then come the "Six great Intercessions"; the deacon read the 'diptychs' called 'tūbdeñ'²⁰.

Before the commencement of the fraction ceremony, the curtain of the holy door is drawn across the sanctuary to signify that the Passion, Death and Resurrection have mysterious dimensions. This is the *Second Mystical Hour* in our Holy Qurbānō, since the service at this time is hidden from the view of the congregation. The fraction ceremony is a further commemoration of Christ's Passion,

20 Diptychs (diptūko) or sparhayē, the book of life. The lists of the living and dead commemorated by name in the liturgy; at first in connection with the offertory, articulating the intention of the offerings. Diptūko is applied to the deacon's Qonūnē in the Great Intercessions, as contrasted with the 'Book of life' which was still recited before the anaphora in the 12th century (*Assemani*, B.O. II 202). The two leaved tablets on which the names were inscribed, were normally of ivory, like the consular diptychs in scribed with the consul's portrait and name, distributed on his accession, many of which were transferred to ecclesiastical use (*Brightman* 575).

Barekmor is an expression which often occurs in the liturgy. It designates the rite whereby the deacons ask leave of the superior to perform some important actions. If the bishop is present, the ceremony consists in making a low bow to him in asking and getting blessing, and then the bishop's hand is kissed. The word means "Give a blessing, Lord". When an inferior begins reading a prayer or giving and exhortation in the church, he prefaces it by saying 'Barekmor'. In this manner, he asks the permission of the superior to make an announcement. In the liturgy, this word is transliterated and used as a single word. Generally the diaconical prayers begin with 'Barekmor' (*Mateos*, Lelya-Sapra 485).

Death and Resurrection, and it is elaborated by manual acts and prayers of the breaking of bread (Acts 2, 42). The Church dares not commemorate these dreadful and sublime mysteries in public. It is written in the Gospels that while our Lord hung on the cross, suffering in agony both in soul and body, three hours darkness enveloped the earth. The Syrians believe that this phenomenon was the result of God's consideration to the Blessed Virgin Mary. To prevent her dying of broken heart at the foot of the cross itself, God so mercifully brought three hours' darkness on the earth at mid-day; to symbolize this fact, the Holy Door is closed at the fraction ceremony. This mystical hour is called Gnīzō B-mezāyō, because

1. it is located in the middle of the liturgy;
2. the central mysteries of our redemption such as Passion, Death and Resurrection are mystically commemorated at this time by apt prayers and manual acts;
3. at this time the Holy Table is known as the madbhō (sacrificial table) on which the Lamb of God immolates himself by perpetuating his unique sacrifice for our salvation;
4. the congregation do not see the full meaning of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of our Lord.

The deacon opens the Holy Door. The celebrant lifting up his hands on high and holding the palms open before God, begging divine mercy, says the preface of the Lord's Prayer. Then the celebrant and the congregation say together the Lord's Prayer. It is placed here on account of the petition for bread and also on account of the petition for the forgiveness of sins. It is followed by an embolism. There follows the prayer for the Imposition of hands, the theme of which is blessing and preparation for the reception of the mysteries. Then the celebrant commends the congregation to the Holy Trinity. The elevation of the mysteries follows now which is the type of the ascension of Christ. After the third solemn blessing which invokes the Holy Trinity with sevenfold attributes, the celebrant elevates the holy mysteries for the congregation to see them in preparation for communion. Then holding the chalice in his left hand and taking the paten in his right hand, he crosses his right hand over the left hand and performs the communion of the Holy Trinity saying the prescribed prayers. Then he commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit as on the first Pentecost day. He then sets the Holy vessels on the 'table of Life' (potur hayē) and covers them with the small veils worshipping thereafter. At this point, the commemorations of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Saints and the faithful departed are made with solemn hymns and incensations. In short, the portion from fraction till holy Communion signifies the time after Christ's resurrection to his second coming.

**FOURTH PART OF THE HOLY QURBONO
MESTUTO (HOLY COMMUNION)
SACRIFICIAL BANQUET: REUNION WITH CHRIST,
OUR GOD**

The curtain of the Holy Door is shut. Then comes the *third mystical hour* in which the people wait for the second coming of Christ. The celebrant and all the ministers of the sanctuary get ready for the procession of the Holy Mysteries. First the celebrant and the servers communicate. Then the holy table is mystically conceived as the 'table of Life' (potur hayē). This mystical hour symbolizes the close of the Christian dispensation, so far as our experience in this phenomenal world is concerned. The veil is drawn aside and the procession of the Holy Mysteries begins. It was originally a procession through the church, accompanied by the burning candles, ringing of bells and seraphic disks and incense. It was a sort of solemn invitation to the congregation to approach the table of Life for communion. This procession is said to represent the second coming of Christ. Thus at the Communion, the Church looks beyond the veil to the right hand of the Father where Christ is enthroned, and receives his body and blood as a token of his second coming. The Holy Qurbōnō is not only a sacrifice, but also a sacrificial banquet which prepares for the day when we shall share the banquet with God-incarnate in Heaven.

The reception of the Holy Mysteries is the receiving of the vision of Christ and the Union with the Trinity. After the communion of the faithful, the procession returns to the table of Life and the celebrant replaces the vessels. Then the celebrant says a prayer of gratitude for the heavenly gifts. It is the thanksgiving for God's unspeakable gift of the atoning and life-giving mystery. Then comes another prayer for the Imposition of hands. This prayer is addressed to the Son of God; its commentary by Mōsē Bar Kīpō is interesting. Bar Salibi repeats it word by word. "All the prayers of the Qurbō are addressed to the Father. This is evident from the fact that the priest who offers, typically represents Christ himself who became a mediator of 'God and Man' (1 Tim 2, 5) since he calls the body and blood his own, as though holding the person of Christ. But it is right that the prayer which is the last of all, should be addressed to the Son, because he became to us a means by which we might draw near to the Father; wherefore let us confess and give thanks to him in this prayer." The Holy Qurbōnō ends with a prayer that at his second coming we may receive mercy. Then the ceremony usually ends rapidly with an elaborate valedictory blessing of the congregation. The priest having finished his communion, begins the ablutions of chalice, paten, spoon etc. The Holy Qurbōnō is now finished.

The ancient custom of the agapē is still observed in the Malankara Church. The priest blesses the loaves, sweets and fruits that the faithful have brought to the church. The deacon distributes the eulogia (burktō)²¹ to the faithful. They all eat the burktō together in the church and depart in peace.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I

The Liturgical Year

The Syro-Malankara Church has a very ancient and a very rich calendar of fixed and movable feasts. The first calendar is found in a manuscripts written at Orhaī (Edessa) in A. D. 411. It is known as the Syrian Martyrology. It has drawn from a fourth century source (A. D. 360). The Syrian Church, before and after the Synod of Chalcedon, was remarkable for the creative spirit of her liturgy which blossomed until the thirteenth century. The Syrians and the Greeks had their own Menologies. The most famous of the Syrian Menologies is the Menology of Mar Ya' qōb of Edessa in the seventh century. The Greek and Syrian Menologies have a common background and incessant exchanges all along the centuries because of their common stock and co-existence in the Middle East. Hence the manuscript Syriac calendars have much in common with the Byzantine Menea.

The Syro-Malankara ecclesiastical calendar is different from that of the Western Church. Its ecclesiastical year begins at the

21 *Burkto*. This bread is made in the same way as the eucharistic bread and is blessed by a special prayer given below, and distributed to the congregation after the Holy Qurbano. It is called the bread of blessing. "May the grace of the Holy Trinity come from Heaven and abide upon this burkto (+ + +) and upon them that gave it, receive it and those that minister to it, and upon all that have partaken and do partake of it. May the mercy of God be upon them in both worlds for ever and ever."

Offering the bread. The number of lahmē to be offered vary. Barhebraeus says: "Regarding the number of bread offered, we have not seen anything except that in the first book of Klimis is written: 'On Saturday alone let him offer three loaves signifying Trinity; on Sunday four signifying the four Gospels', and in the second book of Klimis it is said: 'According to the number of people he should offer; whether it should be pair or not pair, we have not received the instructions.' In the book "Simoto" of Barhebraeus, we can find that above the number two, it should be an odd number. Bar Salībī says in his commentary that offering one bread signifies that one is the Word who took flesh, and they also offer two signifying that Christ, the Son of God, is from Divinity and Humanity. We offer three also signifying that God is in three Persons, though One in nature. He also advocates that except the number two, it should be an odd number.

end of October or beginning of November with the feast of the consecration of the Church (Hād b' sālō d' Qūdos Ed' tō) (Nomocanon ch. 5 sect. 5). In this manner, the Syro-Malankara Church has set, before the faithful from the beginning, the mystery of the Church as the 'Bride of Christ' whom he prepares for his marriage feast by teaching her to follow in his footsteps.

The liturgical year centres on the mystery of Resurrection. In the early days there were only two important festivals in the Church, namely Resurrection and Pentecost. The whole period between these two was considered as a Holy Season in which the Church anticipates the new life of the world to come. The ecclesiastical year is not simply a remembrance of the past events of the whole life of Christ, but it is a re-enactment of the whole mystery of Christ, by which the Church is able to share in his saving grace and the faithful to be conformed to the likeness of Christ.

The liturgical year makes a complete circle of what is called, from the Greek, the 'Liturgical Cycle'. This cycle is formed by the superposition of three Cycles which have developed in the course of the history of the Church.

1. Basic Cycle

It is the only complete one, which is the original succession of 52 full weeks, each made up of a Sunday and six ferial days. The Syrians inherited this division of the year into weeks from the Jewish calendar and only gradually replaced the seventh day, i. e. Sabbath, by the first day, i. e. Sunday, as a day of religious obligations. Two of these Sundays, already connected with the Jewish feasts of 'Passover' and Pentecost, acquired fresh significance from the Resurrection of Christ and the coming-down of the Holy Spirit from Heaven and so became the first Christian feasts of Resurrection and Pentecost, thus inaugurating the second cycle called the Temporal Cycle.

II. Temporal Cycle

The second cycle is the Christ cycle or the Proper of the Season, so called from the seven liturgical seasons or times of seven or eight Sundays each. All the mysteries of Christ's life have worked together to effect our salvation; the Church therefore commemorates them yearly in the various feasts of the proper of the Season (the temporal cycle). For example, at Christmas, the Church offers to God the Divine Child in the manger together with everything which in Christ's life as a human child gave special glory to God the father; in that way she ensures that we, too, shall receive a special application of the graces which Christ merited for us; they will enable us increasingly to practice each year those virtues exemplified in this period of the life of Christ.

1. The fifty days between the two original feasts of Resurrection and Pentecost are named '*Qyomtō kālam*' i.e. Easter season or period.

The Qyomtō period is a time of joy and thanksgiving in which the Church enters into the new life of resurrection. For this reason, the Sunday after Qyomtō is called the 'new Sunday'. It culminates in the feast of Pentecost, ten days after the Ascension of Our Lord (*Sulokō*), when the Holy Spirit comes down on the Church and fills it with new life.

2. From Pentecost onwards, every Sunday remembers the two-fold mystery of the Resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit, two aspects of the same mystery, that is of the new life of communion with God which is given to us through the resurrection. This season is also called *Slihō Kālam* (Season of the apostolic mission).

3. The *Transfiguration period* (*Thejaskarana kalam*) begins on the 6th of August, the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ.

4. *Slibō kalam*, the season of the glorification of the cross, begins on September 14 and lasts for 7 or 8 Sundays.

5. *Sūbōrō season*. This period is both a prologue to the whole commemoration of the redemption and a special preparation for its first event, the Nativity of our Lord. The first Sunday in this season is the Consecration of the Church, the second the purification of the Church, the third and fourth are annunciations (*sūbōrō d-Zkaryō*, *sūboro d-Yoldat Alōhō*), the 5th the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth (*mizaltō d-Maryam sed Elisbā*), the 6th the birth of John the Baptist (*mawlodeh d-Yuḥanōn*), the 7th the revelation to St. Joseph (*gelyoneh d'Yawsep*) (*Hūdōyō Canon ch. 5 sect. 5*).

6. The Christmas-Epiphany (*Yaldo-Denho*) season begins on the Sunday before Christmas and ends before the Lent. It celebrates the redemption prepared by the Incarnation of the Word and its manifestation.

7. The fifty days of preparation for the resurrection were the origin of this Lenten season (*saumō*).

III. Sanctoral Cycle

This cycle contains the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, martyrs, confessors, fathers, doctors etc. Some are fixed, a few others are movables. The memory of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament is commemorated in a very special way. They are constantly remembered as living witness to the mystery of the Gospel. Today the celebration of the fixed feasts has very little significance, for the Syrian Churches, particularly in Malankara. In the Syro-Malankara Church, in spite of a calendar that bears the name of a saint for every day of the year, most of the priests in their own prayers, Divine office and Holy Qurbānō, as well as the

parishes, celebrate only, besides obligatory days, those commemorations which are known as of obligations, e.g. St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Thomas etc. and some later feasts and also the feast of the local church. Archbishop Mar Ivanios has published a calendar in 1931 which was revised in 1959. Again it was revised by Rev. Geevarghese Chediath in 1973 with Bible readings for each day of the year.

Besides the annual cycle, the Syro-Malankara Church has also a *weekly cycle*. Every *Sunday* is a commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ. Already by his baptism, a Christian has begun to participate in the new life in Christ. Every Qurbono makes this mystery really present. Thus the Sunday observance is intended to bring this mystery to mind at the beginning of every week in order that the Christian may continually renew the memory of the resurrection, and strive to live week by week in its light. *Monday* and *Tuesday* are days of repentance. It is the theme of the preaching of both St. John the Baptist and Christ. "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand". In this way, every week the Christian has opportunity to renew his catholic faith, to turn back to God and look for the coming of His kingdom. *Wednesday* is kept in honour of the Mother of God, because, according to a very ancient tradition, the Annunciation took place on a Wednesday. In this way, every Wednesday calls us to reflect on the place of St. Mary in the economy of salvation, on her divine motherhood, as the mother of Jesus Christ and through him of all Christians. *Thursday* is kept in memory of the Apostles, Prophets, Confessors, Doctors, Martyrs, Bishops and other Saints. *Friday* is the commemoration of the Holy Cross recalling the mystery of Christ. *Saturday* is dedicated to the departed Priests and faithful.

II

Literature

1. Text of Anaphoras

Besides the liturgy of St. James the Apostle, more than a hundred anaphoras are known by name and are found in manuscripts in old Malankara churches and seminary libraries of Kerala. But there are very large number of manuscripts of these Syriac liturgies in European libraries, such as the British Museum, the Old Bodleian Library at Oxford, at Cambridge and London University libraries, Leiden, Paris, Vatican libraries, further at Bagdad and Charfet libraries, in Florence Lauretine library etc., Union Theological

Seminary, New York, Missionary Research Library of Broadway, New York, at Kelham, Notts., and in other Near East libraries. Certainly, there are differences among them. An examination of them would reveal considerable variety of local usages. From the various manuscripts found in the Near East, Turkey, Egypt and the United States of America, in Canada, in Brazil and in European libraries and in Malankara, we know that there existed differences in the texts and rubrics varying from place to place, from church to churches, even if they were of the same province. But in course of time, these differences were grouped into two, namely (1) that of the patriarchate of West Syria and (2) that of the catholicate of the East. When, in the 13th century, Gregorios Barhebraeus became the Catholicos (Maphrian) of the East, many of his liturgical works were adopted by the patriarchate. Among these were the abridged baptismal rite and the minor anaphora of St. James, which he had abridged from the major anaphora of St. James, which is rarely used in Malabar (Malankara). During the course or the advent of Jacobite prelates from Syria (1665), they imported Jacobite liturgical books to Malankara. The most important was in 1751, when Sukrallā Mar Baselios came with other prelates. He brought with him several liturgical manuscripts in Syriac. One of them was the minor anaphora of St. James. This is widely used by the Malankara Church instead of the major anaphora of St. James.

Malankara Syriac manuscripts

There are more than a hundred Syriac anaphoras in manuscripts in the ancient churches and seminaries of the Malankara Jacobites (Orthodox). Of these several manuscripts are noteworthy:

1. The order of Holy Qurbōnō and the order of Baptism belonging to the late Fr. Jacob Cheriyaamadom, Vazhoor. It was written in 1767.

The manuscript copy is now with the Mar Thoma Metropolitan at Tiruvalla.

2. A copy of the above written by Parackal Fr. Mathai, Ankamaly, in 1795.

3. The order of the Holy Qurbōnō and Baptism belonging to Fr. Joseph Adangapurath, Kallupara. It was neatly written in 1795 and is now kept in the Mar Thoma Metropolitan's Seminary, Tiruvalla.

4. The order of the Holy Qurbōnō together with the Rite of Baptism belonging to Chelatt Mathew, Kothamangalam: an old manuscript written by Sukrallā Mar Baselios, Catholicos of the East, who came to Malankara in 1751.

5. The order of the Holy Qurbōnō with the Baptism Ritual written about the year 1808 by Remban Philippos Kayamkulam, in *Chaldean* script.

6. The order of Qurbōnō with Baptism rites belonging to Corepiscopa Joseph Purackal, Ranni, written about 1810 in *Chaldean* script.

7. The order of Holy Qurbōnō written by Corepiscopa Philippos Edavazhikal, Kottayam, in 1857.

8. The Syriac Missal written in 1860 by Yūyākīm Mar Kurilos (brother of Makkudisa Chalakuzhiyil, Tiruvalla).

9. The Syriac Missal written by Philippos Mar Dionysios Cheppad, Metropolitan of Malankara (ancestor of Corepiscopa Philippos Remban Cheppad, one of the first followers of Archbishop Mar Ivanios). Unfortunately it was burnt by a priest at about 1950, because its sheets were torn and worm-eaten.

10. His Holiness Mar Baselios Mathews I Vattakunnel, Kottayam, Orthodox Catholicos of Malankara, has got a manuscript containing 30 anaphoras.

11. The late Mar Ivanios, Syro-Malankara Archbishop of Trivandrum, had several manuscript copies of anaphoras written by his twentyeight predecessors of the Mavelikara Panikar family. Unfortunately most of them were eaten by book-worms and white ants owing to the carelessness of the person who was in charge of them at the library at Pattom, Trivandrum. Some of them contained 35, 30, 27 and 25 anaphoras respectively.

2. Printed editions of Anaphoras

The current texts used in Malankara are the old 19th century Kottayam edition in big Syriac letters and the later 20th century Pampakuda and Tiruvalla editions.

Kottayam edition

The earliest one appeared in the 19th century which was published by the late Joseph Mar Dionysios of Malankara when he was a priest. It contained the minor anaphora of St. James and the rite of baptism. In 1928, there appeared a second edition at Kottayam which contained the following thirteen anaphoras together with 21 Sedrē: 1. Minor anaphora of St. James the Apostle, 2. anaphora of Mar Dionysios Bar Salībī, 3. of Mar Ivanios, 4. of Mar John the Apostle, 5. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 6. of Mar Eustathios, 7. of Mar Julios, 8. of Mar Xystos, 9. of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, 10. of the Twelve Apostles, 11. of Mar Isaac, 12. of Mar Abraham Nahsirtōnō, 13. of Mar John Patriarch, called Yesu Bar Sūsan.

Pampakuda editions

a) The earliest one appeared in 1886 which contained the following anaphoras: 1. Minor anaphora of St. James, 2. anaphora of Mar Dionysios Bar Salībī, 3. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 4. of Mar Eustathios, 5. of Mar Julios.

b) The edition of 1911 contained the following anaphoras: 1. Minor anaphora of St. James, 2. Anaphora of Mar Dionysios Bar Salībī, 3. of Mar Ivanios, 4. of Mar John the Apostle, 5. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 6. of Mar Eustathios, 7. of Mar Julios, 8. of Mar Xystos.

c) In the edition of 1931, there are 1. the anaphora of St. James, 2. of Mar Dionysios, 3. of Mar Ivanios, 4. of Mar John the Apostle, 5. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 6. of Mar Eustathios, 7. of Mar Julios, 8. of Mar Xystos, 9. of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, 10. of Mar Isaac, 11. of Mar Abraham Nahsirtōnō, 12. of Mar Lazar Bar Sābātō, 13. of Mar Patros Kalliniki Patriarch 14. of Mar kurilos Rābo, 15. of Mar Ignatios Nūrōnō, 16. of St. Mark, 17. of Mar Tōmā Harklōyō.

d) The edition of 1957, with vernacular translations, contains 1. the minor anaphora of St. James, 2. the anaphora of Mar Dionysios Bar Salībī, 3. of Mar Ivanios, 4. of St. John the Apostle, 5. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 6. of Mar Eustathios, 7. of Mar Julios, 8. of Mar Xystos, 9. of St. Peter, head of the Apostles, 10. of the Twelve Apostles, 11. of Mar Isaac, 12. of Mar Abraham Nahsirtōnō, 13. of the Doctors (M'qanestō) and 25 sedrē.

e) The edition of 1950, without vernacular translation, contains all the thirteen anaphoras mentioned in the edition of 1957.

f) There are three more editions of 1964, 1967 and 1971 with the same contents.

g) All the liturgical books of the Syro-Malankara Catholics were those mentioned above. To meet with the immediate needs at the time of Reunion, the late Mar Ivanios printed a Syrian Catholic missal in 1934, at Pampakuda which is really an exact copy of the Antiochian Missal of 1922 published by Patriarch Mar Ignatios Aprēm Raḥmānī. It contains the major anaphora of St James and that of Mar Xystos with vernacular translations.

Tiruvalla editions

a) Teksō d-Qurōbō, published by Fr. Ya'qōb Takidiyil, Chingavanom, in St. Joseph's Printing House, Tiruvalla, 1948. It contains the following anaphoras: 1. of St. James, 2. of Mar Dionysios, 3. of Mar Ivanios, 4. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 5. of Mar Xystos, 6. of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, 7. of the Twelve Apostles, and twelve sedrē.

b) Teksō d-Qurōbō, published by the Syrian Catholics in St. Joseph's Printing House, Tiruvalla 1949, with Malayalam translations. It contained only the anaphora of Mar Xystos. Several editions followed in 1957, 1961 etc.

c) Ktōbō d' Annapurē (Book of the Anaphoras) containing 21 anaphoras and forty Prumiyan-Sedrē. It was edited there in 1956. The names of these anaphoras are 1. Minor anaphora of St. James, 2. of St. John the Apostle, 3. Minor anaphora of St. Peter, 4. anaphora of the Twelve Apostles, 5. of St. Mark, 6. of Mar Xystos, 7. of Mar Dionysios Bar Salibi, 8. of Mar Yuhanon Bar Sūsān, 9. of Mar Ivanios, 10. of Mar Abraham Nahsirtōnō, 11. of Mar Isaac, 12. of the Doctors, 13. of Mar Toma Harklōyō, 14. of Mar Mathai Rōyō, 15. of Mar Eustathios, 16. of Mar Julios, 17. of Mar Semaun Kipo, 18. of Mar Baselios, 19. of Mar Lazar Sābātō, 20. of Mar Kurilos, 21. of Mar Ignatios Nūrōnō, and various ḥutmē on various occasions.

d) Teksōd-Qurōbō, edited in 1968, contains the anaphora of Mar Xystos only.

e) Teksō d-Qurōbō, edited in 1972 containing nine anaphoras. At present, this book is used. It contains 1. the minor anaphora of St. James, 2. the anaphora of St. John the Apostle, 3. of the Twelve Apostles, 4. of Mar Dionysios, 5. of Mar Ivanios, 6. of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, 7. of Mar Xystos, 8. of Mar Eustathios, 9. of the Doctors (M'qanesto), and 21 Prumiyan-Sedrē. This edition is entirely in Malayalam.

English translations

There are several English translations of the Divine Liturgy:

1. F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford 1896, reprinted 1965, I 69-109.

2. J. W. Etheridge, The Syrian Churches, their early history liturgy and literature, London 1946, 135-149.

3. J. M. Neale, A History of the Holy Eastern Church, London 1850, I 151-153, 326-335.

4. G. B. Howard, The Christians of St. Thomas and their liturgies, Oxford 1864, 44-46, 120-147, 191-265.

5. Dr. Mill's translation: J. Hough, History of Christianity in India, London 1839, IV 619-645.

6. Madras Church Missionary Records, 1835, II/2, 162-171; III/4, 49-56, 65-70. English translation by Pitt. Howard's and Hough's translations contain six anaphoras: of St. James, Bar Salībī, Ivanios, St. Luke, St. Peter the Apostle and Mar Xystos.

7. The order of the Holy Qurbono of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, with elaborate commentary by Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany, published by Mother Edith, 1927.

8. The order of the Holy Qurbono of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar. Liturgy of St. James, translated by Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany, Tiruvalla 1929.

9. Eastern Catholic Worship, New York 1945.

10. The Synopsis of the Holy Mass according to the liturgy of St. James, by Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, London 1932.

11. The order of the H. Qurbono of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar. The liturgy of St. James, London 1934.

12. A Handbook of the Holy Mass (Malankara Rite), New York 1947, 19-61.

13. A Guide to the Malankara Antiochene Eucharistic liturgy, by Mar Theophilos, Bishop of Tiruvalla, Tiruvalla 1933.

14. The order of the Holy Qurbono of the Syrian Orthodox Jacobite Church, Liturgy of St. James, by Rev. Dr. C. A. Abraham, Kottayam 1952.

15. The order of the Syrian Orthodox Eucharistic Service from the Divine Liturgy of St. James, Manganam 1969, 51-76 (translation by Fr. M. V. George)

16. The order of the Holy Qurbono of the Syro-Malankara Rite, ed. by B. Griffiths, Trivandrum, 1964, 24-81.

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Appendix

FRACTION CEREMONY—ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. No. 1. The shape of the host at offering.

It is called 'Thabao' = Seal. The seal is a host made of leavened bread with 13 crosses marked on it. Five wounds are marked on the large cross. The priest takes it with both hands and making the sign of the cross with it, he places it in the paten.

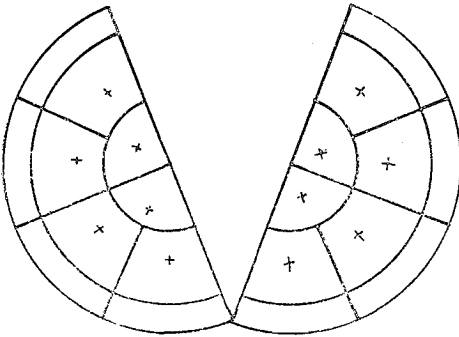
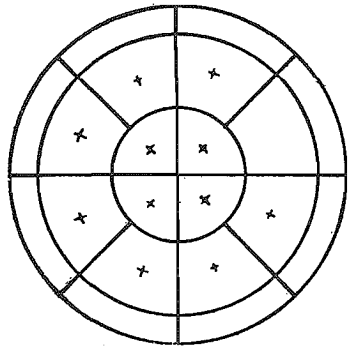
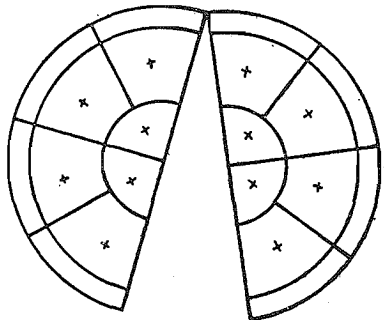


Fig. 2. At the fraction ceremony.

The priest takes the host and breaks it into two halves from top to bottom.

Fig. 3. The top portions are joined together again. Then the priest breaks from bottom to top and holds as in the Fig. No. 3.



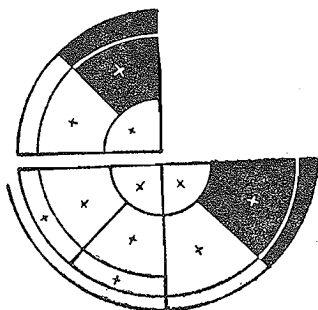


Fig. 4. He places the second half over the first half as shown in this figure. Then he detaches the shaded portion. This is the shape of the live-coal (Isaiah 6,6). This particle is put into the chalice at the fraction ceremony. This shows that this flesh belongs to the blood in the chalice and this blood is from this body. The priest then detaches the other shaded portion and holds it in the right hand. With this particle the ceremony of consignation is conducted.

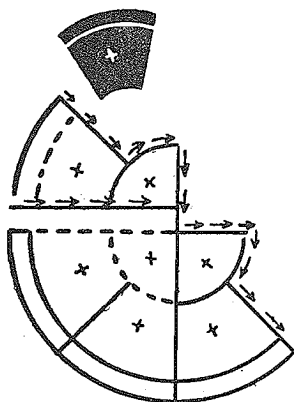


Fig. 5. He dips it in the blood in the chalice, and with that particle he marks on the lines of the two halves as shown in Fig. 5.

Fig. 6. The priest dips this particle, making the sign of the cross over the blood and smears the blood over the whole body, twice anticlock-wise and finally once clock-wise as indicated in Fig. 6. Then, he places this particle, representing the head of Christ, on the top of the bread as shown in the figure.

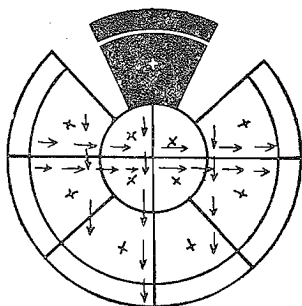
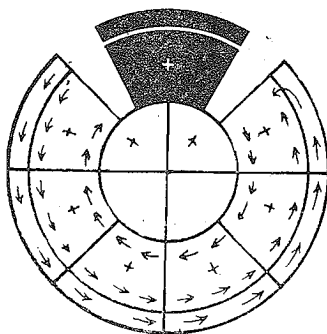


Fig. 7. There is a simple way of Consignation. It is shown in Fig.7. The priest takes the small detached particle, representing the head of Christ and with the right hand, he dips it in the blood, by making the sign of the cross, and again smears the blood by making the sign of the cross in the middle portion of the body. A second time he dips it in the blood and again smears the blood by making the second sign of the cross on the left portion of the body, and similarly making the third sign of the cross on the right hand portion of the body.

Lamb-Pattern. There are four forms of this. After fraction ceremony, the host takes the form of the Lamb of God. "Behold the lamb of God". John 1,29,36. "Like a lamb that is dumb before his shearer". Acts 8,32. "He is brought as a lamb to slaughter. Is 53,7. "With the precious blood of Christ as a lamb without blemish". I Pet 1,19. "The lamb that was slain before the foundation of the world". Rev.13,8.

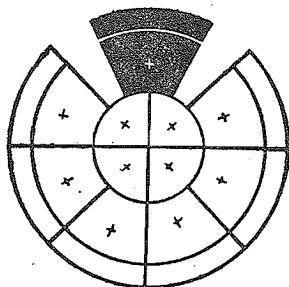


Fig. 8. The host takes the form of the lamb when one wafer is used.

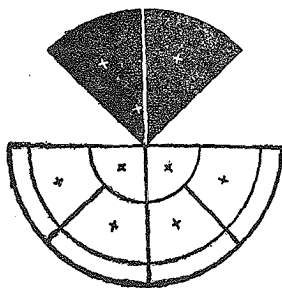


Fig. 9. Another form of the lamb when one wafer is used. The first and the second are the simplest forms of the lamb of God.

Fig. 10. Another form of lamb when one wafer is used.

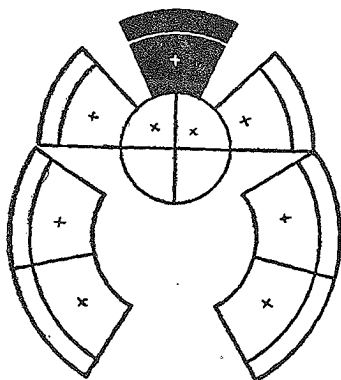
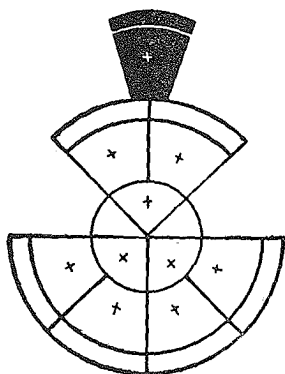


Fig. 11. Still another form of lamb when one wafer is used. The first-born (Buk'ro) takes either of the above forms, on Maundy Thursday. These lamb-patterns symbolize the suffering church.

Lamb of God. The Buk'ro takes these forms of the Lamb of God *When two wafers* are used. These symbolize the suffering church. These forms of the Lamb-patterns are used from Qudosh Edto to Holy Saturday before Easter.

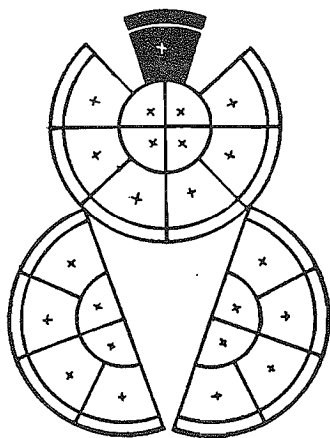


Fig. 12. The usual form of lamb pattern when two wafers are used.

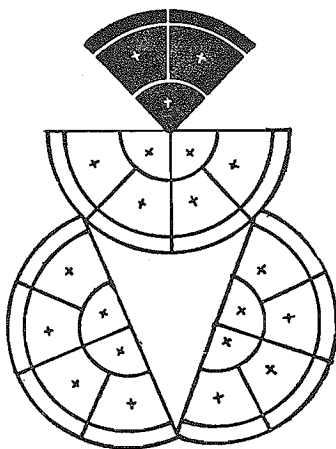
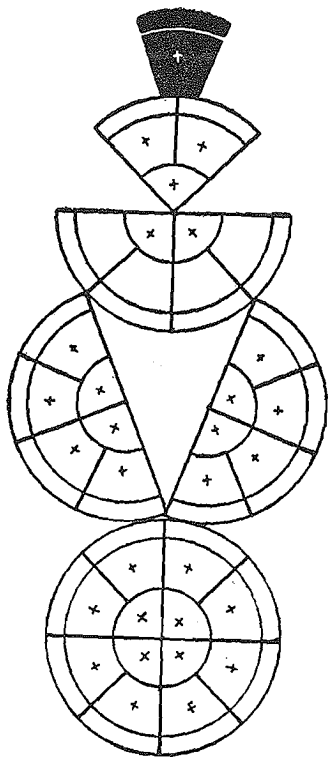
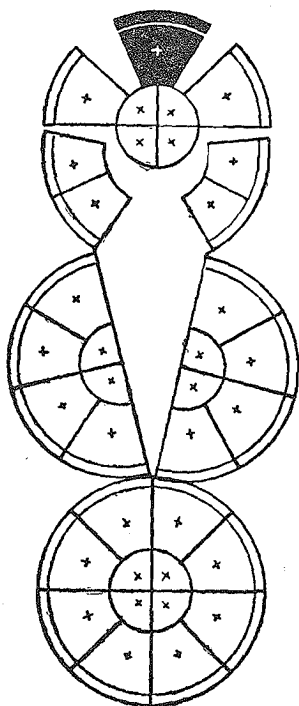


Fig. 13. Another form of lamb-pattern when two wafers are used.

Lamb of God.

Fig. 18. Another form of lamb, when three wafers are used. It symbolizes the Church Expectant (i.e. the suffering church.). It is arranged in a large Paten from Qudosh Edto to Holy Saturday.



Lamb of God. Fig. 19. The shape of the lamb when three wafers are used. It symbolizes the suffering church. This pattern of the lamb is arranged during fraction ceremony from Qudosh Edto to Saturday in Holy Week.

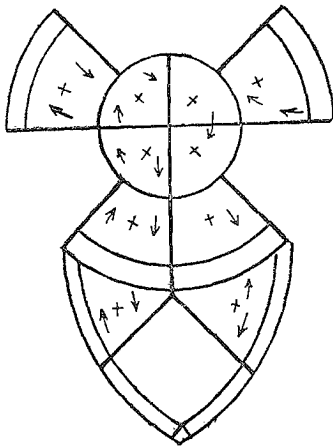


Fig. 20. Besides the Lamb-Pattern, there are two other most common alternate patterns. It is called the 'Son of Man'-BarNoshho. The Buk'ro (First-born) takes the pattern of the Son of Man, from Easter Sunday to the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14. This man-pattern is the symbol of the Pilgrim Church, otherwise called the Militant Church. It shows the acts of consignment.

Fig. 21. This pattern is arranged in the paten from Easter Sunday to the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14. This is the symbol of the Pilgrim Church.

"Behold, with the clouds of heaven, there came one like the Son of Man". Daniel 7, 13.

"I will prove to you, then, that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins," Mk 2, 10. Mt 9, 6. Lk 5,24.

"I assure you that you will not finish your work in all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes." Mt 10, 23. 16, 27.

"When the Son of Man came, he ate and drank, everyone said, look at this man!". Mt 11, 19. Lk 7, 34.

"For the Son of Man is the Lord of Sabbath", Mt 12,8. Mk 2,28. Lk 6,5.

"The man who sowed the good seed is the Son of Man." Mt 13,37.

"of him will the Son of Man also be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his father." Mk 8,38. Lk 9,26.

"The Son of Man is to be delivered into the hands of men." Mt 17, 22. Mk 9, 31. Lk 9, 44.

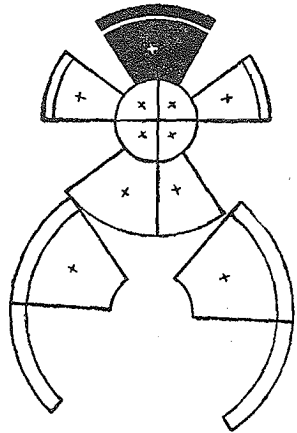
"When the Son of Man shall sit on his throne, you who have followed me will also sit...." Mt 19,28. 25,31.

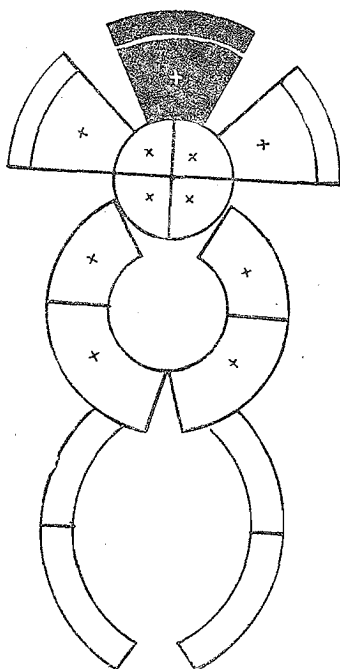
"For the Son of Man is to come with his angels in the glory of the Father." Mt 16, 27.

"So will the Son of Man be in his day." Lk 17,24.

"As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up." John 3, 14.

"He said, 'Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God'. Acts 7,56.

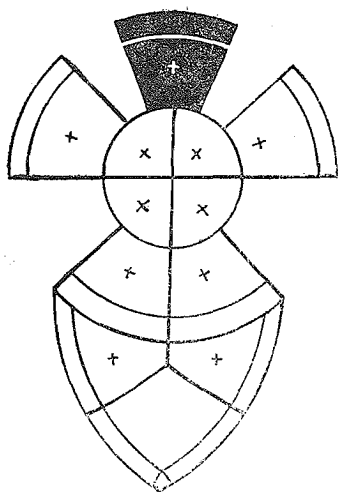




Son of Man
Fig. 22. The Buk'ro takes another form of the Son of Man from Easter Sunday to Exaltation of the Cross on September 14. It is the symbol of the Pilgrim Church.

Fig. 23. It shows the full shape of Man-pattern after consignation.

SLEEBO=Cross--pattern. The Buk'ro takes this Cross-pattern when one wafer is used. This pattern is arranged in the paten from the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14 to Qudosh Edto. This symbolizes the Triumphant Church.



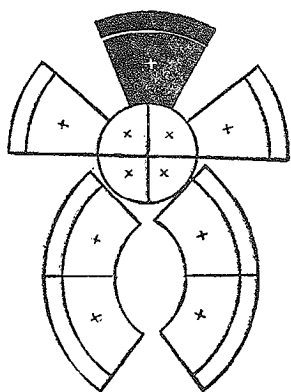


Fig. 24. It shows one form of the Cross-pattern.

Fig. 25. It shows the second form of the Cross-pattern.

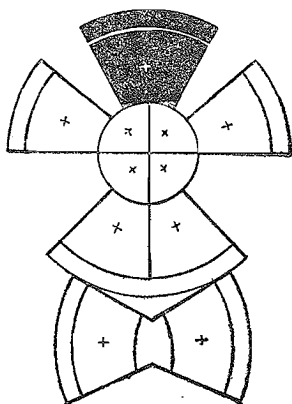
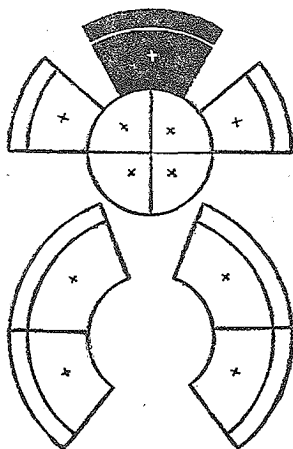


Fig. 26. It indicates an alternative form of the Cross-pattern.

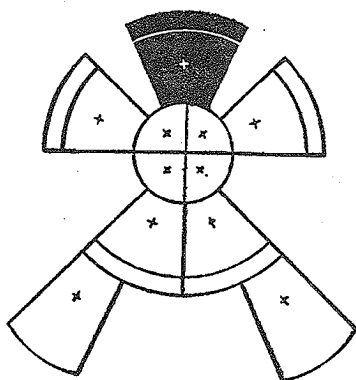


Fig. 27. It indicates another alternative form of the Cross-pattern.

Fig. 28. It shows another form of Cross-pattern.

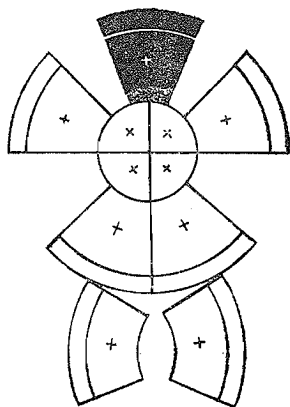
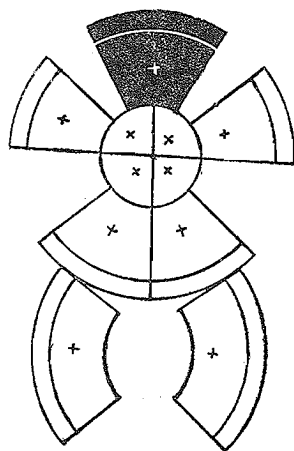


Fig. 29. It shows yet another form of Cross-pattern.

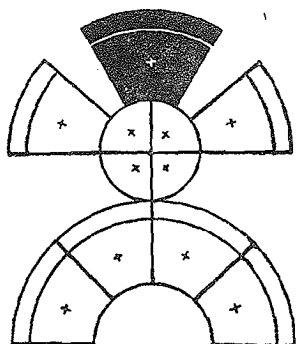


Fig. 30. It shows another form of Cross-pattern.

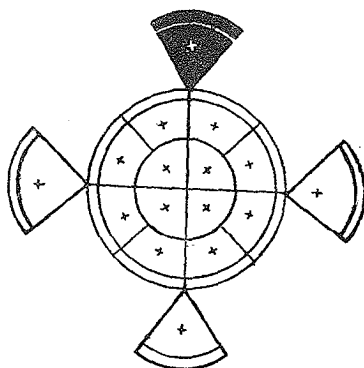


Fig. 31. The host takes this form when two wafers are used. It shows the unity of the Church.

Cross-pattern. The hosts take these forms when three wafers are used. These symbolize the Triumphant Church. They show the unity of the Church.

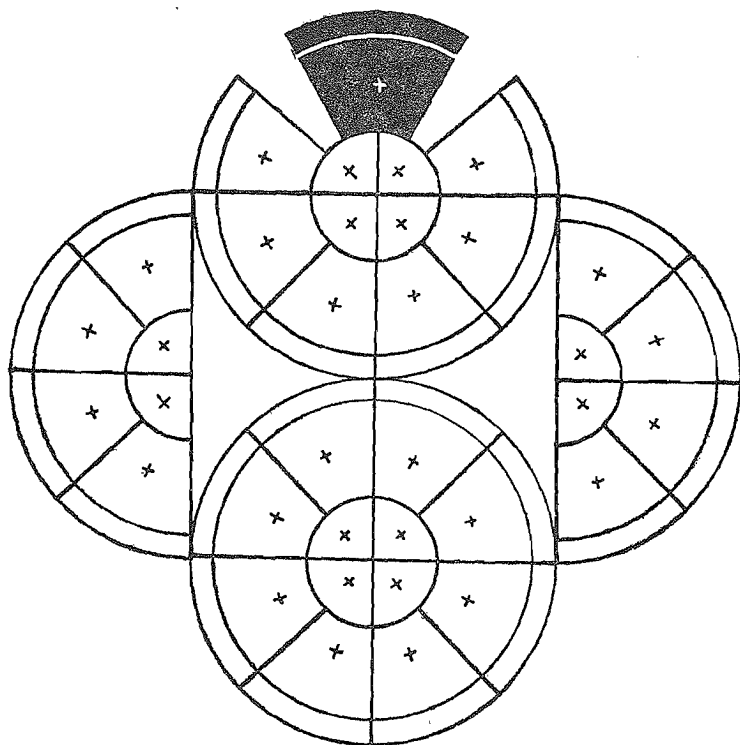


Fig. 32. After the fraction and consignment, the 3 wafers are arranged in the paten in the form of a cross.

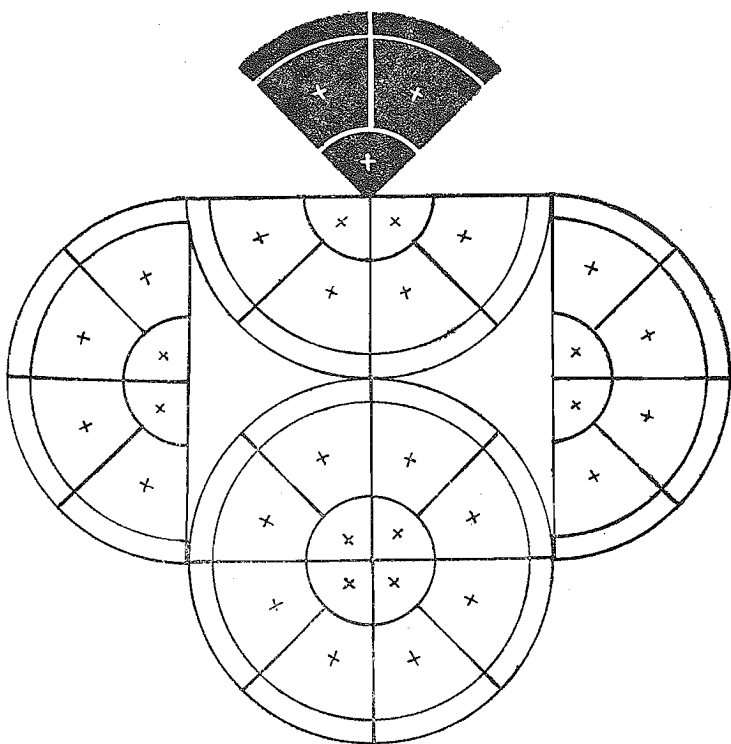


Fig. 33. After the fraction and consignation, the 3 wafers are arranged in the form of a cross. It is an alternate pattern.

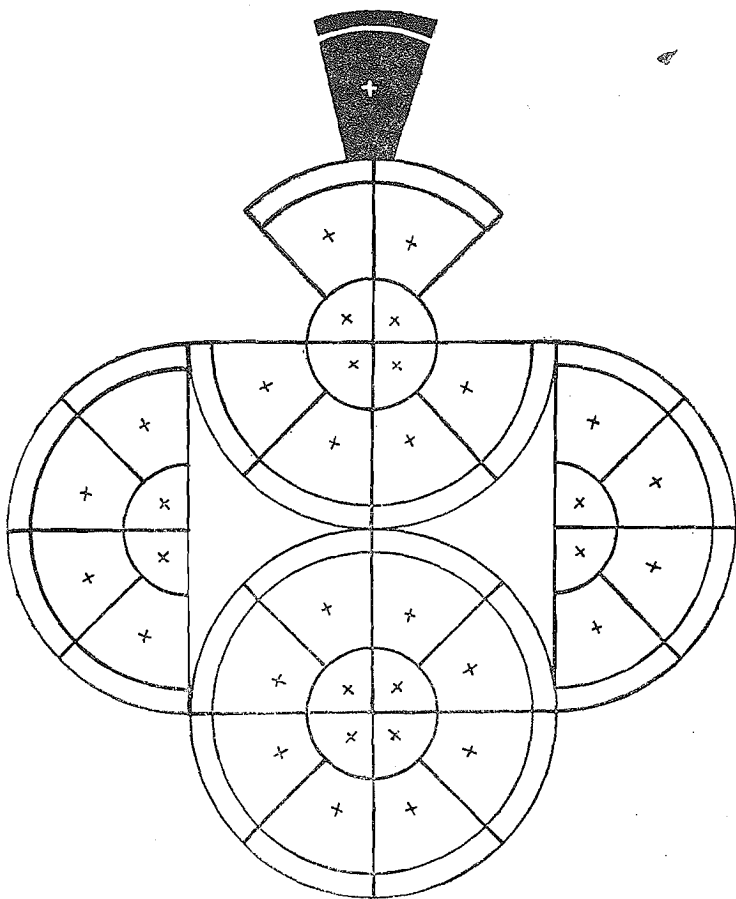


Fig. 34. Another form of the cross when three wafers are used. It is arranged from the Exaltation of the Cross to Qudosh Edto. It symbolizes the Triumphant Church and it shows the unity of Church.

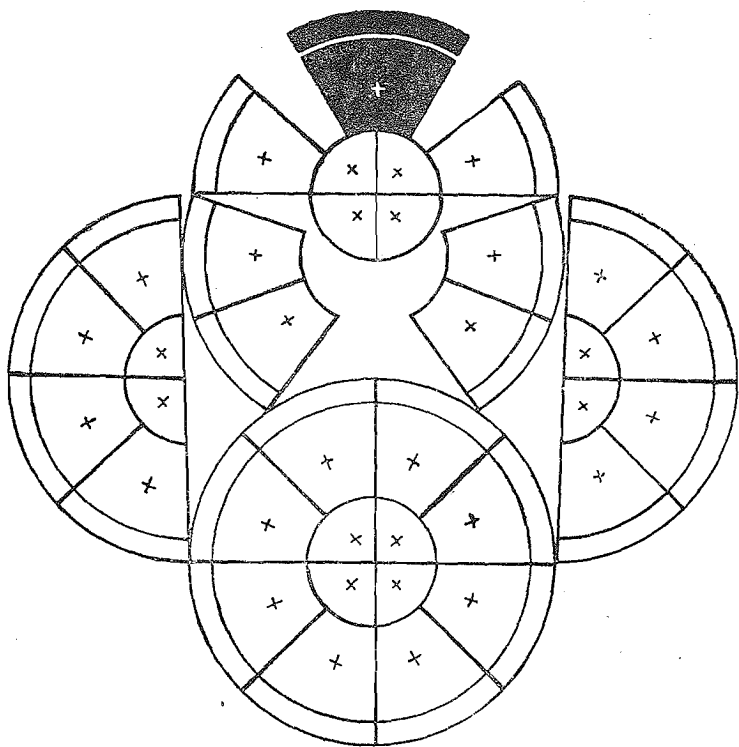


Fig. 35. An alternate form of the cross when three wafers are used. This form is arranged from the Exaltation of the Cross to Qudosh Edto. It symbolizes the Triumphant Church and it indicates the unity of the Church.

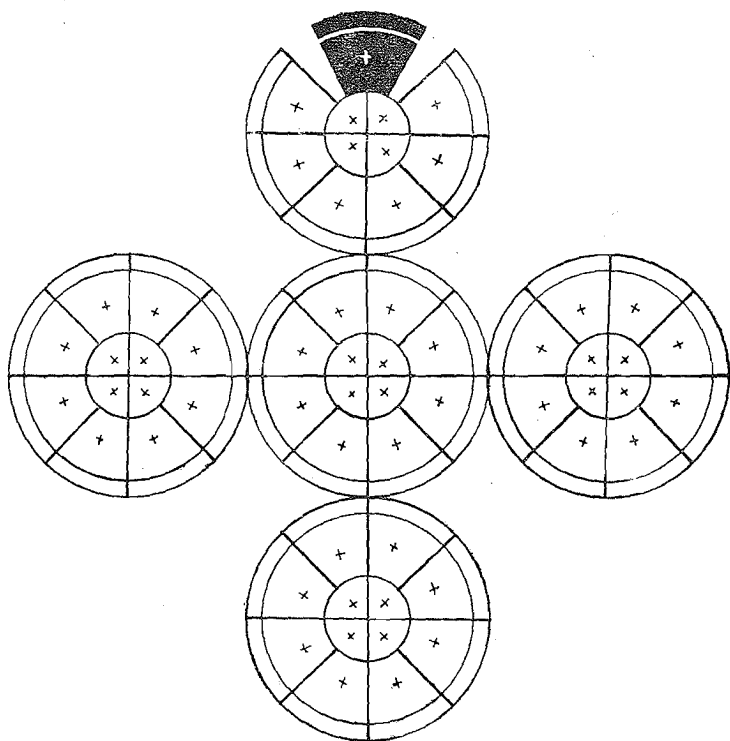


Fig. 36. Another form of the Cross-pattern, when 5 wafers are used. it symbolizes the Triumphant Church and it shows the unity of the Church.

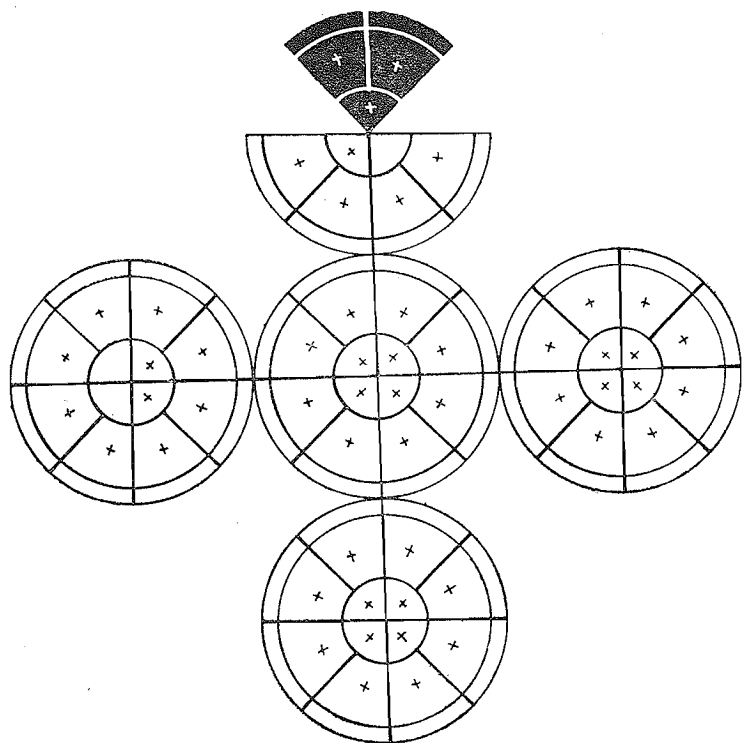


Fig. 37. Alternate form of Cross-pattern when five wafers are used
It symbolizes the Triumphant Church and it shows the unity of the Church.

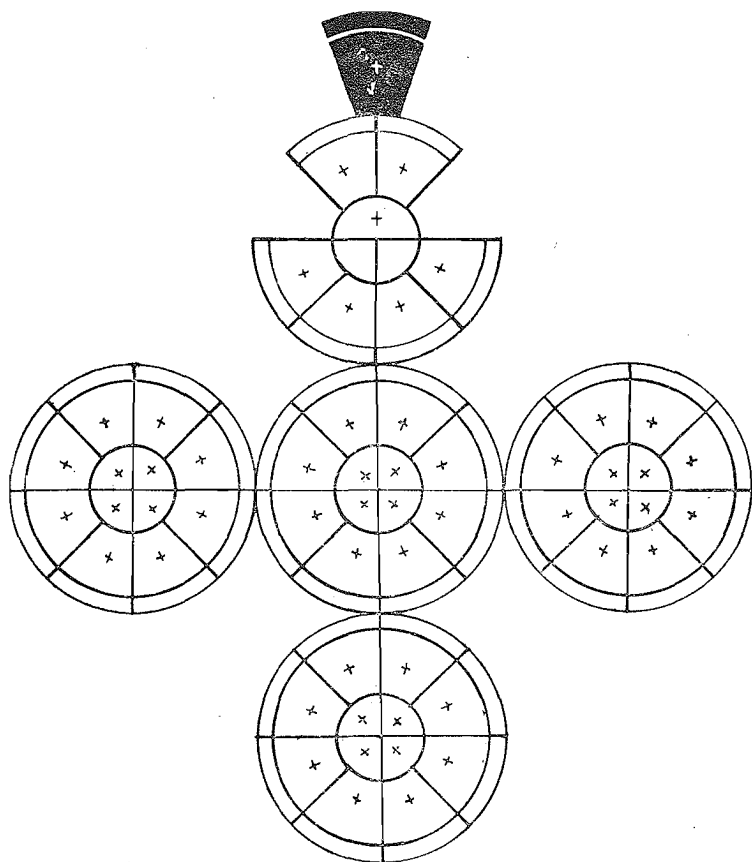


Fig. 38. Alternate form of Cross-pattern when five wafers are used. It symbolizes the Triumphant Church and it shows the unity of the Church.

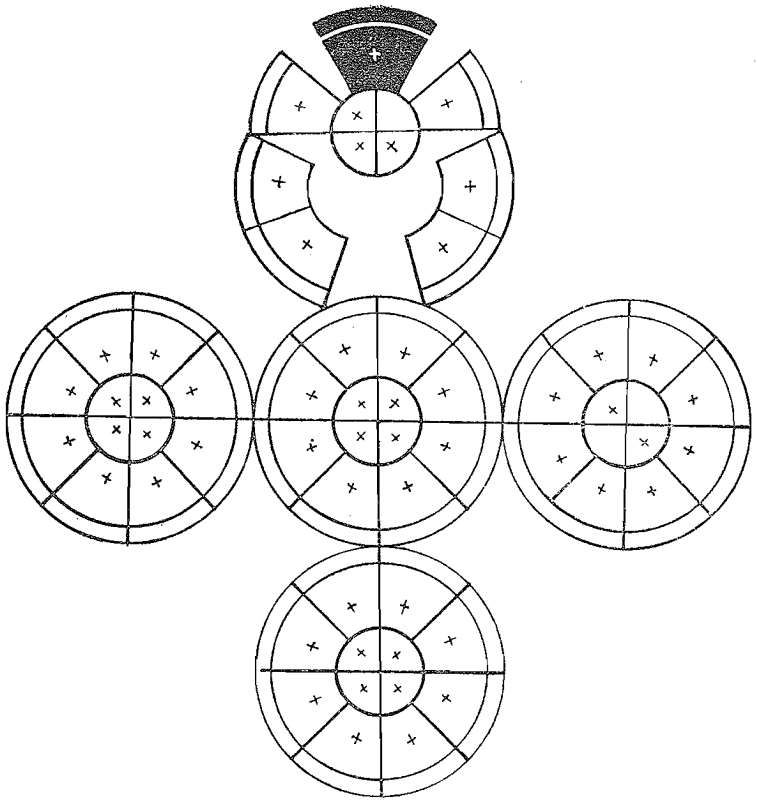


Fig. 39. Another form of Cross-pattern when five wafers are used. it is arranged from the Exaltation of the Cross to Qudosh Edto. It is the symbol of the Triumphant Church and it shows the unity of the Church.

"For as the lightning comes out of the East, and shines unto the West, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be". Mt 24,27.

"Having made peace through the cross, by him to reconcile, all things unto Himself". Colossians 1, 20.

"I should glory, save in the cross of Christ". Gal. 6, 14.

"Then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven". Mt 24, 30, Lk 21,27.

**The Divine Liturgy
According To The Rite
Of The Assyro - Chaldean
Church**

The Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Assyro-Chaldean Church

By Patros Yousif

It is not easy to present a reduced commentary of the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy. In fact there is not a uniformity between its 9 editions on the one hand¹, nor between the manuscripts the other hand², although the structure of the non-latinised editions may be well perceived. But the great difficulty is that we do not have a critical comprehensive edition of this mass, a thing which seems to me very difficult, although very necessary. In fact, the oldest manuscript dates from the 10-11th century, that of Mār Esa'yā³.

The other difficulty comes from the limits and the orientation imposed to such an article: special explanation with a limited number of pages. It claims to be a spiritual, liturgical and theological commentary. In this case it must reduce if not eliminate the critical, textual and historical problems of the liturgy. This means that to avoid any unsure interpretation we must still start from the solid data of the mass and leave away any hypothetical comment on the other points.

Concretely, we must set aside the discussion of some detailed liturgical problems, and try to present what is considered by the specialists as scientifically acquired. We will insist no more on the relation "ad extra" of the Chaldean liturgy: with the other liturgies,

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- 1 See C. MOUSSESS, les huit éditions du missel chaldéen, in *Proche Orient chrétien* I (1951), pp. 209-220. Furthermore, the Kelayta Edition is reproduced by Archbishop Darmo, India, 1959. A new edition with some changes has been made by Chaldean Patriarcate, Bagdad 1971 (with the Anaphora of the Apostles only).
 - 2 For a list of the manuscripts of the Anaphora of the Apostles, see W. F. MACOMBER, The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), pp. 335-342. He gives 24 mss. dating from 10/11th century (Mār Esāya Ḥudra) till 16/17 century (Berlin 39).
 - 3 *Id. ib* p. 342. It contains the three anaphoras: that of the Apostles, of Theodore and of Nestorius. The description of the ms. is on pp. 349-354.

for example the Maronite Anaphora of Saint Peter Sarrar⁴, with the ancient christian liturgical texts and Judaism⁵.

Therefore we must present a short commentary based on the available editions and translations of the texts, and some manuscripts and on the main commentators, especially Narssi and G. Qatraya whose commentaries suit our purpose, inasmuch as their works are critically published. That is why, these pages do not claim to present an important discovery, but a didactical presentation and an organical synthesis made, as much as I know, for the first time, in the limits and orientations mentioned above. After a short description of the sources (Texts and commentaries), we shall see the different parts of the eucharistic liturgy and their meaning.

I. THE SOURCES

1) *The text*: As all the rites, the Chaldean liturgy text is composed of variable and invariable parts. The variable parts are the prayers and or readings special for different liturgical circumstances, for ex. the 'onita (a chant beginning with a verse of psalme) d'Rāzē (to be sung on the offertory). There are some parts which are relatively variable, for ex. the psalms which may be chanted every fortnight, and the Three anaphoras used for special periods of the year. From all these mass compositions we study only the anaphoras. The fixed part of the liturgy is of some prayers and acclamations used as the structure of every mass. For example the *Trisagion*.

4 See W. F. MACOMBER, The Maronite and Chaldean Versions of the Anaphora of the Apostles, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971), pp. 55-84; ID. A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean Rites, *Ib.* 39 (1973), pp. 235-242. For a special question like the Anamnesis, see J.-P. MONTMINY, l'offrande sacrificielle dans l'anamnèse des liturgies anciennes, in *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 50 (1966), pp. 385-405. About the liturgy-sister of Malabar, see the special article in this book.

5 See G. ROUWHORST, Bénédiction, Actions de grâces, supplication. Les oraisons de la table dans le judaïsme et les célébrations eucharistiques des Chrétiens syriaques, in *Questions liturgiques* 61 (1980), pp. 211-240. And especially L. BOUYER, *Eucharistie, Théologie et spiritualité de la prière eucharistique*, Desclée, 2e éd. 1968 pp. 95-158; L. MALDONADO, *La plegaria eucarística*, Estudio de telogia bíblically liturgica sobre la misa, Madrid 1967, pp. 368-390, and mainly the works of Fr. L. LIGIER, Autour du sacrifice eucharistique, Anaphores Orientales et anamnèses juives de kippur, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 92 (1960) 40-55; ID, Anaphores orientales et prières juives, in *Proche Orient Chrétien* 13 (1963), pp. 4-20 and 100-113; ID, De la Cène de Jésus à l'anaphore de l'Eglise, in *La Maison-Dieu*, N° 87, (1966), pp. 7-51; ID, La prière eucharistique, De la Cène à l'Eucharistie, in *Assemblées du Seigneur*, 2e série, N° 1, (1968) pp. 19-57.

As I said above, there is no complete critical edition of the 'Commune' of the Chaldean liturgy. The structure or rather the disposition of the elements of the mass is sometimes different, but their text is rather the same when it is given. About two important parts of this mass we are rather well informed: from the beginning to the creed or to anaphora proper has been very well studied according to manuscripts by Fr. S. Y. Hermiz JAMMO⁶ who not only gives the most ancient possible structure, but also its interpretation. For the study of this part we have made great profit of his work. The anaphora of the Apostles, the most ancient and important of the three ones, used in the Chaldean liturgy according to the reformation of Mar Aba (540-552), is published critically based on Mar Esa'yā Ḥudrā (IX-X century) by W. F. MACOMBER (see footnote 2). The other two anaphoras and the liturgical Mss shall be studied according to the Kelayta edition as reproduced in that of Thomas Darmo (Trichur 1959) and the 1977 Chaldean edition. We have a full English translation of the Chaldean including only the anaphora of the Apostles, eucharistic liturgy in Brightman⁷. A Latin translation of three anaphoras has been made by Renaudot⁸. The translations in other languages are also available⁹. Some of the questions of the text will be studied along these pages when disserting on structures and commenting them; but considering the importance of the anaphora of the apostles, I give an English translation of it based on that of Brightman but according to Mar Esa'ya text. In between this is the part of the text supposed by the manuscript and commonly recited. The text between these is an addition, of mine or from Brightman translation. Before giving it, I notice that the structure of the following text is according to Mar Esa'yā Manuscript and is somewhat different from the 'nestorian' one given in Brightman. The figures in the translation indicate the pages of the edition of Prof. W. F. Macomber (see footnote 2). The other two anaphoras are supposed to have been introduced into the Chaldean Church by Mar Aba. They are of Greek origin and their attribution to Theodore and Nestorius (analogal to S. J. Chrysostom) is not scientifically proved. Indeed we have an anaphora prayer

6 *La structure de la messe chaldéenne, du début jusqu'à l'anaphore. Etude historique* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 207), Roma 1979.

7 *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, Eastern Liturgies, Oxford, Clarendon, 1896, 247-305. The translation is based on the *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris cui accedunt duae aliae...necnon ordo baptismi Urmiae typis missionis Cantuariensis* 1980, being the first part of the book called Takhsa, pp. 1-31,53. (*Ib.* p. 246).

8 E. RENAUDOTUS, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, II, Paris 1716; Londoni 1847 and republished by Gregg Int. 1970, pp. 578-632, and a *Dissertatio*, pp. 561-577.

9 French, Arabic, Italian, German.

composed by Theodore¹⁰, but it is not the 2nd anaphora used by the Chaldeans. For both anaphoras I have not an English translation at my disposal. The texts I shall use are of my own translation into English and are taken from the Darmono edition. I do not speak here of other Chaldean Anaphoras no longer in use at the present time: An anaphora of the 6th century¹¹, that of Diodore of Tarsus about which speaks the Diamper Synod¹²; the Anaphora of saint Ephrem which would have been in use in Nisibis till the reformation of Iso'yahb III (7th century) and which was still in use in the Melkite Church at the time of the author of the Seert Chronical¹³. Furthermore the anaphora mentioned by 'Abdiso of Nisibis in his Catalogue¹⁴, and maybe another one attributed to Barsauma bu 'Abdiso, himself.¹⁵

(The Anaphora of the Apostles)

(1) (p. 358) *And the priest draws near to celebrate the Anaphora of the Apostles.* We confess, o my Lord, the overflowing riches of your grace towards us, for, though we are sinners and of no account, you have counted us worthy, because of the multitude of your mercies, to administer the holy mysteries of the body and blood of your Christ, asking for the help which comes from you for the strengthening of our souls that with entire love and belief of the truth we may celebrate your gift to us.

Qanona and that we may raise to you praise and honour and confession and adoration, etc. (now and in every time and for ever and ever).

And they answer: Amen.

(2) *And the priest says:* Peace be with you.

And they answer: And with you and with your spirit.

And the deacon says: Give the peace one to another in the love of Christ. (p. 360) *And they say:* and for all catholici (and Bishops, presbyters and deacons and for the ... departed... the crown of the year.. For all of them and for all of us be this offering accepted for ever. Amen.)

10 See W. F. MACOMBER, An Anaphora Prayer composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, in *Parole de l'Orient* VI-VII (1975-1976) (Mélanges Fr. GRAFFIN) pp. 340-347.

11 G. BICKEL, *Conspectus rei Syrorum Litterariae*, Munster 1871, pp. 71-73 and see p. 63; English translation in BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies* I, p. 511-518; Dom R. H. CONNOLLY, Sixth Century Fragment of an East-Syrian Anaphora, in *Oriens Christianus* XII-XIV (1923-24), pp. 99-128.

12 MANSI, vol. 35, p. 1250.

13 So according to the *Chronique de Séert*, *Patrologia Orientalis* IV, p. 295.

14 ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* III, Rome 1725-28, p. 65.

15 ID, p. 66 and BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der Syrische Litterature*, p. 108.

And the deacon proclaims: Let us confess and make requests (and beseech the Lord in purity and groaning.) [etc].

(3) *And the priest says:* the grace of our Lord etc. (Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with us all now and in every time and for ever and ever).

And they answer: Amen.

And the priest says: Let your minds be up.

And they answer: Unto you, o God (of Abraham and of Isaac and of Israel, o glorious King.)

And the priest says: the offering unto God the Lord of all is being offered.

And they answer: It is fit and right.

And the deacon says: Peace be with us!

(4) *And the priest recites quietly:* Worthy of praise from every mouth and of confession from every tongue is the adorable and glorious name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, who created the world by his grace; and its inhabitants by his mercifulness and saved mankind by his compassion and made great grace unto mortals. (p. 362) Your majesty, o my Lord, thousand thousands of those on high worship, and myriad myriads of angels, hosts of spiritual, ministers of fire and spirit, with holy cherubims and seraphims glorify your name.

Qanona shouting and glorifying (without ceasing and crying one to another and saying):

(5) *And they answer:* Holy, Holy (Lord God of hosts....)

(6) *And the priest recites quietly:* And with those heavenly armies we confess you, my Lord, we too your weak and frail and miserable servants, for that you have given us great grace past recompense in that you did put on our manhood that you quicken us by your goodhead, and have exalted our low estate and restored our fall and raised our mortality and forgiven our trespasses and justified our sinfulness and enlightened our knowledge and condemned, (p. 364) o our Lord and our God, our enemies, and granted victory to the weakness of our frail nature in the overflowing mercies of your grace.

[Brightman puts here the Narration of the Institution of the Eucharist according to the pauline text]

Qanona: And for all (your helps and graces towards us we shall raise to you praise and honour and confession and adoration now and in every time and for ever and ever).

And they answer: Amen.

And the deacon says: In your minds (pray. Peace be with us).

(7) *And the priest recites quietly:* Do, you, o my Lord, in your unspeakable mercies, make a good (and acceptable) memorial for all the just and righteous fathers who have been well pleasing in your presence, in the commemoration of the body and blood of your Christ which we offer unto you on the pure and holy altar as you have taught us. And grant us your tranquillity and your peace all the days of the world. *repeat.*

And they answer: Amen.

(P. 366) That all the inhabitants of the earth may know you, that it is you who are the only true God the Father, and that you have sent our Lord Jesus Christ your Son and your Beloved. And he, our Lord and our God, (came and) taught in his lifegiving Good News (= Gospel) all the purity and holiness of the prophets and the apostles and the martyrs and the confessors and the bishops (and the doctors) and the priests and the deacons and all the children of the holy catholic Church who have been signed with the (living) sign of the holy baptism.

[Probably here is the place of the Narration of the Institution]

(8) And we also, o my Lord. (*repeat*) *three times* your weak and frail and miserable servants who are gathered together (in your name) and who stand before you at this moment, we received, through the succession, the type¹⁶ which is from you. Rejoicing and glorifying (p. 368) and exalting and commemorating and praising and celebrating this great and fearful (and holy and lifegiving and divine) mystery of the passion and the death (and the burial) and the resurrection of our Lord (and Saviour) Jesus Christ.

(9) *May there come, o my Lord,* your holy Spirit and rest upon this offering.

And the deacon says: In silence (stand and pray. Peace be with us) of your servants and bless it and sanctify it. That it be to us, o my Lord, for the pardon of offenses and for the remission of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven with those who have been well pleasing in your presence. And for all this your great and marvellous dispensation towards us we will confess you (= give you thanks) (p. 370) and glorify you without ceasing in your church redeemed by the precious blood of your Christ with unclosed mouths and open faces.

16 Here there is a copist mistake about which prof. W. F. MACOMBER rightly notices (*The Oldest Known Text*, see above, footnote 2), p. 369, note 1: "The MS. has here 'formae' (genitive) in virtue of a *dalat* inserted *la manu* above the line between this word and the proceeding. I can only speculate that the scribe misplaced his correction, which he may possibly have intended to put before *qabbelman*: 'accepimus enim'..."

Qanona: Lifting up (praise and honour confession and worship to your living and holy and lifegiving name now and in every time and for ever and ever.)

And they answer: Amen.

And they accomplish every thing as written in the anaphora of the Interpreter, written in the first Sunday of the Subbara (=annunciation).

In order to facilitate the analysis of the Anaphora, I divided the text in paragraphs; thus its structure is rendered more clear. The text begins with the first *G'hantā* (prayer of inclination) recited quietly, and its *qanōnā* (ecphonesis, recited with loud voice, although the ecphonesis begins at present time with some words before the *qanona* proper) (N° 1). Then follows the kiss of peace and the proclamation of the Deacon (N° 2) and the Pauline greeting and the invitation for a suitable disposition for the Mass (N° 3). The second *G'hantā* with its *qanōnā* (N° 4) is followed by *Sanctus* (N° 5), the third *G'hantā* and its *qanōnā* (N° 6). The last part is composed by the fourth *G'hantā* and its *qanōnā*, interrupted by an *Amen* of the Congregation (N° 7), and which may have included the Narration of the Institution. Then comes the *Anamnesis* (=making memory (N° 8). The *Epiclesis* or the invocation of the Holy Spirit concludes the Anaphora (N° 9).

It is now suitable to present some of the characteristics of this Anaphora. As Professor W. F. MACOMBER noticed, "the most striking (characteristic) is the complete lack of the *Kussapē*, the private prayers of the celebrant that precede, in general, each *G'hantā*", and this confirms the opinion of E. C. RACTLIFF who, first, analysed the anaphora and suggested that the *Kussapē* were not original parts of the anaphora. He proposed this before the discovering by Dr. MACOMBER of the Mar Esa'yā MS¹⁷. So, according to the MS. Professor MACOMBER concludes "with reasonable probability" that the *Kussapē* "were not yet a universally recognised part of the liturgy even as late as the thirteenth century"¹⁸. The second characteristic is the lack of the Narration of the Institution, not only in our MS, but in all the MS of the *Anaphora of the Apostles*. The opinions are different on the explanation of this fact. Dom B. BOTTE suggests that there must have been the Narration because the Anaphora contains the Anamnesis²⁰, which is abstractly logical. Professor MACOMBER thinks that "its loss, if indeed

17 *The Oldest Known Text* (see above n. 2), pp. 344-345.

18 *The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928-9), p. 26.

19 W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text* p. 345.

20 L'Anaphore Chaldéenne des Apôtres, in *Orientalia Christia - Periodica* 15 (1949) pp. 270-275. But Prof. MACOMBER'S doubts of that in *The*

it ever did exist (...) must go back at least to the abbreviation effected by Iso 'yahb III in the seventh century"²¹. The *Sanctus* is found in the text, but it appears to be an interruption of the original text of the anaphora, although its insertion is made very intelligently ²² either in the reformation of Mar Abā who is supposed to have introduced in the Chaldean Liturgy the Anaphoras of Theodore and of Nestorius which contains the seraphic hymns, or in the time of Iso 'yahb II (647/8 or 650/1 to 657/8) and who is said to have revised the Anaphora of the Apostles.²³

Another problem must be just mentioned. The text as it is seems to be subject to some interpolation, and this must not astonish us; it may happen to a liturgical text which may have been frequently in use. Is the anaphora theological (addressed to God) or christological (addressed to Christ)? The anaphoras are generally theological; that of Saint Peter, Maronite, sister of our anaphora, is christological from the sanctus to the final doxology.²⁴ Anyhow it is usually addressed to the same Person. The first (N° 1) and the second (N° 4) *gahnata* are clearly addressed to the entire Trinity; the third one (N° 6) is addressed to the Son to whom it is said "you did put on our manhood." The fourth *G'hantā* seems to oscillate between the Father and the Son: from the beginning it has 'your Christ' (so to the Father and 'you have taught us' (the rite of the mass) which suits rather the Son (N° 7). The rest of N° 7 is addressed to the Father. The same is to be said of N° 8 till 'the type which comes from you' which suits rather the Son who gave us the rite. That is why the Chaldean Catholics have now 'from your Son'.

Finally comparing the text of Mar Esay'a MS with Kelayta edition reproduced in Mar Darmo edition, there is a complete correspondence except what I have put into and in the second *G'hantā* (N° 4), after 'every tongue', is added 'and adoration (=worship) and exaltation from every creature' (Darmo p. 49). The changes or rather the additions are very slight, and we can take Kelayta/Darmo text as a valuable base for our theological and spiritual commentary/

Maronite and Chaldean Versions (above n. 4), pp. 73-77. On the whole question, see A. RAES, s. j. The Enigma of the Chaldean and Malabar Anaphora of the Apostles, in J. VELLIAN (Ed.), *The Malabar Church*, Symposium in honour of Rev. Placid J. PODIPARA C. M. I. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 186) Rome 1970, pp. 1-8, who evaluates the possible hypotheses.

21 *The Oldest Known Text* p. 349 and above footnote 1.

22 See E. C. RACLIFF, *The Original Form* (above n. 18), p. 29; E. BOTTE, *Problems* (above n. 20), pp. 93-94, and W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest* p. 348.

23 W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest*, p. 348.

24 W. F. MACOMBER, *The Maronite and Chaldean Versions...* p. 67.

on the anaphora proper (*Gahnātā*). This edition includes evidently the Kussape and the rest of the rite, in this also we *start* from it.

Comparing our text with what is in usage in the Chaldean Church, we notice that the order of the *Gahnātā* is the same, as well as their texts except the arrangement of the third *G'hantā* in order to include in it the Narration of the Institution. In the text of the Bagdad edition (1971) as well as 1907 and those of 1936, the first two *Gahnātās* (N^o s 1 & 4) are the same as in Kelayta/Darmo, the second *G'hanta* having the addition 'adoration and exaltation from every creature' (Darmo p. 49; Bagdad p. 23). In the third *G'hantā* is incorporated the Narration of the Institution preceded by a text on Christ.

After the first words of the *G'hantā*: "And with those heavenly armies we confess you, my Lord", the priest continues with a text on the dispensation of the Incarnate word, perfect man and perfect God, who gave us the Eucharist: "and we bless God the Word, the invisible begotten from your bosom, who *being of your form and a RADIANCE FROM YOU* (*Hebrews* 1, 3) and the portrait of your Being, *did not consider it a presumptuous claim to be your equal, but he made himself empty, took the form of a slave* (*Philippians* 2, 6-7) and became perfect man endowed with speech and reasonable and immortal soul, in a mortal and human body, *and He was made of woman, made under the law to redeem those that were under the law* (*Galatians* 4, 4-5) and He left us the memorial of salvation, this mystery which we offer in Your presence." This is followed by the Narration of the Institution after which, the priest goes along quietly: "As we have been commanded, we have gathered, we your weak and frail servants:..." continuing the same 3rd *G'hanta* (No 6). The formula quoted above resembles that of the *Third* chaldean anaphora attributed to Nestorius (the 2nd anaphora quotes only *Philip*, 2, 6-7 Darmo, p. 124), and precisely the *G'hanta* which precedes the Narration of the Institution (Darmo p. 155-156). The word 'became', which precedes 'perfect man' is an addition. But from 'endowed' to 'body' (except 'human') is taken from the *Karozūthā* of the deacon inviting the faithful to prepare for the Communion (*Kollan B-deheltā*, Darmo p. 80). 'He was made of woman... the law' is from the 'Nestorius' Anaphora (Darmo p. 156). The rest precedes the Institution in the same anaphora (Ib p. 158), with its Narration of the Institution, somewhat abridged (Ib. p. 159). 'As we have been commanded.' (Ib. p. 160).

In the fourth *G'hantā* (No. 7) the Bagdad edition has 'Make us worthy to make a good and acceptable...' and it continues like our text. In N^o 8, as I noticed, it is said 'the type which is from Your Son' in order to render the anaphora theological. Then it

lacks 'and praising *'we-mhallinan'*, but it adds 'burial' and 'and our Saviour' No. 9 lacks 'your' before 'dispensation'. We can sum up the result of this comparison: the text used by the Chaldeans is essentially the same as the Mar Esgaya MS, except the insertion, for obvious reasons, of the Narration of the Institution in the 3rd *G, hantā* (No. 6), the insertion which seems to me well done since it shows the relationship between the Incarnation and the Institution of the Eucharist. The other important change is, —I noticed it— in No. 8: 'the type from your Son'. In this way, the fidelity of the Chaldean church to its text is, it seems to me, saved²⁵ more than we could have expected at first. This means that the Editions of 1901 and 1971 have made progress in reaching the genuine chaldean anaphora.

2 The Commentators:

Although the oldest MS of the Anaphora of the Apostles dates from the IX–X century, the mass itself is very old, a third-century composition, in its fundamental parts. But the existence of important commentaries (V–XIV centuries) gives us a great possibility to understand the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy, and its evolution.

Following the purpose of this study, 'I shall give the list of the commentators and of their commentaries, insisting on what is more useful for us.'²⁶

1. Theodore of Mopsuestia (+428).

Although from Antiochene Tradition and Liturgy, he is considered as the 'Interpreter' of the Scriptures *par excellence* and a great theological authority. This even in the understanding of the Mass,

25 For the study of the anaphora according to the MSS, see also D. WEBB, *La liturgie nestorienne des Apôtres Addai et Mari dans la tradition manuscrite*, in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident 2* (Lex Orandi 47) Paris 1970, pp. 25–49. The Author (n. 12), mentions the Mar Esaya MS, but it seems that the critical edition of Dr. MACOMBER (*The Oldest Known Text*) 1966, was not yet available for him in order to consult it. See also E. J. CUTRONE, *The Anaphora of the Apostles. Implications of the Mar Esaya Text*, in *Theological Studies* 34 (1973), pp. 624–642, and A. RAES, *The Enigma* (above n. 20).

26 See Sarhad Y. Hermiz JAMMO, *La Structure de la Messe Chaldéenne* (above note 6), pp. 11–55 (critical presentation of the sources); G. VAVANI-KUNNEL, *Die eucharistische Katechese der Anaphora der Apostel Mar Addai und Mar Mari in der syro-malabarischen Kirche gestirnt und heute* (Das östliche Christentum, neue Folge, Band 26), Würzburg 1976, pp. 30–140 (sources and study); W. F. MACOMBER, *The Liturgy of the Word according to the Commentators of the Chaldean Mass*, in *The Word in the World*, Essays in honor of F. L. MORIARTY s. j., Weston College Press 1973, pp. 179–190.

as it appears/e.g. in Narsay/homilies and in Gabriel Qatraya commentaries. He has two *catechetical Homilies* on the Mass ²⁷, chapter V-VI, excluding the Liturgy of the Word. Theodore explains the Eucharistic liturgy of his Church in Cilicia. We need a study establishing the similarities between his liturgical theology and that of Chaldean anaphora attributed to him. He insists much on the communion, and rightly since he prepares neophytes ²⁸ to its reception. So is it in the introduction of chapter V ²⁹. He insists also on the effects of Communion ³⁰, the necessary dispositions ³¹ and its hoped fruit (remission) if receiving it with compassion to others ³². As cathesisis, it is less dense than that of Narsay. He gives first the synopsis, that is the part of the mass to be explained, then his commentary. The first begins with the transfer of the offerings till the prefatory dialogue. The second goes till the communion and includes: the Pauline greeting, the *sursum Corda*, with the difference 'Let us thank our Lord' (which does not exist in the anaphora attributed to Theodore). Follows *Sanctus*. The Deacons say: 'Let us stand up in great fear and tremor' (*Idem* absent). *Epiclesis*, Fraction, Pauline greeting. The 'Holy Thing to Holy (persons)', and 'One Holy Father...', Communion and Thanksgiving and praise.

No mention of the Institution in the Synopsis of ch. VI, but it is explained with the pre-anaphoral part, chap. V ³³. While explaining, he mentions the Institution(?), saying: 'We commemorate the death of our Lord' ³⁴.

2. Narsai (+ 503)

The great Doctor student and later director of the School of Edessa and then of Nisibis, has left us *Memrē* (poetical homilies) which deal with our subject, the 21st, on the Mysteries of the Church and on Baptism, the 32nd, on the Church and on the Priesthood, and especially the 17th which is an exposition of the Mysteries, that is an explanation of the Chaldean Mass of the time of the author. They are published by A. MINGANA ³⁵ with other homilies, and

27 Edited with an English translation by A. Mingana, (Woodbrok Studies VI) 1933; See also a more accurate (French) translation in R. TONNEAU-R. DEVRESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Studie Testi 145), Citta del Vaticano 1949.

28 See Fr. J. REINE, *The eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the mystagogical Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Washington 1942, p. 1; S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 12.

29 A. MINGANA, *ib.* (above n. 27) Engl. tr. p. 72-78;

30 *ID. Ib.* p. 110-113.

31 *ID. Ib.* p. 113-115.

32 *ID. Ib.* p. 115-116.

33 *ID. Ib.* p. 74-75.

34 *ID. Ib.* p. 103.

35 *Narsai Doctoris Syri Homiliae et Carmina*, Mosul; 1905.

had a valuable translation and a learned introduction by Dom R. H. CONNOLLY, O. S. B.³⁶ with an Appendix by E. Bishop. The doubts about the authenticity of the 17th Homily were already dissipated by CONNOLLY in his Introduction, and by S. Y. H. JAMMO who concluded on the interpolation in the verses mentioning the *Pater* at the beginning and at the end of the liturgy (Introduced officially by Timothy I (+780-823) and of the *Kussape*³⁷. The commentary is theological, liturgical and spiritual with a great deepness and sensitiveness. After a short introduction of apophatical theology, he goes further following the order of the Mass, explaining its main parts. We follow him with a special insistence because he explains the Chaldean Mass and because he is the Oldest Chaldean commentator; and although he considers himself, as do the other commentators, as the disciples of Theodore, he is very personal and more vivid and deep than his 'Master'.

3. Other Commentators:

a) Gabriel Qatraya³⁸ beginning of the 7th century. In a unique MS (Brit. Lib. 3336) we have his *Interpretation of the offices* in which chap. 1 and 2 are on the Mass. Fr. Placid PODIPARA translated the two chapters into English³⁹, and Fr. S. JAMMO into latin⁴⁰. Qatraya explains, often allegorically, the successive parts of the Qurbānā. He gives, most probably, the commonly accepted significance of the symbols and gestures used in the celebration of the Liturgy of his time. His interpretation is traditional in two ways: in the composition or structure of the liturgy and in the meaning of the rites. But we do not know which anaphora he interprets, because the anaphorical commentary is short. He presents the eucharistic liturgy as a unity, and he is less theological and poetical than Narsai, although sometimes he insists on some theological aspect e. g. explaining the *Kollanb-Dehelta*⁴¹. He concludes by recalling the authority of the interpreter Theodore.

36 *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies, vol. VIII, No. 1, Cambridge 1909 (and 1916), and Lichtenstein 1967 (it includes the 22nd Homily, on baptism).

37 S. Y. H. JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 13-25.

38 There is also the '*De Sacramentis Ecclesiae*' of Iso'yahd I (585), as attested by a letter of him, but it is lost.

39 In G. VAVANIKUNNEL (Ed.), *Homilies and Interpretation of Holy Qurbana*, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai and Gabriel Qatraya bar Lipah, Sandesaniyam Publications, Changanacherry, Kerala, 1977, pp. 87-104.

40 S. Y. H. JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 29-48; see also S. Y. H. JAMMO, Gabriel Qatraya et son Commentaire sur la Liturgie chaldéenne, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), pp. 39-52.

41 See the English translation of P. PODIPARA (above n. 39), pp. 99-101.

b) *Abraham Qatraya Bar Lipah*: He seems to be a relative of Gabriel, and probably his contemporary. Generally he presents an abridgment of Gabriel, in the form of questions and answers, although sometimes he puts forward his own original views. CONNOLLY published his commentary as an appendix to the Anonymous Author, or Pseudo-George of Arbela (see below, c).

c) *The Anonymous Author's Exposition*: This is the most detailed commentary, important for the history of the development of the Chaldean Liturgy, in 7 treatises, the 4th of which is on the eucharistic celebrations. He gives many allegorical and artificial interpretations. CONNOLLY published it with a Latin translation⁴². It is generally admitted to be of the 9th as 10th century.

d) *John of Mosul* (1225) gives an ascetical commentary with few details, published by Elia John MILLOS⁴³.

e) *Simeon of Sanqlabad*, 13th c. Two unpublished apocryphal treatises. He gives some details on liturgical vestments.⁴⁴

f) *Yohannan (John) Bar Zo'bi* (+ ca 1250): He made with some personal elements a poetical version of the commentary of Gabriel Qatraya, with the title 'The explanation of all the Divine mysteries' of which A. KHORAICHE made a French translation⁴⁵. Bar Zo'bi is a disciple of Simeon of Sanqlabad.

g) *Abdiso (Edejesus) of Nisibis* (Bar Brīka, + 1318), is the author of an 'Exposition of the service of the Mysteries' which is of some theological and liturgical interest J. M. VOSTE translated it into Latin⁴⁶.

h) *Patriarch Timothy II* (1318-1332): has written a treatise 'De septem Causis Sacramentorum Ecclesiae' which has not yet been edited (Vat Syr 151, fol. 83r-119r). He gives instructions

42 *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*, CSCO, Scriptores Syri, series secunda, tomus XCI (I) Romae 1911-13, et tomus XCII (II) Romae 1913-1915.

43 *Directorium spirituale ex libris sapientialibus desumptus a presbytero Joanne Monaco chaldaeo compositum anno Domini MCCXLV*, Romae 1868, pp. 105-114 (in chaldean).

44 A. BUMSTARK, *Geschichta der Syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 310.

45 *L'Explication de tous les mystères divins de Yohannan Bar Zo'bi selon le ms. Borg. Syr. 90*, in *Euntes Docete* 19 (1966), pp. 386-426. See. W. de VRIES, *Die Erklärung aller göttlichen Geheimnisse des Nestorianers Johannan Bar Zo'bi*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9 (1943), pp. 188-203.

46 In *Ordo Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum* collectus, dispositus, ordinatus et compositus a Mar 'Abdiso' metropolita Nisibis et Armeniae, (Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale, Prot. N. 526/40) Vatican 1940, pp. 93-103.

regarding vestments and he is the last commentator before the hierarchical union with Rome⁴⁷.

i) *Joseph II* (+ 1712), the latinising Patriarch, has written an 'Interpretation of the ecclesiastical offices' which is neither edited nor studied in the West. Besides these strictly liturgical commentaries, many elements can be found in the canonical literature, for example the *Synodicon Orientale*, a Collection of Acts of Synods from 410 to 775,⁴⁸ Ibn at-Tayyib (+1043; arabic)⁴⁹, and also in casuistical literature like '*Nestorian Questions*' attributed to Iso'yahb IV, written *ca* 1010⁵⁰ or even in spiritual treatises⁵¹.

It is clear that the liturgical commentaries are of primary importance for our study and they constitute our principal source—after the texts—for understanding the rites. Among these commentaries, the most important are Theodore, Narsai, Gabriel Qatraya and the Anonymous Author's *Exposition*. They will be chiefly used, but the others will not be overlooked as far as they are available and valuable.

II. EXPLANATION

1. *A general introduction:*

Before giving a continuous commentary of the different parts of the Chaldean liturgy, it is necessary to present the way I adopted and some fundamental concepts of the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy and the main steps of its evolution.

a. *Method*: I shall start from the liturgical text and its obvious meaning.

The interpretations (literal, symbolical or mystagogical) of the Commentators are adopted in as much as they seem coherent in itself,

47 See W. De VAIS, Timotheus II: über die sieben Gründe der Kirchlichen Geheimnisse, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8 (1942:), pp. 40–94. I have a phot copy of his MS = Vat. Sys 151.

48 J. B. CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, Paris 1902.

49 W. HOENERBACH-O. SPIES, *Ibn at-Tayyib, Fiqh an-Nasrāniya* "Das Recht der Christenheit", CSCO, Ist Part, vol. 161–2, *Scriptores Arabici*, tom. 16–17; IIInd Part, vol. 167–8, *Scriptores Arabici*, tom. 18–19, Louvain 1956–7.

50 W. C. van UNNIK, *Nestorian Questions on the Administration of the Eucharist by Iso'yahb IV*, Haarlem 1937.

51 For example: DADISO Qatraya *On Solitude* (Mingana, Woodbrook Studies), and John Bar KALDOUN, *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnaya*, chapt. 8, French Translation of J. B. CHABOT, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, t. 5 (1900). Both on Communion of monks and/or hermits.

themselves, in conformity with the sense of the rite, and valuable for a good liturgical spirituality. So I hope that after the aridity of the preceding part, the reader will find something substantial and spiritual enough. Adopting the scientific method, I try to avoid the pure erudition; presenting a sure spirituality, I hope to set aside any naive sentimentalism.

b. Chaldean Theology of Liturgy:

Following biblical interpretation of the World, the Chaldean Liturgy has as a background the vision of the existence of two Worlds: the one is visible, mortal, corruptible and morally instable; the other is invisible immortal, incorruptible with an eternal moral stability. According to the Gospel Morals, the present World is a necessary preparation, for the Future. Death and Resurrection are the way through which we go to the coming World, but in as much as they are in conformity with Christ. Redemption of Christ, however, makes future World already present on earth. The church being a type of Heaven, her liturgy is an image of the celestial liturgy; and liturgical ceremonies, mainly Eucharist, by their symbolism, make the faithful share the heavenly Liturgy. Theodore writes:

“As often, therefore, as the service of this awe inspiring sacrifice is performed, which is clearly the likeness of heavenly things and of which, after it has been perfected, we become worthy to partake through food and drink, as a true participation in our future benefits—we must picture in our mind that we are dimly in heaven, and, through faith, draw in our imagination the image of heavenly things, while thinking that Christ who is in heaven and who died for us, rose and ascended into heaven and is now being immolated.”⁵² In this way, the nine choirs of angels are represented by the nine ecclesiastical orders⁵³, and the sacraments, especially Eucharist and Baptism are a type of Christ's death and resurrection, and of our own with him (Pauline theology), and they make us pass in anticipation to the future world of immortality.⁵⁴

c. Church building:

The *nave* symbolises the terrestrial world; in the nave women are segregated in back. The *bema* symbolises Jerusalem and contains seats for the bishop and priests, an altar for the Cross and the

52 *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, ed. and tr. by A. MINGANA (Woodbrook Studies 6), p. 83 (Shall be quoted: Mingana, p.....).

53 Ps. George of Arbela, *Expositio officiorum Ecclesiae* op. cit. I, 113–120.

54 I owe some of these data and of those of the following paragraphs to some papers of prof. MACOMBER, given as 'manuscriptum ad privatum auditorum usum'.

Gospel, and two lecterns. The *sqāqōnā* is a processional passage from *qestroma* (a step attached to the sanctuary) to *bema*. In modern Chaldean restorations, the bema is attached directly to the qestroma, and it lacks the small altar and lecterns. The *choir* is a space between the congregation and the qestroma, and it contains a shrine in the centre for the Cross, two lecterns to hold large hymnary Ms (*Hudra*) for choirs, and two large candle sticks, one fitted to hold thurible for purifying hands. The *Sanctuary* represents heaven, and is separated from the nave by a veil. The qestroma as an extension of the Sanctuary beyond the veil (which symbolises the firmament) symbolises the visible heaven. The *Qestroma* is the place of subdeacons. The sanctuary proper contains a lamp in the middle which constitutes a limit for the deacons. The bishop's throne is on the north side (wall); there are *beth Gazze*, niches in the north and south walls for the paten and the chalice. In the middle of the sanctuary is the altar with the tabernacle for the sacred leaven and oil. There are two adjacent rooms: to the north, the sacristy (*bēth dyaqon*), and to the south the baptistery *beth 'mada*. The summer chapel, adjacent to the baptistery but open to a courtyard, called *beth šlōtā*, is reserved for the office and the Liturgy of the Word during the hot season, from Ascension Day to Dedication Sunday; it contains the altar for the Cross and the Gospel; in many churches it is now obsolete. Graphically we could present the following scheme of the Chaldean Church (concretely there are always some possible changes).⁵⁵

These are the following in their order:

1. Altar.
2. Tabernacle.
3. Bishop's throne.
4. Sacristy (Beth Diaqon).
5. Qestroma (step)
6. Relics niche.
7. Bema.
8. Small altar (Gagolta).
9. Lectern (N. T.).
10. Lectern (O. T.).
11. Bishop's throne.
12. Archdeacon's see.
13. Relics niche.
14. Martyrium (Beth Sahde).

⁵⁵ See also U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le Chiese della Mesopotamia* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 128) Roma 1940 (1962); and J. DAUVILLIERS, *Archéologie des anciennes églises du rite Chaldeen*, in *Parole de l'Orient* VI-VII (1975-1976), pp. 357-386

d. Principal stages of the evolution of the Chaldean Qurbana (eucharistic liturgy)

The Chaldean rite is one of the five fundamental oriental rites. The origin of its Church goes back at least to the end of the first century, in Adiabene,⁵⁶ although on Pentecost Day there were some of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia (*Acts* 2, 9). Jewish and Aramaic people formed the nucleus. The first attempt and authority act of unification of the rites was at the Synod of Mar Isaac (410), made according to the 'western' usage. Narsai and Baršauma (ca 470): transfer of the School of Persians from Edessa to Nisibis. Another step was with Mar Aba (+ 552) who introduced the two Greek anaphoras adapted to the genius of the Chaldean rite, with, it seems, Byzantine Litanies, and Trisagion (see below). With Isa'yahb III (+ 659) is realised the organisation of the *Hudrā* and the ritual (*Taksā*); he reduced to three the number of the anaphoras and abridged that *Anaphora of the Apostles* (?). In the Middle Ages begins decadence: Bema falls into desuetude, commentators are less deep. In the 16th century took place the uniformization in Alqosh patriarchate. After the union with Rome (Sulaqa, 1553), begin catholic 'Corrections'. With the union of Diarbékir (1670) other latinisms and maronisms were introduced in Chaldean eucharistic liturgy. The Anglican edition of the Missal (1890) adds consecration to the Anaphora of the Apostles. The reformed Chaldean 'Missal' (1901, 1936) shifts consecration to anaphora and abolishes many latinisms and restores Alqosh rubrics. The Missal of 1971 puts the presentation of the *oblata* before the offertory.

e. Some general principles on Chaldean eucharistic liturgy:

Before presenting a detailed explanation, let us see some of the basic principles supposed behind every particular consideration.

1) As in other parts of Liturgy, and in a more concrete way Mass is composed of speech and gestures performed by persons consecrated in some way to the cultural service, about things (e. g. wine, bread, oil, water...). This happens in time and space (Liturgical year and oratory). It means that liturgy is composed of certain signs and symbols which come after an institution (by Christ and Church) and reflects a cultural milieu in the past and in the present. So to understand the very meaning of the liturgical elements we must go back to their originating reality and see which sense they had in the mind of the institutor. Evidently this one uses natural elements, but oft he gives them a conventional incensing 'which is not absolutely artificial, but is analogues to the nature of the sign. E. g. Bread, in its nature, is food; the institutor, Christ, used it as food, but in a higher sense, as a supernatural life. But in

56 J.-M. FIEY, *Jalons pour l'histoire de l'Eglise en Iraq*, CSCO 310, Subsidia 36, Louvain 1970, pp. 41-43.

our life we may give a pure conventional meaning, and then we have other signs or symbols; e. g. alphabet, flag. So could the Church use some gestures or things; to signify, analogically or not, religious realities: e. g. the *Urārā* (stole) sign of sacerdotal order. It is true that in this field aberrations are possible. But it is enough not to have a contradiction between the element in itself and the meaning we give it. But this must not make us forget the importance of symbols in our human and religious behaviour: Symbols, especially united to words, render concrete and expressive of our sentiments, and constitute a communication means among men, and they are a way of comprehensive human (body and soul, so to say) worship, according to Incarnation divine 'behaviour'. So liturgy becomes a way of expression of faith and of religious instruction.

2) The Chaldean meditation of the divine Mysteries, as in other liturgies, gave in a certain measure, its meaning to the eucharistic liturgy. Not only for some particular parts, but for the Qurbānā as a whole, which is divine service including prayers, readings and strictly eucharistic parts (*commune*) and in consideration of the liturgical year (*properium*, not envisaged in this study). This explains why not all prayers are eucharistic in the celebration of the Qurbānā.

We have seen above that present liturgy is type of the celestial one, but there is another interpretation of the Chaldean Mass. Since mass is a sacrifice of Thanksgiving for divine dispensation, and since Christ is the centre of this dispensation⁵⁷, mass is a representation of the life of Christ. So in the Gabriel Qatraya Commentary, the Liturgy of the Word represents Nativity, Epiphany and Christ's predication; the liturgy of offering till epiclesis represents his Passion. Epiclesis represents Christ's resurrection and communion symbolises and realises our participation in it. But there is no contradiction between the two approaches. Our liturgy is in its essence celestial because it concerns Christ glorious and our glorious life anticipated. But in its sensitive temporary aspects and it is composed of symbols, instructing and helping us to worship the One who is the same Christ, centre of celestial liturgy. That is why the liturgy which symbolises Christ's dispensation (life and gesta) is at the same time symbol of celestial liturgy.

So if we accept this general principle, Mass as a representation of Christ life, it will not appear so artificial when we see each part of the ceremony considered as symbolising some particular aspect of the life of Christ, and we shall not be astonished when the same symbol has two meanings in different moments of the ceremony,

57 The Ps. George of Arbela says that the celebration of Mass corresponds to the last step of the divine dispensation, the sacrifice of Christ: vespers represent the time of Adam, nocturnes represent Noah's and Adam's times; the matutines symbolise the time of the prophets and the mysteries' service that of Christ. Tr. CONNOLLY, vol. 2, 45-46; text p. 47 (Book IV, ch. 20).

so, e. g. the two candles accompanying the Cross on the Bema symbolise the two Testaments⁵⁸ but the luminaries while reading Gospel signify the disciples who are to be the light of the world.⁵⁹ The circumstances may change the meaning of the symbols. That is why I shall not explain the symbols separately from their liturgical context, but in their relationship with the text, gestures and liturgical action that is the proper part of the mass.⁶⁰

f. Some liturgical elements of the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy

1) *Kinds of celebrations* According to the 'Nestorian' practice, the ordinary mass is celebrated only on Sundays, feasts and requiems, with two deacons, two choirs, choral chants, four lessons and incense. The solemn mass has more ministers, and uses cymbals it may include adoration of bema (?) and diptych? The Presanctified Mass is now obsolete; formerly it was celebrated during Fast (first, fourth weeks and the first three days of the Holy week)⁶¹ without procession to bema, nor with scriptural reading or anaphora. Signing of chalice with Host replaces the fraction. When Mass is immediately preceded by vespers, it begins with *Lakhu Mārā*; the same in funeral offices. This also is in Chaldean Church. After the union with Rome and because of the abolition of deacons and of the institution of daily mass, Chaldeans have one server for ordinary (daily) mass, without a choir, but with chants; no incense nor prayer of faithful (*Karozūtā*) or Old Testament lessons. In intermediate mass they use many ministers and incense. In Solemn Mass there is use of incense, cymbals, chants, choirs, *Karozūtā* (not always) and Old Testament lessons. The presanctified liturgy is replaced by the *Qurbōnō* with consecration, with intermediary solemnity (Fast).

Not all the liturgical Commentaries agree on the days of celebration (Sundays, feasts and requiems). In fact Gabriel Qatraya although he says that this celebration should be mostly performed on Sunday, he wishes to have it every day. He entitles the 5th chapter as follows: 'Why do we celebrate the service of the mysteries especially on sundays', and he gives three reasons for the celebration, the command of the Lord (John 6,54), the example of the Apostles (*Act* 2, 42; *I Cor* 11,26; etc.) and the necessity of spiritual food after a spiritual rebirth (theological reason). He insists on daily communion: "If possible, everyday we diligently participate in these

58 GABRIEL QATRAYA, *Commentary* (tr. P.J. PODIPARA) p. 90.

59 ID. *Id.* p. 93.

60 For a general liturgical presentation of the Chaldean Mass before the text of 1971, see the following article, although the title is only on the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, C. MOUSSESS, *La Liturgie Chaldeenne des Apôtres*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952)pp. 125-141.

61 J. MATEOS, Les "Semaines des Mysteres" du Carême Chaldéen, in *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959),pp. 449-458.

holy mysteries with the hope of the fulfilment of Our Lord's promise towards us."⁶² Then giving the special reason for Sunday "on which Our Lord rose from the dead and on which again He will come on the last day and resuscitate and renovate all rational ones" he says. Hence we are duly diligent to *perform always the service of the Mysteries*, especially on Sunday."⁶³ So according to G. Qatraya, the celebration is more frequent.

2) *Preparatory Rites*: The ancient practice consisted in preparing gifts before the liturgy and it is not clear whether it was with ceremony or not. Bar Abgar (+905) speaks of vestments, psalms and sacred leaven. Now a days the ceremony is complicated and with elaborated casuistic intended to avoid carelessness, or maybe because the gifts are already type, of Christ⁶⁴. The Chaldeans starting from the 'Missal' of 1971 prepare the gifts before the offertory (whereas while till the 'Missal' of 1936, they prepared at *Laku Mārā*). The hosts are prepared, with leaven bread, without ceremony.

3) *Vestments*:

It is Timothy II who gives us the names of the vestments of the priests and the deacons and their symbolical meaning. Here is his text: "That the priests and the deacons discover their head is in honour of the altar and of that who dwells in it. Their ornaments with (linen) garments (*Kuttānā*) and splendid vestments point to what said Isaiah (Vision chap. 6, God's throne and seraphim) (...). That they put on the stole is the sign that they accomplish a (religious) service (...)"⁶⁵.

Later he writes:

"That who goes out, the archpriest, who puts on *Ma'eprā* and *Masnaptā* and *Birōnā* (...). *Ma'epra* (...) which goes down till the chest points to the true faith in the heart (...)"⁶⁶. The *Birōnā* which covers all the body (means) that (the archpriest) carries on himself the actions and the deeds of the Congregation in order to pardon and to remit them. The *masnaptā* which covers his head indicates that he is shepherd; and that *masnaptā* is covered by *birōnā* points to the glory of the priesthood on his head. The crook which he holds in his hand indicates that he is shepherd (...), and that it is long and more than his own stature, indicates the high authority which he has on the whole Church."⁶⁷

62 Gabriel QATRAYA, *Commentary* p. 87.

63 ID, *ib* p. 88, and latin translation on S. Y. H. JAMMO, *Structure*, *op. cit.* P. 31.

64 See the English translation in BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies*, I, *op. cit.* pp. 247-252

65 *De septem causis*. MS Vat. Syr 151, fol. 100r. (my humlation)

66 *Ib.* fol. 100v.

67 *Ib.* fol. 101r (my English translation).

4) *The appellation of the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy*

The Mass is called by Narsay 'the mysteries of the Church, in the XVIIth Homily in which he interprets only the eucharistic part'⁶⁸. Gabriel Qatraya calls it simply 'Mysteries'⁶⁹; Abraham Bar Lipah calls it 'service' (tesmestā)⁷⁰, and the Anonymous Author 'Mysteries'.⁷¹

Timothy II gives five appellations:

"First: assembly (Knusyā) that is Church, because it gathers the divided life in us to unity with divine (life). Second: Communion (sautapūtā) or fellowship: because in the reception of these mysteries we become members of Christ. Third: offering (Qurbōnō), and this because it is the mystery of that who offered Himself to his Father as Offering for us. Fourth: Mystery (Raza) (fol. 84): because Christ mysteriously performs it for His disciples in the cenacle. Fifth: Sanctification (Qudd (a) sā) (or sanctity?) because it sanctifies those who receive it, through its action taking away their sins and purifying them from sins."⁷²

g. *The concelebration:*

The Chaldean Rite has a special position and practice on this point. The liturgy of the Word is celebrated together between Bishop, priests and other members of the congregation, every one, according to Ordination precedency, saying a prayer, or accomplishing a part (deacons, subdeacons...), on the bema. The main difference is in the eucharistic liturgy. Here we have not a synchronising action in which all the priests celebrate mass and every one consecrates, whether there is one paten and one chalice (Latin, Byzantine...) or one for each priest (Ethiopians) and Syrians⁷³. But after the *Liturgia Verbi*, the archdeacon designs the celebrant. "Traditionally it is one priest who, with the deacon, carries the *oblata* to the altar, offers them, deposits them on the altar, and covers them with the veil, whereas it is another who consecrates them."⁷⁴ In the *Ms Diarbekir* 57, it is the same priest who does both: transfer and consecration, and many other MS are not clear on this point.⁷⁵ At the end of the mass, all the participating priests facing the people stand on the left and on the right of the principal

68 Engl. tr. CONNOLLY, p. 1.

69 Engl. tr. PODIPARA, p. 87 and 89....

70 CONOLLY, (Text)II, p. 171.

71 CONNOLLY, *Ib.* p. 2.

72 *De septem causis* Vat. Syr. 151, fol. 84r-84w. (my English translation)

73 W. F. MACOMBER, Concelebration in the East Syrian Rite, in J. VELLIAN, (ed.) *The Malabar Church* (see above n. 20), p. 17.

74 *ID.*, *ib.*, p. 21.

75 *ID.*, *Ib.*, p. 21, n. 16.

celebrant who alone recites the prayer and gives the benediction. But in all the cases of consecration (baptism, sacerdotal ordination ..) only this one (bishop or priest) says the formula. The others may participate in the gesture (ordination of Bishop). Only one Ms (Vat. Borgia Syr. 150) says that in the consecration of oil, the other priests say the prayers 'in their heart', that is secretly, and if the celebrant makes a mistake, they correct him (!)⁷⁶. All this shows the originality of the Chaldean Rite: the unicity of the celebrant symbolises the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood. Gabriel Qatraya writes:

"That one priest offers the sacrifice is the symbol of one High Priest who was sacrificed for the salvation of our race."⁷⁷ Theodore, although not to explain why there is one priest, insist on that "the priest who draws nigh unto the altar is representing His (of Christ) image."⁷⁸

h. The main sections of the Chaldean liturgy:

Although we could divide Mass in two main parts, that is Liturgy of the Word and Liturgy of the Eucharist, we can still find in it six distinguished sections, a division which we may adopt in order to expose Mass in a more didactical and clear way. These sections are:

- 1) Initial section, from the beginning to the Trisagion;
- 2) Liturgy of the Word: from Trisagion to dismissal of catechumens.
- 3) Pre-Anaphoral section: from the transfer of the *oblata* to diptychs.
- 4) Anaphora: from prefatory dialogue to epiclesis.
- 5) Preparation for communion: from 'Miserere' and fraction to *Sancta Santis*.
- 6) Communion: from the communion of the celebrant to the final blessing (and ablutions).

*2. Initial section of the Mass*⁷⁹.

a. General aspects:

The main elements of this section are the initial service of prayer, the entrance of the clergy, followed by the veneration of

⁷⁶ ID, *ib.*, p. 22.

⁷⁷ Tr. of PODIPARA, p. 98., p. Saying this I do not set forth any evaluation of other ways of concelebration. But Indeed, the presence of many priests reciting together 'hoc est corpus meum' although it wants to symbolise the unity of the priesthood, the synchronisation element seems to diminish the possibility of the entire realisation of this unity.

⁷⁸ Tr. of MINGANA, p. 83.

⁷⁹ On this section see S. Y. H. JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 56-88; and W. F. MACOMBER, *The liturgy of the Word* (above n. 26), pp. 183-186.

the Cross and the incensation with *Laku Mara*. In the Chaldean Rite, there is no special preparation of the gifts on the altar, not a personal preparation of the celebrant (but as a personal devotion, among the catholic priests). Since the liturgy of the Word is performed on Bema, the Chaldean rite has as peculiarity the entrance procession from Sanctuary to Bema (now from altar to Qestroma). The liturgical elements and collects are alternated.

That is what we find in the nowadays practice or better, in the liturgical rubrics, Bema being annexed to qestroma. The rites evolved. The most ancient element is the procession to bema preceded by greeting and followed by readings. In a very ancient epoch, were added the incensation and Lakhu Mara; then the *O'nita d'Qanke*. By 600 is added *marmita* with *aqqapta*; in the 9th century, *Pater Noster* was introduced, and later the *Gloria in Excelsis*. Veneration of Cross about the 10th century (?)⁸⁰.

b. Individual elements:

–*Gloria in excelsis*: this is the public beginning of Mass (and offices and most of the rites: baptism...). Not mentioned by the Commentators but found in MS from 15th c., and probably not universally used in the mass at that period, since it is absent from other MS. Anyhow, such a small part may be used for a long time before being written, especially when we think that it is used in many other services, and in other Rites (esp. Maronite) which suggests to Fr. J. MATEOS that it is very ancient ⁸¹, and Fr. P. E. GEMAYEL argues that the nucleus of the somewhat longer Maronite formula is found in the Chaldean one ⁸² which sounds: “Glory to God in the highest (*repeat three times*) and on earth peace and good hope to men at all times for ever. Amen.

So the exordium of the eucharistic liturgy (and of other offices) is a proclamation of the hymn of the angels (Lc 2,14) which sums up the joy of the Good News united to God's glorification: two fundamental themes of any religious service, but especially of Mass which represents as we saw the divine dispensation in Jesus Christ.

Our Father: with a *qanona* borrowed from the *sanctus* and put after ‘your kingdom come’, as follows:

Holy, holy, holy, art you, our Father who are in heaven; heaven and earth are full of the greatness of your glory. Watchers

80 S. JAMMO, *ib.* p. 87.

81 Le “Gloria in Excelsis” du début des offices maronites, in L ‘*Orient Syrien* 12 (1967), p. 119.

82 *Avant-Messe Maronite*, Histoire et Structure (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 174), Rome 1968, p. 290.

and men cry to you: Holy, holy, holy are you, Our Father who art in heaven...

Follows the *Glory be to Father and from everlasting to everlasting world...* and the up cited *qanona*.

So the *qanona* insists on the first petition of the *Our Father*, extending the glorification of God, began with the *Gloria in excelsis*.

Gabriel Qatraya (ca 615) and Abraham Bar Lipah do not mention the 'Our Father'. The Anonymous Author of the *Expositio Officiorum* says that at the time of Is'yahb III (+659:660) it was said one time ⁸³, but Timothy the Great (780-823) "commanded that it became the beginning of the service; that is why he composed a *qanona* and collect (to be recited with it)" ⁸⁴. It seems that practice existed before, but probably Timothy gave it the present form with *qanona* and introduced it into mass. Abdiso I (963-986) ordained the way of its execution. ⁸⁵

-*Prayer before marmitha*: After that, the deacon invites the assembly: 'Let us pray! Peace be with us!' The priest prays God, in the name of the Clergy to "strengthen...; our weakness; that we may administer the holy mysteries which were given for the renewal and salvation of our nature...". This must be considered as the formula originally unique for the beginning of the celebration, as Fr. S. JAMMO argues⁸⁶. It could be recited secretly asking God's help for those who perform the celebration. ⁸⁷

The formula given for memorials and ordinary days which is a glorification of the name of the Trinity is called in the MS 'D-Razan' that is for the liturgy of the Presanctified.⁸⁸

Marmitha: (Litt. elevation) section of two or three psalms, parallel with vespers. Varying according to liturgical seasons. In Gabriel Qatraya it is presented as the initial element of Mass. It is absent in some great solemnities: 'The week of the mysteries' (1st, 4th week, and Monday-Wednesday of the last week of Fast), in Holy Thursday, Resurrection Vigil and the Rogation of Niniveh. The Ps. George of Arbela attributes to the *marmitha* the simple function of filling

83 Vol. I, p. 153.

84 *Ib.* p. 121.

85 According to *Nestorian Questions on the Eucharist* attributed to Iso 'yahb IV (+1010=), a Chaldean Patriarch introduced the *Pater* at the beginning and at the end of the offices and mass because a jacobite monk blamed the Chaldeans for not reciting enough the Lord's Prayer (p. 181). See also J. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, (*Orient. Christ. Anal.* 156), 2nd ed. Rome 1972, pp. 81-83. I recall that the mention of our Father in the end of the 17th Narsai Homily (Connolly p. 26) is an interpolation.

86 Eng. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 253. See JAMMO, *Structure* p. 79.

87 S. JAMMO, *ib.*

88 Engl. Tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 253, note a.

time till the coming of the Bishop in the Sanctuary.⁸⁹ It is recited while the veil is shut. In fact that it is composed of psalms and of three psalms, G. Qatraya sees some christological and trinitarian symbols.⁹⁰ It is possible that *Marmitha* represents tierce (transposition of monastic service).^{90a}

Aqqapta: This is the entrance versicle. It occurs even when no *Marmitha*, executed with a tone different from that of *marmitha*. It is more ancient than *Marmitha* which seems to be its prolongation. It signals, originally, the entrance of the bishop in to the sanctuary in order to begin the celebration.

Prayer of the Anthem of the Sanctuary: The formula of festivals and Sundays says: "Before the glorious throne of your greatness, o my Lord, ... we kneel, worship, give thanks and glorify you at all times..."⁹¹ This indicates that it is an adoration prayer of those who are in the presence of God; it concerns the entry of the clergy in to the sanctuary, with a public prayer in which the Congregation is supposed to participate.⁹² The prayer for memorials is that of festival vespers.⁹³

Anthem of the Sanctuary (D—Qankē): This is a *onita*, chanted during the procession to Bema. Usually there are two *onitas* proper for every liturgical solemnity; the first one recalls the mystery celebrated during the liturgical year; the second one most frequently, is about the Cross, evidently because the procession is with the Cross and the *onita* is for its veneration or for enthronement on bema. For G. Qatraya, the Anthem symbolises the praise of the heavenly Congregation or that of John the Baptist: This is the Lamp of God.⁹⁴

Procession to Bema: According to Ps. George of Arbela Iso'yahb III disposed it as follows⁹⁵. The Clergy in the sanctuary line up; the subdeacons wait on the gestroma. The archdeacon who is a priest gives a signal, and the veil is open. The two deacons

89 *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio* II, p. 9.

90 "We officiate one *Marmitha* from the Psalms of bl. David. This indicates that one is the Lord Jesus Christ Son of God who was born from the holy Virgin, who descended from the seed of David (...). Till then the Old Testament was holding authority is shown by the three psalms of which this *marmitha* is composed: since the name of Christ indicated the Father Who anointed Him and the Son Who was anointed and the H. Spirit Who filled Him in place of oil." Tr. PODIPARA., p. 89.

90a cf. S. JAMMO, *structure*, p. 76, note 28.

91 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 253.

92 S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 80.

93 See also *Chaldean Breviary* (ed. Bedjan), p. 3; Engl. tr. BRIGHTMAN p. 253, note b.

94 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 90; see *Expositio Officiorum* II, p. 9.

95 *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae* II, pp. 9-10.

(Michael and Gabriel), who administer, go first, followed by subdeacons bringing lamps and candles, then the deacons, the one who carries Cross and the other who carries the Gospel, and finally the bishop with, on his left, the archdeacon. All come forward to bema, but only Michael and Gabriel go up to bema; the subdeacons go back to qestroma. The other deacons stay at sqagona. The bishop sits on a throne before the little altar (Gagolta), on which the Cross is enthronised and the Gospel deposited; around the bishop stay the priests. The archdeacon stands on the left of the bishop keeping the bishop's crook; Michael and Gabriel stand probably one on each side. When everybody has found his place, the archdeacon (or the deacon) says: 'Peace be with us! Symbolically, the going out of the cross means' "the going out of Jesus to wilderness to fight with the Satan. The raising up of the cross on the bema... is the mystery of the frequent going up of Jesus to Jerusalem accompanied by His twelve and seventy two disciples."⁹⁶ Bema signifies Jerusalem. But the real reason of the procession is that the Liturgy of the Word, for which the procession is made, does not suppose the exercise of strictly priestly functions, and the bishop is among his people as the *prepositus*, *Rabba*, and, as such, he sits among his people for his own instruction⁹⁷. This procession makes clear the natural distinction between the liturgy of the Word and the Eucharistic liturgy. Now a days there is no such procession in the Catholic Chaldean Church.

— **Veneration of the Cross:** The Malabarians venerate it at the *Gloria* strophe. The 'Nestorians' do that during *Laku Mara*. Mentioned by Iso 'yahb IV (+ 1025).

— **Prayer before Laku Mara and incensation:** The Clergy arrives at Bēma, a priest imposes incense. The incensation follows this order: Gagolta, the bishop three times, the priests one, and then the congregation. In our time there are two prayers before *Laku Mara*. The one of Sundays and festivals says:

"When the sweet saviour of the fragrance of your love is wafted upon us, o our Lord and our God, and our souls are enlightened by the knowledge of your truth, may we be accounted worthy to receive the revelation of your beloved who is from heaven; and then may we confess...in your crowned Church, which is full of helps and bliss."⁹⁸

96 Eng. tr. PODIPARA, p. 90. About the two candles that accompany the cross he says that "is the mystery of the light of the two Testaments by which Christ was confirming the words of his teaching as He said: 'it is said to the ancients so but I say thus' " (*Ib.*).

97 S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 81.

98 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 254. The prayer speaking of 'your crowned Church' that is, *your bride*, must have been christological. In order to make it trinitarian, the interpolater has added 'of your Son' and the conclusion on Trinity. See also S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 84-85.

The second prayer, for memorials identical with that of vespers, is a thanksgiving for graces and a glorification "in your crowned church full of helps and bliss".⁹⁹ In the commentary of Gabriel Qatraya on vespers the two prayers are envisaged.¹⁰⁰ This means that both were in Mass and vespers and that the *Onita d-Qanke* is the parallel of *Aek Etra* of Vespers. (which is to accompany the entry of the bishop).¹⁰¹

The meaning is beautiful: the love of the Lord and the light of his faith make us ready to receive him in his manifestation from heaven. The two prayers may have been but one, with eschatological meaning realised in the Church, in which Mass, heavenly service, is performed. G. Qatraya says:

"The smoke of the spices is the mystery of the future sweetness which our Lord promised to those who believe in Him and keep His commandment".¹⁰²

There were many formulas of prayer of imposition of incense. The one given in Kelayta (Darmo) is trinitarian.¹⁰³

— **Laku Mara:** This hymn, in a form of a troparion celebrates Christ, source of our resurrection:

You, Lord of all, we confess; you, Jesus Christ, we glorify:
for you are the quickener of our bodies
and you are the saviour of our souls.

It is repeated with the psalm: I have washed my hands...; and then a third time with *Gloria* and *A Saeculo*.¹⁰⁴

That is "one of the most archaic elements of the Chaldean Liturgy. Its simplicity, its concision and theological deepness put it among the echological masterpieces of the Universal Church."¹⁰⁵ It is received from the time of G. Qatraya as an essential and undebatable element established from time immemorial. According to his mystical interpretation of this part of Mass (public life of Jesus), G. Qatraya sees in it "the confession of the Apostles by which in the person of all, Simon said: 'You are Christ, the Son of God'.¹⁰⁶"

99 *Chaldean Breviary* (Bedjan) p. 4; *Nestorian Breviary* (India), p. 3; *Darmo Missal* p. 11; *Chaldean Missal* 1971 p. 10; not given in BRIGHTMAN (Urmyah)

100 *Qatarensis interpretatio* fol. 11v-12r; JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 82-83.

101 S. JAMMO, *ib.* p. 82.

102 Engl. tr. PODIPARA, p. 90.

103 *Darmo Missal* (=KELAYTA) p. 10-11; and also in *Chaldean Missal* 1971, p. 9.

104 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 254 (Not exactly transl. 'I shall wash...')

105 S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 86.

106 Engl. tr. PODIPARA, p. 90. For the Anonymous Author it points to the manifestation of Christ, especially at his baptism (1. 132).

It is possible that it was introduced in the Qurbānā by a parallelism with vespers. Before the 'missal' of 1971, The Chaldeans used here to prepare the gifts (bread and wine).

— **The Laku Mara Collect:** Although sometimes called according to a material order, 'prayer before Trisagion', it is in many MS called 'prayer after *Laku Mara*' of which it reproduces the meaning almost literally: "You, O my Lord, are in truth the quickener of our bodies...." ¹⁰⁷.

After this ensemble of sacerdotal prayers for Clergy and People, after the procession to bema and the beautiful hymn of *Laku Mara*, ends this section as a good preparation for the Liturgy of the Word. It has introduced the Congregation to the divine Dispensation and the Presence of God the Redeemer. It invites us to have good attitudes in the celebration: thanksgiving for Christ's salvation and hope of future bliss. The Cross symbolises the presence of Christ among the people celebrating the principal act of redemption, the two candles symbolise the two Testaments; the incense symbolises Christ's sweetness and gives the smell of divine perfume.... This ceremony is a foretasting of Mass. The milieu is created; the good dispositions also. The congregation is ready to hear the Word of God.

3. Liturgy of the Word:¹⁰⁸

a. General Aspects:

The main elements of this section are the trisagion (*Qaddisa Alaha*), scriptural lessons with interlectionary chants, litanical prayers, blessing and dismissal with which ends the mass of the catechumens. Some of the peculiarities of the Chaldean Mass are a scheme of archaic lessons: Law and Prophets, Psalm, the Apostle (Paul), hall-eluia with psalmic verses, and Gospel. Furthermore, the prayer of the Faithful (the litanies) and the blessing of the Clergy precede the dismissal, which means that in the Chaldean liturgy a longer part of the mass was accessible to non baptised (and not admitted) persons.

The ancient form of this section consisted in scriptural lessons, full interlectionary psalms, homily, prayers for catechumens and for sinners and may be for other categories, and the faithful, each prayer terminating with a special blessing in the form of imposition of hands, and, each category being dismissed, save the faithful who evidently assist to the Mysteries. Perhaps there was also a prayer and a blessing of the Clergy. By mid 6th century monastic and sacerdotal prayers before lessons were introduced and interlectionary psalms reduced to a few verses. By the end of the 6th century a series of prayers were fused together, blessings and

¹⁰⁷ GHTMAN, p. 255.

¹⁰⁸ on see S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 89-121; W. F. MACOMBER, *of the Word* (above note 26), pp. 185-187.

dismissal, and Gospel reading received prominence: with procession, incense, and, later, kissing by all the present. Far later, by the 13th century, *Apostle* and *Gospel* were introduced by turgame (sign of decline) ¹⁰⁹.

— **The Trisagion**: literally means 'three (times) holy'. The deacon who is the herald, the factor of unity, and the guide of the Congregation for a good participation in the services ¹¹⁰, says:

'Lift up your voice and glorify the Living God, all ye people, and they answer (three times): 'Holy God, Holy mighty, Holy immortal, have mercy on us'; *Gloria*, Holy.....; *A saeculo*, Holy....' ¹¹¹.

The literary origin of the Trisagion may be found in the vision of Isaiah 6,3. The Chalcedonian Fathers chanted it. At the time of Iso'yahb I, (582/3-595/6) its usage was established. It is possible that it was brought into Chaldean liturgy by Mar Abā, in one of his travels (540-552). The chant is addressed to the Trinity, as it appears from the prayers which follow it. G. Qatraya says interpreting it in vespers:

"This Qanona is praise and glorification of the divine Nature, one in its essence and trine in its persons. It proclaims the immutability of the divine Nature and the distinction among the persons of the Holy Trinity, and the indivisible unity of the Transcendant Being." ¹¹²

The Trisagion, an addition in the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word, is an introduction to invite people to have good dispositions in front of God holy and strong and immortal who will soon speak through the readings which recall the action of He who is the living God. ¹¹³

— The Old Testament Readings:

Without introductory prayer of the priest, the readings are, like the synagogal service of the Sabbath, from Law and Prophets; for Sundays of Easter time and commemorations they are from the

109 I owe some of these details to some dispense of Prof. MACOMBER.

110 On the role of the deacon in Chaldean Church see J. MADEY, *Der Diakon als Einheitsfaktor der Eucharistischen Gemeinde im Ostsyrischen Ritus, in Die Einheit der Kirche, Dimensionen ihrer Heiligkeit, Katholizität u. Apostolizität*, von Lorenz HEIN (Hrsg.), Wiesbaden, 1977 pp. 30-45.

111 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 255.

112 *Qataronsis Interpretatio* fol. 26r.

113 In the mass it means for G. Qatraya: "the acclamation 'holy' by the angels who were accompanying Him (=the Lord) in all His dispensation as the bl. Mathew says: "The angels approached and were serving Him." So he gives here a christological accommodating interpretation,

Prophets and the Acts of the Apostles. The first reader kisses the hand of the priest who blesses him wishing that God may instruct him in His teachings and make him a mirror (model) for the hearers. Then he says: 'and let His mercy come down on the reader and the hearers'. And when the reader says: 'Bless, o my Lord', the priest blesses him in this way: 'May God, the Lord of every thing, strengthen you and instruct you by the grace of His CLEMENCE Amen.' ¹¹⁴

The same happens for the second reading. The fact of having two lessons of the O. T. as in Judaism remained only in the Chaldean Rite which, like the Synagogue, inserts among the lessons, Psalms and prayers. ¹¹⁵ As for the pericope, the present Chaldean liturgy uses the High monastery Tradition (near Mosul), but there was another one, that of the Church of Koche. ¹¹⁶

The reading of the O. T. represents the first phase of the Divine Dispensation which is in the order of preparation and of symbol (Law and the Prophets). The *Acts of the Apostles* are considered as the continuation of the life of the New People of God, the Church. G. Qatraya writes:

"The Law and the Prophets that are read signify the arguments which Our Lord put forward from Moses and from all the Prophets to confirm His teaching as He said to the Jews: 'Search the Scriptures from which you preach the eternal life and it is they that bear witness to Me'. Our Lord was adducing many proofs in confirmation of His teachings. Because of this the Law and the Prophets are read first. The Acts of the Apostles are read with the Old (Testament) is to show, first of all, the agreement of both the Testaments and secondly to indicate what was done by Our Lord before He suffered since the old was still in force and the Apostles were behaving as Jews." ¹¹⁷

Y. Bar Zo'bi (*Explication* p. 398) and 'Abdiso' bar Brika (*Ordo Judiciorum* p. 94) give the same interpretation in a shorter way. ¹¹⁸

114 See Darmo (=Kelayta) pp. 12-13. My Engl. tr. In BRIGHTMAN only the benediction of the reader when kissing the priest's hand.

115 J. M. HANSSSENS, *Institutiones, Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus*, T. II, de Missa Rituum Orientalium, Romae 1930, pp. 421-423.

116 W. F. MACOMBER, The Chaldean Lectionary System of the Cathedral Church of Kokhe, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967), p; 483-516. (followed in the Malabar Church).

117 P. PODIPARA, p. 91. At this time the clergy is sitting. G. Qatraya: "The sitting of the priests on the Bema at the time of the reading is in demonstration of what our Lord said to the disciples: 'You who have left all things and have come after Me, when the Son of Man shall come in His Glory, you also will sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel.'"

118 See texts in S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 110-111.

—*Surrāyā*: Litt. it means beginning, principle. At present it means a responsorial psalm (chanted with Halleluiah). Gabriel Qatraya calls it *Estatyōnā* (Standing) and gives it as ‘the symbol of the praises of the people’¹¹⁹. As for the theme, it generally gives the meaning of the celebration according to the liturgical year period, that is why sometimes it is named ‘before the Apostle’ and sometimes ‘after the readings (of the O. T.)’¹²⁰.

—Prayer before the Apostle:

There are two prayers. On Sundays and feasts it asks God to “Enlighten for us (...) the motions of our thoughts to give heed to and to understand the pleasant sound of your lifegiving and divine commandments (...) to derive from them the profit: love and hope and salvation which is meet for soul and body and to sing...”. The second, for memorials and the Fast, prays God, the “wise governor who marvellously cares for your household...”.¹²¹

The first prayer makes clear that we are hearing the teaching of the Lord (N. T.: Apostle and Gospel; there is no sacerdotal prayer before the Gospel). But the second one has no explicit relation with the Apostle, but rather with the Dispensation, and it may very well suit the Old Testament. That is why it could have been the prayer before the Old Testament readings.¹²²

—The reading of the Apostle (and Turgama):

The deacon announces the title of the reading and says ‘Bless, o my Lord’

The priest says: “May the Christ make you wise by his holy teaching and make you a beautiful mirror to those who hearken unto you!”

Here is chanted the *Turgāmā*, (explanation of the reading by the Chaldeans): it introduces the reading and exhorts the faithful to hear fruitfully the reading. The *Turgāmē* were composed by ‘Abdiso’, Khamis and others.¹²³ The Epistle is taken only from Paul; that is why it is called Apostle (Sīhā) considered like John the Baptist announcing the coming of the Lord and preceding Him¹²⁴. It is read by a deacon and not by a priest ‘because John was in the order of deacon before our Saviour and not in the order of priest of the New Testament.’¹²⁵

119 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 92.

120 Here the refrain of a great feast, e. g. the Ascension: “Let us honour the ascension of Christ with songs of the Spirit: Halleluiah, halleluiah, yea halleluiah.”

121 BRIGHTMAN, pp. 256–257.

122 S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 117–118.

123 A Turgama for the Apostle see BRIGHTMAN, p. 257.

124 G. Qatraya, tr. PODIPARA, p. 92.

125 ID; *Ib.*

—Between the Apostle and the Zummara:

The priest goes down from Bema and arrives at the door of the Sanctuary; he and the deacon make inclination, and the deacon says: 'Let us pray. Peace be with us!' and the priest says a prayer to Christ, the Light who has 'enlightened the darkness of our knowledge by the light of your Gospel' ¹²⁶, and then a chanter sings Zummārā.

—Zummara:

A Halleluiah chant, attached to Gospel, sign of Joy at the coming of Christ represented by Gospel. Generally it is taken from Psalms. As theme it expresses the Gospel's. According to the order of Dispensation it recalls the Hosanna.¹²⁷ When the singer says: 'Bless, o my Lord', the priest says:

"May God, the Master of all, strengthen your thoughts, purify your melodies, so that you sing His praises by the grace of His clemence."¹²⁸

—Procession with Gospel:

When the priest goes to make ready the Gospel, he makes a short prayer to Christ "the light of the World and the life of all."¹²⁹ He takes the Gospel and goes out of the diaconicon praying the Trinity to enlighten us and to grant us to be obedient to the Word and fulfil the comandment of God.¹³⁰ He puts on the humeral because "he stands in the order of Our Lord who is covered with the stole of glory."¹³¹ The procession begins from the Bema to the diaconicon where the priest accompanied by deacons and luminaries and incensation finds out the Gospel and comes back to Bēma, all with splendid vestments. A deacon carries also the Cross, according to G. Qatraya.¹³²

126 In BRIGHTMAN, p. 258.

127 G. Qatraya, "The Zummara before the Gospel is the mystery of the praises of the disciples and of the children who were crying and saying: 'Hosanna' to the son of David and the rest." tr. PODIPARA, p. 92.

128 My. Engl. tr.; text in Darmono p. 15-16.

129 BRIGHTMAN, p. 258.

130 ID. *Ib.*

131 G. Qatraya, tr. PODIPARA, p. 92. Darmono (=Kelayta) p. 16, gives a prayer of the priest that God may enlighten him.

132 "The going out of the Gospel and of the Cross with it is the mystery of the humanity of our Lord which was with body and soul. The Cross is the mystery of the body which was crucified and the Gospel the mystery of the soul in which there is reasonableness. The Gospel goes out with the solemnity of the deacons in the mystery of the solemnity with which Our Lord entered Jerusalem riding on an ass." (Tr. PODIPARA, p. 92.)

—Veneration of the Gospel:

Once on the Bema, the priest presents the Gospel to the bishop to kiss it. Gabriel on the left of the Bema proclaims: "Stand we prepared to hear the holy Gospel". If it is the Mass of presanctified he says: "Be still and silent!" The bishop says: "Peace be with you!" and the people answer: "And with you and with your spirit!" The priest blesses those who have the turibulum.¹³³ They incense the altar, the Cross, the Gospel, then the bishop, the priest and the congregation. Here should be chanted the *'onita of the Gospel'* (in fact they are two), and a *turgāmā* of the Gospel.¹³⁴ The *onita* of the Gospel is chanted only in the period between Ascension and the Dedication of the Church; the first one accompanies the going out of the Gospel to oratory; the second one is for going back to Bema.¹³⁵

—The reading of the Gospel and the Homily:

After the incensation, the priest reads the Gospel, and at the end he presents it to the bishop to kiss it. Then the archdeacon takes it and puts it on the Bema altar. The deacon says: "sit down and be silent". All sit, but the deacons, to hear the homily.¹³⁶ G. Qatraya gives the meaning of the ceremony. "The reading of the Gospel is the mystery of all the words which our Lord said to the Jews before He suffered. The Cross over the rod is the mystery which our Lord said explaining by which death the Son of man would be exalted". The lights are symbols of the disciples to be light of the World: and *two* lights because the word is said for them and for those who believe through them. "The incense burnt in this hour is the mystery of the sweetness of the words of our Lord as what he said shows: "come to me..."¹³⁷ The *homily* or "the Turgama after the Gospel is the mystery of the teaching which Jesus gave before He suffered."¹³⁸ Mar 'Abdiso' Bar Brika says that the homily is "the explanation of the words of the Gospel"¹³⁹ and the precept was given already at the synod of 410.¹⁴⁰

133 The prayer on the incense recalls the fragrant ointment upon the head of the Lord by Mary the sinner; Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 258.

134 By 'Abdiso of Nisibis and others, edited in India (Darmo); no date; an example in BRIGHTMAN p. 259-260 (general).

135 This means that it is composed only for summer period where there is prayer in the oratory.

136 For this part of the Liturgy of the Word (except the *Onita* of the Gospel which is mentioned only by Y. Bar Zo'bi : *Explication* pp. 398-401), see Anonymous Author's *Expositio* (CONNOLLY), II, pp. 12-27.

137 Engl. tr. PODIPARA, p. 92-93.

138 ID. p. 93. Qatraya by the word Turgama means homily.

139 *Ordo Judiciorum* p. 95.

140 Synodicon Orientale (CHABOT), p. 265, canon 9.

—Litanical Prayers:

After the homily, the deacon says the *Karozuta* and its two sequences. It has nothing to do with the catechumens. The first one (the *ba'uta*) is composed of short 'intentions': for the peace, the country, the climate, the Church (Patriarch, bishop, and faithful), the temporal governors...to each of which the people answer: "O Lord, have mercy upon us!"¹⁴¹

The second one, *Karosūtā*, is longer with developed intentions explaining in a concrete way the mission of each category for which we pray.¹⁴² If the prayer is in memory of somebody, mention is made of his example and his intercession.¹⁴³ The congregation answers: 'Amen!' The third is called 'Angel of Peace' litany' (which in S. Chrysostom's Liturgy is for the catechumens): it begins asking the protection of the angel of peace and of mercy, and then it continues praying for peace, love, forgiveness of sins and God's mercy: short intentions to which the people answer: 'From you, o Lord!'

The deacon concludes: 'Let us commit our souls and one another's souls to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'. The priest says a collect asking God to 'perfect with us his grace and to pour his gift by our hands' and remit our sins, we the sheep of his pasture¹⁴⁴, a good sealing for an intercession prayer.

These litanies are executed in other Chaldean services (vespers ...). They provide intentions to people who do not know to pray.¹⁴⁵ At the *ba'uta* the people are standing. They kneel while answering to *Karozuta* and stand again during *Angel of Peace*. The litanies are a valuable way for the participation of the people, and it is a pity that the Chaldean recite only the *ba'uta* in Fast and in Niniveh rogations mass.

As for the origin of the Litanies: *Karozuta* is originally Chaldean; *Ba'uta* is an imitation—with also proper elements—of Byzantine rite; the *Angel of Peace* may be from a non-Chaldean source.¹⁴⁶

141 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN: *ba'uta*, pp. 262–263; *Karozuta*, pp. 263–266; *Angel of peace*, p. 266.

142 E. g. for the bishops: "That he (the Lord) may keep and raise them at the head of all their dioceses: that they may feed and serve and make ready for the Lord a people prepared, zealous of good and fair works." (BRIGHTMAN, p. 264).

143 E. g. for the memorial of the doctors of the Church: "That by their prayers and petitions the pure truth of the doctrine of their confession and of their faith be kept in all the holy catholic church unto the end of the world." (*Ib.*)

144 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 266.

145 G. Qatarensis *Interpretatio*, fol. 20v; see S. JAMMO, *Structure*, p. 133.

146 S. JAMMO, *Structure*, p. 149.

—Blessing:

The deacons say with a loud voice: “Bow down your heads for the imposition of hands and receive the blessing.” and follows a priest’s blessing prayer said first part secretly, the other one with a loud voice.

“And the people bow their heads with the deacons, and the priest repeats this Imposition of hands in his heart quietly, inclining himself the while”. After this rubric comes the text: “O Lord (...) yours is the holy catholic Church (...), with your glorious godhead are given the degrees of the imposition of hands of the true priesthood: (...) you have vouchsafed to the feebleness of our frail nature to become known members of the great body of the holy catholic Church and to administer spiritual helps to the souls of the faithful. (...) may the mercy (...) be on us and on this people”.

“And he raises his voice and says:

and grant unto us (...) that all the days of our life we may all alike and together be wellpleasing to your godhead in good works(...) and that we (...) raise to you praise and honour (...).”¹⁴⁷

The prayer is called ‘imposition of hands’ and the text at least in its first part can only be applied to the Clergy. That is why this is a prayer for the Clergy thanking God for the ecclesiastical degrees and asking his help for celebrating the Eucharist. At the end is added a blessing for the people.

The Chaldean TAKSA of 1971 has the oldest known formula (*MS Diarbekir* 57 of A. D. 1240) which is a *syamida* proper:

“Lord God lay the right hand of your mercy on the apostolic catholic Church.”¹⁴⁸

Then it asks God’s protection and help for a good administration of mass.¹⁴⁹ The second part is the same as above: “and grant unto us...”.

In both formulas, there is no blessing for the catechumens before their dismissal; the second one concerns all people present in the church, and both ask for divine help in the celebration.

147 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 267.

148 G. Qatraya speaks explicitly of *Syamida*, imposition of hands: “...is the mystery of the prayer He (the Lord) prayed for the disciples before He suffered; ‘Holy Father, keep them in your name (....)’” (PODIPARA, p. 93).

149 Bagdad Chaldean Missal (1971), p. 14.

-Dismissals:

And the deacons enter the sanctuary and say:
 "Let him that has not received baptism depart!
 Let him that does not receive the mark of life depart!
 Let him who does not accept it depart!
 Go, ye hearers, and watch the doors."¹⁵⁰

Narsai speaks of a real dismissal of the unsigned, unbaptised and of those who do not communicate.¹⁵¹ Practically, it was—and is by the 'Nestorians'—based on the non admission to communion.

The rusma or mark of life is a rite of *signatio* with oil on the forehead of heretics and schismatics at the moment of their reconciliation through the Pardon rite (Taksa d'hussaya) in the Church. The dismissal, according to the formulae would concern those who are not baptised (catechumens or not), the baptised who denied their faith and made penance in the church, and the baptised who for other reasons could not communicate in the eucharist.¹⁵²

The 'hearers': according to Narsai, they are Faithful but "not partaking of the Mysteries of the Church like those of the household"¹⁵³. So they are a part of catechumens.

We have noticed that the Litanies do not sepak of catechumens; nevertheless the dismissals are after the litanies. That is why it is possible that the dismissals' formulae were before the litanies as in the other oriental liturgies but in the canon 97 of S. Basil on the Ordo of the ancient Egyptian mass¹⁵⁴; in fact we do not know how they are displaced.

4. The Pre-Anaphora:

a. General aspects

Here begins the preparatory ceremony of the eucharistic rite proper. Its principal elements are the transfer, the deposition and the veiling of the gifts followed by the washing hands *of the priest on the bema* and the access to the Sanctuary, the Creed, the access to the altar, the kiss of peace, the reading of dyptichs and the admonition of the deacon. The Chaldean peculiarities are the conservation of the transfer of the gifts after the dismissals (while the Malabarians do that during *Karozuta*); the 'adoration of bema' and a complex access rite to the altar. The structure of the section is in general archaic although the rite of access to the sanctuary and to the

150 BRIGHTMAN p. 267, translate simply 'sign' (latin: signaculum).

151 Narsai, Homily 17, CONNOLLY, p. 3.

152 S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 154, following Narsai and Timothy II.

153 CONNOLLY p. 3.

154 See in JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 155–156.

altar are now more complex. The position of washing hands is shifted; as the transfer of the gifts in some places: because now the celebrant himself transfers them.

This section begins with the Anthem of Mysteries (*Onita d. Raze*) and ends with the diaconal admonition (*Nawdē w-nebe*) and the unveiling of the Mysteries. This means that it includes the first *G'hanta* (The Anaphora of the Apostles seems originally to have lacked it) ¹⁵⁵.

This section is very complex and the MSS do not agree, although the Commentators give the main elements without essential divergence. In fact at the same time there are two ceremonies. In the sanctuary the transfer, the offering, the deposition and the unveiling of the oblata, with proper prayers and the Mysteries Anthem; on the *bēmā* there is the washing of hands and the salutation. Moreover there must be at least two priests, one performing in the sanctuary and another from bema entering for the first time the sanctuary in order to consecrate; both must be accompanied by some deacons. The MSS diverge because they try to remedy to some situations; for e.g. when there is one priest they put the offertory at *Karozutā* recitation. ¹⁵⁶

b. *Individual elements:*

— The Anthem of the Mysteries:

This is the only variable element of this section, and it opens the eucharistic liturgy. But Kelayta (and Darmo p. 22) and some MS put a fixed anthem at the moment of the offertory which deals with the Eucharist and which is for the first Sunday of *Subbārā*, and is to be said after the variable Anthem. That onita is said at the daily mass by the Chaldeans. ¹⁵⁷ Its contents suit rather the Presanctified liturgy, although it remains possible for every mass, since it speaks about the eucharistic presence by anticipation. The variable anthem accompanies the transfer of gifts and the washing of hands. It is chanted three times; but it is not clear who does that first, two times: the third time is made by the assembly. At present, the *Gloria* in the honour of the blessed Virgin replaces the third repetition, and is followed by fixed stanzas: *A Saeculo*, in honour of the Apostle, the *Dicat* in the honour of the *Abun* (our Father, the patron of the Church), and the last stanza for the departed. The theme of the variable anthem is the eucharist; sometimes also the liturgical festivity.

155 Although found already in Mar Esaya text as given above.

156 See S. JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 164–173.

157 Here its translation: "The body of Christ and his precious blood are upon the holy altar. Let us all draw nigh to him in fear and love, and with the angels sing aloud unto him: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God!" (BRIGHTMAN, pp. 267–268).

-The washing of hands: Ancient position was during the *Anthem of the Mysteries* while another priest transfers the gift. To it Narsai seems to allude writing: "In that hour let us put away from us anger and hatred."¹⁵⁸ Thus he gives its symbolical meaning. Gabriel Qatraya sees in it

"the mystery of the washing of their hearts (the priests on bema) from envy and from division regarding the charity of their master..."¹⁵⁹.

The MSS do not locate it at the same place. Kelayta puts it after the Creed, and without a formula (= Darmo p. 29).¹⁶⁰ The Chaldean Missal of 1971 locates it after the offertory with two prayers (for washing and wiping) asking for purification. Timothy II locates, it at the moment of the *Anthem of mysteries*.¹⁶¹

-Transfer, deposition and unveiling of the mysteries:

This happens in the Sanctuary. The priest takes the bread and the deacon the wine on paten and chalice from the Gazza (niche in a wall of the sanctuary) where they were after preparation. At this moment is chanted the '*Onita d-Raze* (and not while reciting Karozuta as in Kelayta).¹⁶² Iso'yahb assigned that to the Archdeacon and to those who are with him, that is the deacons.¹⁶³ Then "the priest takes the paten in his left hand and the chalice in his right hand putting his hands in form of a cross. The deacon says: Let us pray- Peace be with us! The priest says: Let us send up praise to your glorious Trinity at all times for ever."¹⁶⁴

The two prayers which follow express the meaning of the liturgical gesture: making the memorial of Christ's death, and according to his order, setting the mysteries till the second coming of Christ¹⁶⁵. The priest orders the mysteries and veils them carefully.

For Narsai this rite represents the passion and the death of Christ: "At this hour...let us see Jesus who is being led to death on our account. On the paten and in the cup He goes forth with

158 CONNOLLY, p. 3.

159 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 96, and G. Qatraya adds: "or it is the mystery of the washing of the Jews; again because they are about to enter the sanctuary to complete and perfect the office of terrible Mysteries, the washing of their hands makes known well the washing of their hearts from envy and hatred..."

160 The same in the Urmiah Mass, BRIGHTMAN, p. 271.

161 *Vat Syr* 151, fol. 106v: "it points to the washing of the hearts of the disciples from wrath and lasting anger". He says that after having spoken of the Anthem of the Mysteries. Same G. Qatraya, p. 96 (above n. 159).

162 See Darmo p. 22.

163 *Anonymous Author's Exposition* (CONNOLLY) II, p. 36.

164 BRIGHTMAN, pp. 267-268.

the deacons¹⁶⁶ to suffer. A symbol of His death these (deacons) bear upon their hands; and when they have set it on the altar and covered it they typify His burial: not that these (the deacons) bear the image of the Jews, but (rather) of the watchers (the angels) who were ministering to the passion of the Son.... The priest who is selected to be celebrating this sacrifice, bears in himself the image of our Lord... the priests in the sanctuary bear the image of those apostles who met together at the sepulchre. The altar is the symbol of our Lord's tomb... and the bread and wine are the body of our Lord which was embalmed and buried. The veil which is over them presents a type of the stone sealed with the ring of the priests and the executioners. And the deacons standing on this side and on that brandishing (fans) are a symbol of the angels at the head and at the feet thereof (i.e. of the tomb). And all the deacons who stand ministering before the altar depict a likeness of the angels that surrounded the tomb of our Lord. The sanctuary also forms a symbol of the Garden of Joseph, whence flowed life for men and angels."¹⁶⁷

Thus is the offertory: a summary and anticipation of the anaphora in which the Church accomplishes the sacrifice of Christ according to his commandment.

-Rite of salutation and prostration on Bema:

Exists only in Malabar Church; mentioned only by the Anonymous Author. The priests on bema embrace each other respectfully. The deacons come to meet them and greet them. Obsolete

165 Here is their Engl. tr. as in BRIGHTMAN, p. 268:

"May Christ who was sacrificed for our salvation and who commanded us to make a memorial of his death and burial and resurrection receive this sacrifice at our hands by his grace and mercy for ever. Amen. *and he strikes the paten on the chalice three times and each time he says:* After your commandment, o our Lord and our God *repeat*, these glorious and holy and lifegiving and divine mysteries are placed and ordered till the coming of our Lord the second time from heaven: to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

I did not find in the commentaries at my disposal an interpretation of the striking of the paten on the chalice (Narsai G. Qatraya; Bar lipah; Anonymous Author and Timothy II). It may symbolise the passion of Christ.

166 In Mingana (syr. text) it is singular; better plural, See MS Cambridge 2818, and S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 156, n. 1, and CONNOLLY p. 3, n. 1.

167 CONNOLLY pp. 3-4 (see Qatraya Gabriel almost same interpretation, Tr. PODIPARA p. 95) Narsai then an eschatological interpretation (CONNOLLY p. 5). "it is a type of that Kingdom which our Lord entered, and into which He will bring with Him all His friends. The adorable altar thereof is a symbol of the throne of the Great and Glorious, upon which He will be seen of watchers and men in the day of His revelation. The apse typifies things below and above: it calls to mind things that have been, and those that are to be it typifies spiritually."

in Chaldean Church.¹⁶⁸ The celebrating priest who used to intone the *Gloria* of the *Onia d- Raze* bows to the four sides of the bema, goes down and receives the greeting of the people and when he arrives to the deacons, these bow (adore) to him one in front of the other.¹⁶⁹ This is done because of the dignity of the priest and of the N. T.,¹⁷⁰ because God chose him to such a great ministry.¹⁷¹, and because it was not so frequent for the priest to be selected to celebrate the Mysteries.

-Procession to Sanctuary:

The clergy leaves the bema; but before leaving it, the priest who consecrates and his fellows exchange greetings. Then during the procession, deacons and faithful address the clergy, especially the celebrant priest, sings of veneration and congratulation. The celebrant says two prayers: the first one is for the entry and it asks for purification of hearts to be worthy to enter the holy of holies; the second one is for the priest himself that God may forgive his sins. If he has no opportunity for this, he says a shorter prayer: "Our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all in his grace and mercy for ever. Amen."¹⁷²

-Creed:

Peculiar formula, Antiochene tradition and not Nicene as thought Narsai who gives on it a rather long paraphrase and calls it 'the Faith of the Fathers'.¹⁷³ It is said in the sanctuary, at the time of *Expositio*, by two choirs, one in the sanctuary to whom answers the Congregation.¹⁷⁴ Abdiso' I decreed that it should be recited wholly by all.¹⁷⁵ G. Qatraya so understands its role:

"this signifies that every one that does not believe rightly in the holy Trinity and in the dispensation perfected in the Christ, is foreign to truth and is deprived of the sweetness with Christ our Lord, who was sacrificed for the salvation of the world."¹⁷⁶

-Diaconal proclamation:

It is said by the deacons without any reply of the people. It contains commemoration of the Fathers, the saints and the departed "that God crown them in the resurrection of the dead and give

168 See Anonymous Author's *Exposition* II, pp. 38-39.

169 S. JAMMO, *Structure* pp. 182-183.

170 G. Qatraya, tr. PODIPARA, p. 96.

171 Timothy II, *Vat. Syr* 151, fol. 107r

172 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN p. 270; The first formula is of syrian Rite: see P. E. GEMAYEL, *Avant-Messe Maronite* pp. 259-260.

173 CONNOLLY Tr. pp. 5-6.

174 *Expositio* II, p. 40.

175 Texts in S. JAMMO, *Structure* p. 189.

176 Engl. tr. PODIPARA, p. 96.

us with them a good hope and a portion and an inheritance and life in the kingdom of heaven". Then he adds the intentions of the sacrifice:

"May this offering be received with openness of face and sanctified by the Holy Spirit that it be to us for help and salvation and life world without end in the kingdom of heaven by the grace of Christ."¹⁷⁷

Thus this Karozuta is practically a doublet of the Diptychs.

-Access of the celebrant to the altar:

The celebrant was formerly chosen only after the liturgy of the Word. Here is a complex rite of worshipping and kissing the altar and asking prayers of the congregation, in order to show the unworthiness of the priest who glorifies God who in his mercy made him worthy of this sacrifice. Narsai writes:

"The priest is in awe and great fear and much trembling for his own debts and the debts of the children of the Church. He is the eye of the whole ecclesiastical body; and he makes remembrance in his mind of the doings of all his fellow-servants. He is also the tongue of the whole body of Jesus: he is an attorney, and fulfils an advocacy on its behalf."¹⁷⁸

G. Qatraya more precisely indicates the aim of the access:

"Now the priest approaches to figure the type of resurrection through the recital of the holy words with his mouth and by the signing (blessing) of the cross in his hand."¹⁷⁹ Since till now mass represented the Passion, now it symbolises Christ's Resurrection. The celebrant prays and resumes:

"Glory be to you o founder of the lost (...) who did call me (...) in the great body of your Catholic Church that I may offer before you this living and holy and acceptable sacrifice which is a memorial of the passion and the death and resurrection of our Lord".¹⁸⁰

-The first G'hanta and its Kussapa: Division of the Anaphora:

Here begins the anaphora with its first *G'hantā*, but it does not concern directly the Eucharist. The Anaphora is divided into

177 Both texts in BRIGHTMAN, pp. 271-272.

178 CONNOLLY, p. 7.

179 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 97.

180 BRIGHTMAN, p. 271. This prayer, common to the three Anaphoras, is called the first giga (=wheel, circle) in the Anaphora of Theodore (Darmo p. 103) and of Nestorius (Ib. p. 139). In fact in both anaphoras there is no another giga. And this surname may be given to this prayer because the celebrant makes metanies in all directions.

four sections by the time of *Iso 'yah I* (+595).¹⁸¹ Each section has the following structure: Kussapā, 'Pray brothers' *g'hanta qanōn ā*. The kussapa is a devotional prayer of the celebrant. It does not exist in Mar Esa'yā MS (see above), therefore it appears only in the 12th century. The *G'hanta* is a prayer of inclination recited in low voice; the *Qanōnā* is a doxological ecphonesis to *ghanta*.

The first *G'hantā* is a preparatory prayer for offering the sacrifice, and it is common to the 1st and 3rd anaphoras; it is not in relation with the Kiss of peace, and the priest does not extend fully his arms, because he did not yet receive complete confidence before God (*Parrensia*). The *qanōnā* of this *G'hantā* is not chanted aloud when the bishop is present. The bishop used to recite the first *G'hants*. The celebrant then signs himself with the Cross so that his finger be visible over his head in order to show that he is communicating the people in this benediction. The priest thanks God and asks for his help to minister the holy mysteries "that with entire love and believe of truth we may administer your gift to us..." and the people answer: Amen!¹⁸² Narsai writes in the 17 homily:

"The priest asks for hidden power together with (divine) help, that he may be performing his gift according to his desire; and in all that the priest says before God the people concur, and they seal his ministry with Amen. (...) and take part with him by their prayers and by their word (*i. e.* Amen)".¹⁸³ G. Qatraya says the same.¹⁸⁴

181 Timothy II, *De Causis*, Vat. Syr fol 97v-98r (including preparation for communion). "To five chapters may be divided the prayers on the Offering. 1st: first *G'hanta*, theological, and it is from the beginning "the adorable and glorified name of the F., and of the Son and of the Spirit", till the *Sanctus*; 2nd: the 2nd *G'hanta*: His incarnation; from 'that You put on our humanity in order to vivify us by our godhead' till the end. 3rd: 3rd *G'hanta*: from 'make a good and acceptable memorial to all... 'till the hovering of the Spirit. 4th: Supplication and petition that we may be worthy to receive these holy mysteries, and it is from 'that it may be for us the remission of sins', etc. 5th: A thanksgiving because we were accounted worthy to communicate, and it is from 'We all with awe: *Kollan B-dehelta*) and on.' " (my translation)

Timothy excludes here the first *G'hanta*, but extends the prayer on Qurbana till the communion. He starts from after the prefatory dialogue. The division, rather in a theological sense, is about the 'Anaphora of the Apostles' which means that it is considered as the most important anaphora or rather as the ordinary one.

182 BRIGHTMAN, p. 274 (The complete text; see it above in Mar Esaya Tr.) The *G'hanta* of Nestorius Anaphora (*Darmo*, p. 109-111) has the same meaning.

183 CONNOLLY, P. 8.

184 PODIPARA, Tr. p. 97: "For at first the priest at this hour prays the first prayer in which there is thanksgiving and petition since he prays and supplicates that he may, as it fits, perfect the work of his priesthood." Timothy II says that the first qanona points to the blessing granted by the Lord to his disciples when He gave the Eucharist: *Vat. Syr* 151, fol. 108v.

-The Kiss of Peace:

The priest says "Peace be with you!" to express the peace given by Christ: victory on death, reconciliation with God and Angels and between the Peoples...¹⁸⁵). The people answers "With you and with your spirit." Narsai comments:

"They call spirit not that soul which is in the priest, but the Spirit which the priest has received by the laying on of hands (...) that he may be able to perform the divine mysteries."¹⁸⁶

G. Qatraya says

that the priest "prays for the people that there remain with him and by him the peace which Christ left before He died", and they respond (...) "With you and with the spirit of the priesthood you have received".¹⁸⁷ The deacon says: "Give peace one another in the charity of Christ!"

So the peace is given before the anaphora according to the oldest usage. The deacon kisses the altar, then the hand of the priest, and gives peace to others in this way: he who receives peace joins his hands to those of whom he receives it, and brings them to his mouth and to his forehead. This is done now in order to purify the hearts from hatred and enmity and to reconcile before the offering according to the Lord's command: "When you offer your gift on the altar..." (Mt 5,23-24)¹⁸⁸.

-Diptychs:

"While the Peace is being given in the Church from one to another, the book of the two (sets of) names, of the living and the dead, is readthat she may declare that the living and the dead are profited by oblation. And the people add: 'On behalf of all Catholics...on behalf of these and your servants in every place, receive, Lord, this oblation which Your servant has offered.'¹⁸⁹

The Chaldeans keep only the last part: 'Wa-hlap'. The first part with a long list of names is obsolete. The texts of Balad and

185 See Narsai Homily 17, CONNOLLY, p. 8.

186 ID, *ib.*, CONNOLLY, p. 8.

187 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 98. Same in Timothy II, Vat. Syr. 151, fol. 108v-109r.

188 Narsai, Homily 17, CONNOLLY, p. 9; G. Qatraya, Tr. PODIPARA, p. 98; Timothy II, fol. 109r.

189 Narsai, Hom. 17, CONNOLLY p. 10; Theodore, Tr. MINGANA, p. 94; G. Qatraya, tr. PODIPARA, p. 98; Not mentioned in the *Expositio*. Timothy II, fol. 109r-109v: "And he shows that all are living according to the word of our Lord: God is not the God of the dead but of living, and that the Just (although dead) are living for Him." (my translation).

karmless survive. Erroneous location in Kelayta¹⁹⁰ and in Brightman.¹⁹¹

—**Diaconal admonition** (Karožūtā):

It invites to a suitable attitude for anophora: prayer, standing fairly, while the priest prays “that by his mediation peace may be multiplied unto you. Watchfully...and let no man dare to speak. Whose prays let him pray in his heart. And in silence and fear stand ye and pray.”¹⁹²

—**Unveiling of the Mysteries:**

Formerly the veil was so large that two priests were needed to remove it. Now the priest lifts it and folds it round about the chalice and the paten when the deacon says ‘watchfully and diligently’. The priest says a prayer to be worthy of boldness in the days of Judgement as he is accounted worthy of the body and blood of Christ. The unveiling symbolises the removal of the stone from the tomb of our Lord.¹⁹³ Narsai is not clear. He says that it does not symbolise the resurrection.¹⁹⁴

—**Incense:**

The prayer presents it ‘for the joy of your name (o Lord) and for the pardon of your servants...’¹⁹⁵. Narsai does not mention it. G. Qatraya¹⁹⁶, followed by Timothy II¹⁹⁷, writes:

“The incense that is burnt in this hour is the mystery of the sweetness of the perfume with which the Body of our Saviour was embalmed.”

5. The Anaphora

a. General aspects:

We see here from the Pauline blessing till the Epiclesis included.

The mass is celebrated with the *Anaphora of Theodore* from the *Subbara* (Annunciation, the beginning of the liturgical Year) to the Sunday of the Hosanna; with the *Anaphora of the Apostles* from

190 Darmo, (following Kelayta) put them after Wa-hlap, p. 43.

191 P.275-281, before the Kiss of peace.

192 Text in BRIGHTMAN, p. 282; similarly in Narsai, Hom. 17, CONNOLLY pp. 10-11; Timothy II, fol. 109v: “that they may be prepared to receive this sublime Gift.”

193 Timothy II, fol. 110r.

194 17th Homily, CONNOLLY, p. 11.

195 BRIGHTMAN, p. 282.

196 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 98.

197 Fol. 110r.

Easter to *Snbbārā*. The *Anaphora of Nestorius* (the 'Third' by the Chaldeans) is used only five times: in Epiphany, S. John the Baptist, Greek Doctors, Wednesday of Rogations (*Ba'uta*) and Passover Thursday.

Beside the abovementioned *G'hantā*, the First (*Apostles*) and the 2nd (*Theodore's*) Anaphoras have three *G'hantā*; That of *Nestorius* has another one between the Narration of the Institution and *B-Mad'aykon*.

Narsai gives a general presentation of this part with some spiritual and theological comments: Mass is the consecration of bread and wine followed or made by the presence of the Holy Spirit,¹⁹⁸. Qatraya is shorter.¹⁹⁹ Timothy II explains briefly every part of the Anaphora.²⁰⁰ The Anonymous author gives little on the text of the Anaphora, but he insists on 'Peace and to fear to' which the deacon invites the Congregation, and on the theological aspect of the Presence of the body and blood of Christ.²⁰¹

In this commentary I insist on the meaning of the liturgical text and try to incorporate the commentators' data. Since every *G'hantā* is preceded by a *Kussapā* and an 'Orate frateres' and followed by a *Qanona*, I explain the essential part of the *Kussapā* and the *G'hantā*, and avoid useless repetitions.

b. Individual Elements:

—Prefatory Dialogue

Pauline Blessing. Originally it was the blessing of the people, so in Narsai²⁰²; now of the Gifts. The commentators insist more on its theological meaning. Interpretation of Narsai: "that grace which our Lord has given us by his coming, may it give us confidence before his majesty", the Love of the Father opens the door of mercy, and may the Communion of the Spirit purify us.²⁰³ The signing is now on the gifts may be in order to have three blessings found in all sacraments.

Lift up your minds because the mystery is not material and we avoid vain thoughts "and look upon Him who is now mystically slain."²⁰⁴

198 17th Hom., CONNOLLY, p. 11-22.

199 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 98-99.

200 *Vat. Syr* 151, fol. 110r-112v.

201 Tr. CONNOLLY, II, pp. 53-63.

202 17 hom. tr. CONNOLLY, p. 11.

203 *Ib.*; Timothy II follows him, fol. 110v.

204 Narsai, 17th Hom. CONNOLLY, p. 11.

The answer of the people 'Toward you, God of Abraham...' is a Jewish formula. The priest replies: 'The oblation is offered to God'; not to idols, nor to an angel. For Timothy II, this would be in opposition to old pagan offerings.²⁰⁵ According to Prof. MACOMBER, the original formula would be the answer given in the rite of baptism: "Let us thank, worship and glorify God, Lord of all" because it suits the following *G'hanta*.²⁰⁶

The people answers 'it is fit and right' expressing their assent. This answer may also explain the first words of the following *G'hanta*. The deacon says: 'Peace be with us!' "All the ecclesiastical body now observes silence, and all set themselves to pray earnestly in their hearts..The altar..upon it is the Gospel of Life and the adorable wood (the Cross)..."²⁰⁷

—Second *G'hanta* and its *Kussapa*:

The Kussape being recent are not explained by the commentators; I give here their general theme. This *Kussapa* in the *Anaphora of the Apostles* asks for familiarity in order to offer the sacrifice in purity, and prays that God gives the faithful mutual love and love for all others too.²⁰⁸ It is the same in *Theodore's Anaphora*; *Nestorius Anaphora* gives the same, or another one in which the priest confesses his sins and his unworthiness and begs that the mysteries be for the good of the Church and of the world and for the remission of sins.²⁰⁹

G'hanta: It is the same in *Apostles'* (4) and *Theodore's Anaphoras*, and it glorifies God Trinity, Creator and Saviour whom the creatures glorify and we with them chanting 'Holy!' In the *Nestorius Anaphora*, it expresses our duty to worship and glorify God transcendent and everywhere present, One and Trine, Creator and Saviour, and it asks for a suitable speech to present the spiritual fruits with our lips to God, the Father of our Lord. We thank God, adore Him and ask Him, that he may accept from our hands this sacrifice although deficient, since all creature are not able to express His greatness,.. but with the angels we sing: 'Holy!'²¹⁰

Narsai considers this *G'hanta* as the glorification of God, One and Trine, One *ousia*, three *hyspostases*, one will, one glory, one lordship.²¹¹ Timothy II resumes a part of him. The first *G'hantā* indicates "the eternity of God, and that one is his nature and his will in everything."²¹²

205 Fol. 111r.

206 *The Maronite and Chaldean Versions* (above n. 4), pp. 58-59.

207 Narsai, 17 hom. CONNOLLY. p. 12.

208 BRIGHTMAN, p. 283.

209 Darmo, p. 147-148.

210 Darmo, pp. 148-152.

211 17th Hom. CONNOLLY, pp. 12-13.

212 Fol. 111r-v.

—**Sanctus:**

It expresses the angelic hymn united to men. Introduced in Maronite and Chaldean rites. Perhaps the *Anaphora of the Apostles* introduced it, adapted from Greek, by Mar Abā (+552); Narsai (+503) interprets it, but his 17th homily is not a commentary of the An. of the Apostles. 'Holy' indicates one God, and 'three' times 'holy' indicates the Trinity.²¹³

—**Third G'hanta and its Kussapa:**

The *Kussapa* is the same for the three Anaphoras: first, it continues the theme of *Sanctus* on the Trinity; then the priest acknowledges how impure he is and the people and how awful is the place where he stays, and he asks for the purifying and sanctifying grace of God.²¹⁴ The *Nestorius Anaphora* proposes another kussapa. The priest asks for the pardon of his sins, and that God may accept the sacrifice on behalf of the priest and the Congregation, and that the communion remits sins, and that the people "may be full of the true faith and of the light of knowledge of your dispensation and of perfect love for your lordship" and that we may fulfill your will and glorify you.²¹⁵

G'hanta: It includes the Narration of the Institution. In the *Anaphora of the Apostles*(6) it consists in a glorification of God with the angelic hymn, and a thanksgiving for the Incarnation and the Salvation. As we have seen in the notices after the text, it does not include the Narration of the Institution, which is now simply added by the Nestorians, and with an introductory *G'hanta* borrowed from that of *Nestorius* by the Chaldeans. The *Anaphora of Theodore* here glorifies God Trinity, adores Him for his gifts: creation, liberty, knowledge and providence; then Incarnation, dispensation, passion in which the Lord offered Himself as a sacrifice and gave us to perform it.²¹⁶ The *Nestorius Anaphora* continues the theme of the *Sanctus* glorifying the Father creator, the Son and the Spirit, and blessing the Word Incarnate in the time who made every good and gave the mysteries (baptism and the gift of the spirit), and save us by His blood, raised as our head, and granted us this mystery.²¹⁷

Narsai exposes the theme of the glorification of the Trinity, and then of the two natures of Christ with one *parsopa*, giving

213 Narsai, Hom. 7, CONNOLLY, p. 13; Timothy II, fol. 111v

214 Darmo pp. 51-52.

215 Darmo, pp. 153-154; (quotation p. 154).

216 Darmo pp. 122-125.

217 Darmo pp. 155-158.

many examples from the life of our Lord, and he concludes speaking of the Institution.²¹⁸ Timothy II resumes him.²¹⁹

The Narration of the Institution: Every eucharistic liturgy is an accomplishment of Christ's order 'do this in memory of me'. The Institution, narrated or not, is essential to the mass. The *Anaphora of the Apostles* lacks, in its present text, the Narration, but an eucharistic prayer remains to realise the type come from the Lord (N°8). In the other two anaphoras, it is incorporated to the text. In the *Anaphora of Theodore*, it is followed by the *Anamnesis*: 'So do whenever you congregate'²²⁰. The *Anaphora of Nestorius* adds the order of Christ to eat and drink the Eucharist in memory of Him till his coming, that it may give the faithful the remission of sins, the hope of resurrection, the eternal life, where they raise up glory...²²¹.

In the commentators, the Narration is normal part of Mass. Narsai mentions it literally and makes a long commentary on it.²²² Qatraya proposes it at the beginning of the Anaphora as to show that it is the aim of the anaphora itself²²³; it indicates the change of bread and wine, through the hovering of the Holy Spirit, into the body and blood of Christ: Thus G. Qatraya himself (ib.), Abraham bar Lipah²²⁴, Ps. George of Arbela²²⁵, 'Abdiso'²²⁶ and Y. Bar Za'bi.²²⁷

218 17 hom., CONNOLLY, p. 13-16; (Similarly in Chaldean Breviary I, 334-337)

219 Fol. 111v-112r.

220 Darmo, p. 126. So also in the Chaldean Qurbānā; for the 1971 ed. see p. 27)

221 ID., pp. 158-160.

222 7th Hom., CONNOLLY, pp. 16-18.

223 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 97: "Now the priest approaches to figure the type of resurrection through the recital of the holy words with his mouth and by the singing (blessing) of the cross in his hand. For as our Lord Jesus Christ who when He gave those Mysteries blessed and gave thanks and said; so the Church according to his command sets apart a priest to bless and give thanks like Christ our Lord; through the recital he makes it known that he says the words of our Lord, namely: "This is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sin." And after the priest recites and blesses the bread and the wine through the grace of the H. Spirit. Who overshadows, they become the body and blood of Christ, not in nature but in faith and in effect. Christ has not two bodies, one in heaven and other on earth, but as the king and his image do not constitute two kings, and the humanity taken from us does not make two sons, but one Son of God united to the humanity which is from us, so His body with that which is in heaven are one, who is Christ."

224 Tr. CONNOLLY, II, p. 162.

225 Tr. CONNOLLY, II, p. 45.

226 *Ordo Judiciorum* (Vostò) p. 97.

227 MS Borgia 90, fol. 88r-89r. For all the Question, see S. Y. H. JAMMO, Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966) pp. 39-52, esp. 42-52.

—Special G'hanta and its Kussapa in Nestorius Anaphora:

The deacon says a *qullāsā* (praise) inviting the people to look, with the eyes of the spirit, at the Christ sent to passion. The *Kussapa* is the same as in the 4th G'hanta of the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, or another in which the priest prays God to let him speak despite his sins.

G'hanta: is an invitation to recall the redemption we received, the faith in God the Father and his dispensation through the Incarnation, the Passion, the death, the resurrection, the ascension and the second coming of Christ, and the judgement according to our works. We believe in the Holy Spirit and we offer this sacrifice for all creatures, for the Church, and superiors, the priests, deacons, religious people, sinners, the celebrant, the just people, the benefactors of the poor, the civil responsible, the fruit of earth, all countries, the travellers, the anxious, the prisoners, our enemies and haters because God wants the conversion of all to the truth....²²⁸

—Fourth G'hanta and its kussapa:

The deacon invites the Congregation: 'In your minds pray. Peace be with us!' The *Kussapa* of the Anaphora of the Apostles begs that the sacrifice be accepted for the Church, the Fathers, the martyrs, and for the need of people, for the priest himself and that the Congregation may be worthy for communion²²⁹. The *Kussapā* of the departed begins with a general theme, then it adds a special mention of the departed²³⁰: and asks that the sacrifice may be accepted like the sacrifice of the Just of the O. T. (e. g. Abel) and of the N. T. (e. g. the Apostles), for the Church and its members and the needs of men, for the departed, the present people, the town, the special intention and a special prayer for the priest.²³¹

The *Kussapa* of *Theodore's anaphora* presents the intentions of the sacrifice... the Church, for the grace of the saints and the needs of the Church, and concludes as the *Kussapa* of the *An. of the Apostles*.

The *An. of the Nestorius* gives as first *Kussapa* the first *G'hanta* of the *Anaph. of the Apostles* (4), or another one: the priest glorifies Christ, giver of the priesthood as mediator to offer the sacrifice, and asks for the pardon of sins, and for temporal graces, resurrection of dead, purification of the congregation, and for the priest himself.²³²

228 Darmo, pp. 164-170.

229 BRIGHTMAN, pp. 285-286.

230 Darmo pp. 156-157.

231 ID., p. 57-60; BRIGHTMAN, p. 286.

232 Darmo, pp. 171-175.

G'hanta: In the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, the G'hanta makes memorial of the Fathers, "through the memorial of the body and blood of your Christ which we offer as you taught us", and then it prays for peace, and that men may know God who sent Christ who came and taught us the sanctity of the saints and of the Church (7); then the priest emphasises that with joy and praise we make the memorial of the Death, burial and resurrection of our Lord (8).

Theodore's anaphora presents worship and thanksgiving for the salvific sacrifice, and offers to God, with a pure heart, the sacrifice which is "the mystery of the Lamb of God who carries on the sin of the world" and begs that God accept it for the Church, the peace, all members of the church and their ministry, that her children "may be educated in the worship of your lordship in the true faith and good works", then it prays for the priest and the remission of his sins, for those for whom is offered the sacrifice, for the cereals, the sinners, that they may know God, One and Trine, and the Incarnate Word, and that may be acceptable "this sacrifice of thanks giving which is reasonable fruit of our lips" and that it may be for the memorial of the saints and of all the departed children of the Church. (Here the celebrant prostrates); he asks for the remission of sins since everybody sins, and for the coming of the Spirit.²³³ *The Anaphora of Nestorius*: since the anamnesis aspect was emphasised in the special G'hanta, here it insists on the petition aspect. It asks for spiritual and corporal graces, for the departed, priest, prophets and all the children of the Church "whose names you only know, Lord." And through the intercession of saints, it asks for graces on behalf of the present assembly that they may live in love and concord, and find mercy in the day of the judgement, and participate in the eternal life as they participate in the eucharist.²³⁴

The Narsai's homily gives here a large list of petitions, similar to that of *Nestorius' G'hanta*.²³⁵ Nothing in G. Qatraya. Timothy II sums up the general meaning: "The priest, in the 3rd G'hanta (ours) mentions the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, and all the orders and categories of the holy Church, and asks that they may have part in this sacrifice, and that her sanctification (Quddasa=Mass) may be perfected by the resting upon of the holy spirit who ... changes (the mysteries) that they may effectively be the body and the blood..."²³⁶

—The Epiclesis:

Literarily it is incorporated with the last G'hanta in all the three anaphoras and it continues to be addressed to God the Father

233 Darmo pp. 128-136.

234 ID. pp. 175-179.

235 17th Hom. CANNOLLY pp. 18-20.

236 Vat. Syr. 151, fol. 112r-112v (my own translation).

that he may send the Spirit who blesses, sanctifies (sometimes 'changes') the offerings with the effect, that they may be for the remission of sins, etc. After the first words, the deacons invite to stand in fear and silence!

In the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, the priest prays that the Spirit bless and sanctify the offerings, that they may be for the remission of sins, the hope of resurrection, and the new life, where we raise up praise eternally.

The *Anaphora of Theodore* says "May the grace of the Holy Spirit come upon us and upon the offering" and then it asks for the sanctification and the change of the oblata in the name of the Trinity, that they may be for the pardon of those who communicate, for the resurrection's hope, the salvation of soul and body, and the eternal life where we praise God without end.²³⁷

The *Anaphora of Nestorius* says also 'May the grace of the holy Spirit dwell...' in this sacrifice to sanctify it, that the bread become the body of Christ... that they may be for the same effects and for the light of knowledge, the unity of the congregation in one body, and that the Offering may not be for the condemnation of the soul or the body of any who receives it, so that we may all find mercy in the Judgement, and the eternal life. The deacon, instead of 'In silence and fear...' speaks of the fearfulness of this hour in which the Holy Spirit 'consecrates the celestial eucharist', then he paraphrases the 'In silence and in fear'²³⁸.

According to the commentators, the epiclesis typifies the resurrection of Christ; the people prostrate themselves before it in order to symbolise that resurrection. Narsai gives the interpretation and the gesture of the priest:

"The Spirit descends upon the oblation without change (of place), and causes the power of His Godhead to dwell in the bread and wine and completes the mystery of our Lord's resurrection from the dead. These things the priest says in earnest entreaty; and he draws himself up and stretches out his hands towards the height. Towards the height the priest gazes boldly; and he calls the Spirit to come (...) wherefore that Spirit which raised Him (=Christ) from the dead comes down now and celebrates the mysteries of the resurrection of His Body."²³⁹

G. Qatraya expresses the same thing in another way: the epiclesis "is the mystery of the return of His (Christ's) soul into His body and of His resurrection from the dead. For, the priest mystically vivifies the body by the work of the Spirit."²⁴⁰

237 Darmo pp. 135-136.

238 ID. pp. 179-182.

239 17 Hom. tr. CONNOLLY, pp. 20-21.

240 Tr. PODIPARA, p. 99; shortly in *Anonymous Author II*, p. 60.

So Narsai and Qatraya interpret the rite in relation with Christ and the Holy Spirit (Resurrection) and not as does the liturgy followed by Timothy II²⁴¹ explaining the fruits of the epiclesis also on behalf of the faithful (the remission of sins...).

6. Preparation for Communion

a. General aspects: The section includes the part after the epiclesis till before the communion of the celebrant. It is composed mainly of the Fraction and signing, and blessing; then of the diaconal Karozuta and litany of fraternal charity, Our Father and *Sanctum Sanctis*. It is peculiar to the Chaldean Rite to have initial prayers and psalms, and an elaborate rite of the incense, of the approach and the veneration of the Mysteries. Peculiar also are some symbolic manual acts: the rejoining and piercing of the Host, the signing of forehead. The Pauline blessing once associated with fraction, now follows it; we have a direct passage from embolism to *Sanctum Sanctis* at which there is no elevation of the oblation.²⁴²

b. Individual elements:

—Two prayers of celebrant:

First: a kussapa addressed to Christ for peace; 2nd: a thanksgiving of the celebrant addressed to the Trinity for the sacrifice and for its effects; it lacks in oldest MS, but it is indicated by Iso'yahb I (+595) as a formula for the fraction. It is absent in the commentators.²⁴³

—Psalms of preparation for communion:

The *Miserere* (Ps. 51) said with antiphons as if for public chanting and Ps. 122, *Ad te levavi*; both are penitential psalms for personal purification. They are absent in the commentaries.

—Incensation:

Putting the incense, the priest says a prayer on it; it is a symbol of prayer of reconciliation and renovation of the creatures. Then the deacon incenses the priest's face and hands as a sign of his purification which he expresses in his prayer: "Sweeten, o our Lord and our God, the Saviour of our uncleanness..."²⁴⁴. Narsai, G. Qatraya, Anonymous do not mention this incensation.

241 *Vat. Syr.* 151, fol. 112v.

242 I owe some of these details to dispense of Prof. W. F. MACOMBER. See also Fr. L. LIGIER, *Pénitence et Eucharistien Orient. Théologie sur une interférence de prières et de ritus*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 29 (1963), pp. 5-78; on the Chaldean liturgy, see pp. 24-32.

243 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 288.

244 Both texts in BRIGHTMAN, p. 289.

—Rite of approach:

As in the rite before the anaphora, the priest expresses his unworthiness reciting “the mercifulness of your grace...” three times, after each of which he folds his hands on his breast in form of a cross and kisses the middle of the altar and then the right side and the left side.

—Taking the Host:

The celebrant takes the uppermost Bukhra which is in the middle of the paten in both hands which must not then be folded and he looks upwards and says: “Praise to Your holy Name, o our Lord J. C... because you are the living bread...” In many MS there is the elevation, which is probably the development of the rubric to gaze aloft as already Narsai recalls saying:

“A Corporal being takes hold with his hands of the Spirit in the Bread; and he lifts up his gaze towards the height, and then he breaks it.”²⁴⁵

Probably this explains why Narration is inserted here in some editions (Propaganda). The celebrant then kisses the host figuratively in the form of a cross and says: “Glory to you, o my Lord (3 times) for your unspeakable gift towards us!” Formerly, the priest used to put the host also on his eyes as do the communicants receiving the Host in crossed hands.

— Fraction:

The formula expresses in a general manner what the priest is going to do: drawing nigh to the mysteries, breaking, and signing in the name of the Trinity; when he pronounces that name he breaks the Host. The formula is mentioned by the Anonymous.²⁴⁶

— Manual Acts:

The *fraction* originally came from practical necessity; at present time it has a symbolic meaning: the passion of Christ (*the body which shall be broken for you*: variant added to biblical text in Consecration). The *consignation* is first mentioned by Theodore: “And with the bread he (the priest) makes the sign of the Cross over the blood, and with the blood over the bread and he unites and joins them together, in order to reveal to all that although these elements are two, they are nevertheless one in power, and are the remembrance of the death and the passion that affected the body of Our Lord...”²⁴⁷. Narsai resumes the fraction and consignation as follows:

245 21st hom. CONNOLLY, p. 59, and 17th Hom. ID., p. 23.

246 CONNOLLY, II, p. 60.

247 MINGANA, p. 105.

“He breaks the bread in the name of the Father and Son and Spirit, and unites the blood with the Body, and the body with the Blood, he signs the Blood with the Body, and makes mention of the Trinity, and he signs the Body with the living Blood with the same utterance. He unites them—the Body with the Blood, and the Blood with the Body—that every one may confess that the Body and the Blood are one.”²⁴⁸

So while Theodore speaks of rejoining of the elements symbolising the unity of their power Narsai speaks of the symbolism of their unity of being.

For G. Qatraya the rejoining of the Body and the Blood is “the mystery of the return of His (Christ) soul into His Body and of His resurrection from the dead. For, the priest mystically vivifies the body by the work of the Spirit.”²⁴⁹

The rejoining of the two halves as if they were not broken exists in the Chaldean practice, but only before the communion of the celebrant.²⁵⁰ The *signing declaration formula* is mentioned by Isa'yahb I, and its tone is similar to other sacramental rite (in *passive* form: *metrsem...*). The priest *pierces* the Host in the place signed with the holy Blood to symbolise the wound in Christ's side. It appears in the Mar-Esa'ya MS.²⁵¹ The priest *signs himself* on his forehead (formerly done with precious Blood), which may be a symbol of the dropping of Blood from the Cross. Omitted by the Chaldeans.²⁵² The deacons here pray that God may accept the priest's sacrifice. The priest then *releases the veil* from around the paten and the chalice as symbol of the burial clothes cast aside after Christ's Resurrection. Here no more signing “because the mystery is perfected by the dissolving of the death”, and no more incensation “because the corruption for which (the sacrifice) was the embalming, is dissolved.”²⁵³

—Diaconal proclamation:

Preceded by the *Pauline Blessing* (see above), intended maybe as preparation for communion; the rubric says “the priest proclaims

248 CONNOLLY, p. 23.

249 PODIPARA, p. 93.

250 See *Edition* of 1971, p. 41.

251 Abolished (alas!) by the Chaldeans. For the ‘Nestorians’ see Darmo, p. 77; not mentioned by BRIGHTMAN (Urmiah) p. 292.

252 BRIGHTMAN, p. 292–293.

253 G. Qatraya, PODIPARA, p. 99. Timothy II, fol. 113r–113v. says: “the Pirma is sent out to show to the Congregation of what a sweet perfume they are being counted worthy.” According to the Anonymous Author, here finishes the Anaphora, II, p. 63. Narsai (17th Hom.) puts here a greeting of the priest and it symbolises the greeting of the Christ raised from the Dead: CONNOLLY p. 23–24.

like one making an announcement”²⁵⁴; it indicates the resurrection in which we participate through communion. As part of the structure of mass, it indicates the beginning and the conclusion of the sacramental actions of anaphora and fraction. The *Karozūta* is an invitation to preparation for Communion. It recounts the divine Economy, gives some interior dispositions and a litany of repentance for sins against charity; to which the people answer: ‘O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of your servants’. The text is beautiful; the communion is seen as a response to the divine Dispensation (*Hnan Hakel.*), and the dispositions required, although highly penitential, are very realistic and touch the relation with others.²⁵⁵

Narsai mentions it with a good paraphrase.²⁵⁶ G. Qatraya insists on the vivifying effects of the Communion to which we prepare ourselves because the Eucharist is the body and blood of our Lord (though the elements remain naturally unchanged). He says then:

“Whenever we take them in our hands, we ought so to think as that we embrace and kiss our Saviour and that we mix His body with our body and mingle His blood with our blood and that because of this with fear and reverence we ought to approach them.”²⁵⁷

The Anonymous Author insists on the fact that we communicate to the *mystery* of the Body and Blood of the Lord—which includes the Body and Blood—in order to avoid any idea of cannibalism.²⁵⁸ The litany of repentance, with five times ‘Lord, pardon the sins, . . . indicates the condition of men, since everybody is a sinner²⁵⁹, and for Timothy II it symbolises the *five* converted sinners in the Gospel: Zachaeus, the publican in the temple, the prodigal Son, the sinner Woman and the penitent Thief.²⁶⁰

During this *Karozūta*, the priest whispers in his heart and blesses the God of our Fathers’ because He saved us from the power of darkness and led us to the kingdom of Christ, and he prays Him to let us communicate with purity and profit.²⁶¹ It is not mentioned by the Commentators.

254 BRIGHTMAN, p. 293; Darmo p. 79; According to the *Anonymous* it expresses joy for the communion, vol. II, p. 64.

255 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 293–294.

256 17th Hom. CONNOLLY, p. 24–25.

257 PODIPARA, pp. 99–101; quotation, p. 100.

258 Vol. II, p. 64–65.

259 G. Qatraya, PODIPARA, p. 101.

260 Fol. 114r.

261 In BRIGHTMAN, till to “bid to the kingdom...”, p. 294.

—Communion:

While this is being said, the priest breaks the Body and then dips a piece for the children. Theodore writes:

“At the end of all the bread is broken, so that all of us who are present may be able to receive (communion). Each one of us takes a small portion but we believe that we receive all of Him in that small portion.”²⁶² Narsai refers to the same act.²⁶³

In Mar Esa'yā MS, the Communion is made before the signing of forehead.

—The prayer of the absolution:

When the Karozūtā ends, the deacon says ‘Peace be with you....’. The *Anonymous Author* introduces the prayer:

“The priest seeing that the angel (deacon) perfectly agrees with the people and that the assembly has asked for the absolution of the sins, he makes immediately as a true mediator, the supplication for his flock”.²⁶⁴

The prayer is said quietly, but it expresses an absolution as Fr. L. LIGIER rightly sees ²⁶⁵, and it must have been said in a loud voice:

“Pardon, O my Lord, by your compassion the sins and transgressions of your servants and hallow our lips by your grace that they may yield the fruits of praise to your exalted godhead with all your saints in your kingdom.”²⁶⁶

—Our Father:

The introductory prayer said in a loud voice, asks to stand with purity and confidence before God in order to recite the Lord's prayer. But if there are no consecrated, chalices the priest signs them silently before the preparatory prayers: he goes to the sacristy, blesses, returns to the altar and signs with the Host. Narsai gives the meaning of the introductory prayer: that God sanctify us, “make us worthy to stand before him without blemish, and call Him, all of us, with confidence, Abba, Our Father.”²⁶⁷

262 MINGANA, p. 107.

263 CONNOLLY, p. 23, but before the *Karozuta*. ²

264 CONNOLLY, II, p. 67. Not mentioned by Narsai and Qatrāya G.

265 Cf. L. LIGIER, *Penitence et Eucharistie* (above n. 242), pp. 30–31.

266 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 295.

267 17th Hom. CONNOLLY, p. 25; the text of the prayers in BRIGHTMAN p. 295.

The *Our Father* is mentioned by all the Commentators; Narsai gives a rather long paraphrase of it.²⁶⁸ Qatraya gives the reason why we say it at this moment:

“Because we figure the mystery of the death and resurrection by which we became the sons of God, fittingly we call God ‘Our Father’ now as our Lord said: ‘You be not called father on earth, as the blessed Paul said (.....) ‘We call God the Father, Abba, Our Father’.”²⁶⁹

Timothy II sees it rather in the sense of the preparation for communion.²⁷⁰ The following sacerdotal prayer goes back to ‘and lead us not into temptation’ and “because yours is the kingdom...” paraphrasing.²⁷¹

—Sanctum Sanctis!

First comes the greeting of the celebrant which symbolises the salutation of the Lord after his resurrection to the women and to the Disciples.²⁷² The priest says:

“The holy thing to the holies is fitting in perfection”

The Eucharist fits to the holy ones, whom baptism has sanctified, the holy thing is fitting according to the ecclesiastical law”.²⁷³ For Theodore, to whom G. Qatraya makes reference and (for that he does not dare to interpret the *Sanctum Sanctis!*)²⁷⁴, says that ‘only those who have been sanctified for some time may communicate. This is the reason why only the baptised ones partake of it, those who have received the firstfruits of the Holy Spirit in the second birth...” Then he adds “you must strengthen in you the gift..

268 17th hom. pp. 25–26.

269 PODIPARA, p. 101; Anonymous, CONNOLLY, II, p.67: After they heard Christ the mediator risen from the dead, the faithful pray: ‘Sanctify us with the sanctity of your name; show us your kingdom...’

270 Fol. 114v.: “It is necessary that this prayer be said here before the communion, that it may signify that when we accomplish these things we are commanded to, have pardoned to those who transpass against us, and have our consciences pure, we are sons of God. It signifies and recalls, when we say it here, that nobody should approach to receive the mysteries while he keeps the transgression of his brothers in his heart and is by it condemned.” (my translation).

271 BRIGHTMAN, p. 296.

272 Narsai, 17th hom. CONNOLLY, p. 26; G. Qatraya, PODIPARA, p. 101; Thimothy II, fol. 115r.

273 Narsai, 17th hom, CONNOLLY, p. 26–27.

274 PODIPARA, p. 101.

with good works".²⁷⁵ Timothy II ²⁷⁶ and Anonymous ²⁷⁷ are not clear. The answering formula is trinitarian, but it is not clear that it indicates who is the 'Sanctum' as it is assigned by some commentators to be the Holy Trinity.

The real meaning of the *Sanctum Sanctis* and of the answer is that while the priest warns that the *Holy Thing* (the Eucharist) fits only the Holy persons, (the communicants), they answer him with humility saying that only God-Trinity (One Holy Father...) is really holy to whom the Eucharist fits in sanctity and dignity, since it is celestial.

—Insertion of other rites:

Absolution of penitents (Timothy I+823), later shifted to follow the communion of the clergy. On Pentecost Sunday there is here a special *rite of adoration*. On the feasts of our Lord here is intoned the chant 'Terribilis es' (*D'hilat*) while the curtains of the sanctuary are drawn. All these rites are not mentioned by the commentators, but 'Terribilis es' about which G. Qatraya says that it

"is the mystery of the praises and ineffable glorification by which all the heavenly hosts praise for the dispensation effected by Christ."²⁷⁸

7. Communion:

a. General aspects:

The main elements of this section are: the communion of the celebrant, of the clergy and of the people, reposition of the mysteries, thanksgiving, kiss of peace in the sanctuary, final blessing and ablutions. Peculiar to the Chaldean rite are: the communion of the celebrant and the clergy after the people and after the final blessing at the time of the ablutions (by the Chaldeans before the people); kiss of peace among the clergy in the sanctuary between thanksgiving and final blessing; no dismissal but only final blessing; the communion of the people is sometimes divided before (children) and after (adults) the final blessing ('Nestorians').

This section has also evolved along the centuries: the kiss of peace in the sanctuary became traditional by the beginning of

275 MINGANA, p. 109.

276 Fol. 115r: The first part means the Eucharist which fits the holy ones, and the answer 'Unus sanctus' speaks of the Trinity, but Timothy does not show the link between the two statements.

277 CONNOLLY, vol.II, p. 69-70: at the beginning he says that the 'Sanctum' is the Eucharist, but then he says that the people, by his answer 'Unus Sanctus', interpret the 'Sanctum' as it is said for the Trinity.

278 PODIPARA, p. 102.

the 7th century, and the psalmody was introduced under monastic influence (G. Qatraya); by the same time, the prayer of blessing was supplemented by *huttama* (the seal). *Our Father* was introduced by Timothy I (+823). When the communion is distributed after *huttama*, the ablutions are shifted. By mid 16th century, the communion of the celebrant and of the clergy was shifted after *huttama*, practice adopted officially by the Chaldeans in 1767 but abolished in 1901 missal.²⁷⁹

b. Individual elements:

—The acclamation of the deacon ‘Praise the living God!’ is a signal to begin the *Unnaya d-Bem* replaced in the Presanctified Mass by ‘Blessed by your body and your blood...’²⁸⁰.

The *Unnaya d-Bem* is a refrain as in Madrasa, and it is chanted—or supposed to be—during the communion of the clergy: while its stanzas are chanted during the communion of the people. By the Chaldeans it is chanted during the communion of the celebrant. It is variable and usually it is in honour of the eucharist.

—Communion of the celebrant and clergy in the sanctuary (bishop, priests and deacons, not lesser clergy). The celebrant does that first and then by another priest because, according to Narsai, he also ‘stands in need of mercy’.²⁸¹ G. Qatraya says that the priest does that ‘signifying that which Christ the High Priest has done in whose place he stands. For He, in sacrificing Himself in the sacred sacrifice, took first the nourishment of the immortality...’²⁸². For the Chaldeans the priest communicates first with some devotional prayers (preparation and thanksgiving) preceded by the ostension of the consecrated species. For the ‘Nestorians’ it is delayed after the final blessing, maybe, because of the difficulty of calculating the number of communions and because the Sacrament is not reserved.

—Communion of people:

The celebrant blesses the people: “The gift of the grace of our lifegiver, our Lord J. C. be fulfilled in mercy to us all!”; mentioned with a shorter text by Narsai.²⁸³ The priest, before that, had already handed the paten and the chalice to two deacons, For the communion, the people purify their hands in incense, receive the communion in crossed hands, press the Host to their

279 I owe some of these information to *dispense* of prof. W. F. MACOMBER

280 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 298.

281 17th hom. CONNOLLY, p. 27, followed by Thimothy II, fol. 115v.

282 PODIPARA, p. 102.

283 17th hom., CONNOLLY, p. 27.

eyes, kiss it and communicate themselves.²⁸⁴ Narsai does not mention the pressing of the Host to eyes; he says:

“(The communicant) stretches forth his hands, lifting up his right hand and placing it over its fellow. In the form of a cross... Upon a cross our Lord Jesus was set...”²⁸⁵.

The faithful communicate directly from the chalice. Formula: ‘The Body’ Blood of our Lord (Narsai, *i b.*), then it adds the category of communicants (priest, deacon, faithful) ‘for the remission of sins’ (venial sins forgiven by communion, while grave sins by penance). Often this communion is also delayed after final blessing. G. Qatraya explains the meaning of communion:

“Our participation in the Holy Mysteries is the symbol of our participation with Him (Christ) in the Kingdom of Heaven.”²⁸⁶

—Thanksgiving:

To express it, the assembly chants a *Tesbohtā* (hymn) already mentioned by Narsai, different from the present *Tesbhotā*.²⁸⁷ The *Tesbohtā* of Sundays is attributed to saint Ephrem by Kelayta-Darmo²⁸⁸, that of the Feasts of the Lord to Mar Yazdin²⁸⁹ and that of the commemorations, departed and weekdays to Mar Timothy Patriarch.²⁹⁰ Follows a *diaconal Acclamation* which admonishes to give thanks to God who gives us the Mysteries.²⁹¹ There are two sacerdotal prayers of thanksgiving: the first one seems adapted from a lost anaphora; it is similar to a G’hanta of Theodore’s Mass.²⁹² The second prayer is an impetration to realise the fruit of the mysteries. Narsai mentions explicitly the thanksgiving said by the celebrant²⁹³. The second prayer must have been felt as a benediction in the time of the *Anonymous* while the people hearing it prostrated themselves.²⁹⁴

284 Theodore describes it very beautifully, MINGANA, p. 113–114.

285 17th Hom., CONNOLLY, p. 28.

286 PODIPARA, p. 102.

287 17th Hom., CONNOLLY, p. 29.

288 Darmo p. 93; Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 298, note a. G. Qatraya sees in it “the symbol of that which happens in the coming world from all rational beings as we praise and exalt the heavenly King in Whom it pleased Him that the fulness of divinity should dwell and through whom we adore the Trinity.” PODIPARA, p. 102.

289 Darmo p. 94; Engl. tr. BRIGHTMAN, p. 300.

290 Darmo pp. 95–96 (not given in BRIGHTMAN = Urmiyah missal): it asks for pardon now and for the meeting of the Lord in his revelation at the End.

291 BRIGHTMAN, p. 301.

292 See in Darmo p. 117; Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, p. 302.

293 17th hom., CONNOLLY, p. 30.

294 CONNOLLY (Expositio), vol. II, p. 82.

The first prayer of ferial mass is a praise and thanksgiving to the Trinity; the second is an eulogia to Christ who gives pardon through his mysteries.²⁹⁵

—Kiss of peace in sanctuary:

One of the deacons, after the second prayer of the celebrant, closes the veils, and the clergy in sanctuary give peace (mentioned already by Qatraya ²⁹⁶ and say *psal.* 148 and 116. Qatraya says that they are said in monasteries and ... “are not to be said on feast days because they are not of ancient rulings but are newly introduced”²⁹⁷. *Kiss* and *psalms* are obsolete for the Chaldeans. At this moment, formerly were the ablutions, when the communion of the celebrant was before the people. After the two prayers of thanksgiving is chanted *Our Father*.

— Final Blessing:

Huttāmā at the sanctuary door; there are different texts, and three of them are ancient; many in vernacular, Arabic... It blesses the people and asks for favours. The blessing is imparted by the bishop or the celebrant with a hand-cross kissed by the people. For Narsai, it symbolises “that blessing which is about to work in us” the eternal salvation.²⁹⁹ For G. Qatraya it

“is the commemoration of that blessing with which our Lord blessed His Apostles at the time at which He was taken up to heaven (...) Again (...) it is the mystery of the overshadowing of the grace of the Holy Ghost over the Apostles after Our Lord had ascended into heaven (...) This was fulfilled in the Apostles on the day of Pentecost...”³⁰⁰.

—Eulogia:

Blessed Bread. *Anonymous* mentions the *pursānā* given after final blessing ³⁰¹; it is of monastic origin used for the days of fasting when eucharistic synax is at time of vespers. BRIGHTMAN (Urmiyah text) gives this rubric:

“The people kiss the cross in the priest’s hands (after final blessing) and the eulogia, which was baked along with the *buchri*, is distributed by one of the priests or deacons standing at the

295 BRIGHTMAN, p. 302, notes *a* and *b*.

296 PODIPARA, p. 103, commented after the final blessings as symbol of our union is heaven.

297 PODIPARA, p. 103.

298 Darro p. 103–104.

299 17th hom., CONNOLLY, p. 31. Then he says that it symbolises the blessing of Christ ascending to heaven.

300 PODIPARA, p. 103.

301 *Expositio*, CONNOLLY, vol. II, p. 83; after that the *Anonymous* speaks of a fraternal meal after mass at homes.

nave entrance of the baptistery. During the distribution is said the prayer of Mary (and of other saints)³⁰². Obsolete for the Chaldeans.

—Ablutions:

The title of the prayers is: “of the ordering of the Mysteries”; made after the communion which for the ‘Nestorians’ is after the final blessing. The fact that the Church of the East ceased the reservation of the eucharist gave possibility to a considerable casuistics on different circumstances and accidents about the remaining eucharist. Four prayers: The first is for those receiving communion, 3 for thanksgiving, and a *huttāmā*: they ask for the spiritual effects of the Mysteries and for the eschatological fulfillment of the communicants³⁰³. For the Chaldeans, these prayers are said while the priest puts of his ornaments.

—Final sacerdotal prayer:

The priest kisses the altar saying:

“Remain in peace (=Goodbye) propitiating altar, remain in peace, o tomb of our Lord! Let the offering I received from you be for the pardon of transgressions and for the remission of sins. I do not know whether I come again and offer on you another offering or not?”³⁰⁴

Thus ends the Chaldean eucharistic liturgy with a loving pathetic tone!

Conclusion: suggestions for a renewal

This study presents the Chaldean mass as it is in use now and as it was historically. It gives us the original meaning of the main rites and texts. The historical and liturgical data help us to understand their theological and spiritual meaning. Starting from these perspectives we can envisage some possible suggestions without danger of traditionalism or of innovation deprived of foundations.

1. *The text of the anaphoras:* the G’ahāntā of the *Anaphora of the Apostles* may be corrected; the Gahnātā of Nestorius and Theodore’s Anaphoras may be shortened. Same for the Kussape which should be recited secretly, while the Gahanta in an audible voice.
2. *Establishing three categories of Qurbana* according to the need of people and the possibility of the Congregation: pontifical,

302 BRIGHTMAN, p. 304.

303 Engl. tr. in BRIGHTMAN, pp. 304–305.

304 Chaldean 1971 Missal, p. 32–33; not given in Darmo-Kelayta. (my translation).

sundays, and ferial liturgy. Restitute the presanctified liturgy if necessary.

3. *Restitution of the Concelebration* in its original Chaldean form. If the question of the stipend is raised, the priests present in the Sanctuary must be counted as having an intention of celebration.
4. *Understanding rites*: explanation of the symbols, ceremonies and texts. Use of the vernacular in prose texts: in syriac: *Our Father, Laku Mara. Qaddisa Alāhā, Halleluia, Qaddisy, Amen, Barekhtar*, Consecration, Epiclesis, and secret prayers of the priest. Promote commentaries, etc.
5. Execution of the roles by appropriate persons: celebrant, arch-deacon, deacons choir, as much as possible. It is not normal for instance that the *Karozwātā* be chanted by the choir, while the *creed* is chanted by the deacon...
6. Restitution of the *Bemā* and its role in the architecture of the church. It is a valuable means to renew and execute the rites (processions...) and to guarantee a fruitful participation of the Congregation, especially in the Liturgy of the Word.
7. Restitution of the communion under the two Species with the symbolic and beautiful gestures: incensation of hands, pressing the Host on the eyes, kissing it... The same thing must be said for other neglected rites...

This study has shown how wonderful the Chaldean Mass is. It must become a living reality in our hearts!

The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Chaldeo-Indian Church

The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Chaldeo-Indian Church

by

Jacob Vellian and
Varghese Pathikulangara.

1. The Chaldeo—Indian Church

The history of the Thomas-Christians in India shows that this was a Church with All-India jurisdiction. She was ruled by the Metropolitan and the Archdeacon, the Gate of All-India¹. It was after the so-called Synod of Diamper (1599), that this All-India jurisdiction of the Thomas-Christians was gradually reduced and restricted to the middle regions of the present Kerala². In spite of all these, till the end of the 19th century, the Thomas-Christians were called the 'Syro-Chaldeans' of India or of Malabar; and from reliable sources, it appears that they began to be called

1. Cfr. P. J. PODIPARA, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Alleppey 1976; esp. Ch. 4 and 6. Note that the Author mentions the titles of 'Indo-Chaldean' or 'Chaldeo-Indian' at the beginning of this book. We acknowledge our indebtedness to this book and its Author for the inspiration to think in this line. Cfr also, ID., *The Thomas Christians*, Bombay 1970; and J. KOLLAPARAMBIL, *The Archdeacon of All-India*, Kottayam 1972. The Chaldaic term for 'Gate' is *tar'â*, 'the protection' or 'the protector'.

2. Kerala is one of the Federal States of Indian Republic in its south-west coast.

Area of India	3,125,944 sq. km.
Area of Kerala	38,855 sq. km.
Percentage	1.25
Population of India	625,818,000
Population of Kerala	25,032,720
Percentage	4.00

Kerala includes the major parts of former Malabar, known in the world as the home and habitat of the Thomas Christians. It is also known in history under several names such as, Malankara, Malavaram, Malayam, Malayalam, Malanadu and so on, all of them signifying in one way or other, 'the land of the mountains'. Anyone who makes at least a short visit to Kerala will understand immediately the truth of it. There are several opinions with regard to the etymology of the name 'Kerala', which means 'the land of palms'. The Portuguese were calling this place also by the name 'Serra'. For the statistics given above, cfr X. KOODA-PUZHA, *The Indian Church of the Thomas Christians: Chror* 1/1 (1980)41.

'Syro-Malabarians' during this time³. But, since it was an imposition without understanding the genius of this individual Church, the Thomas-Christians do not appear to have accepted it. Even though they were called 'Syro Malabarians' in Ecclesiastical documents, they continued to call themselves, 'Chaldeans' or 'Syro-Chaldeans' of Malabar even upto 1952⁴.

In the 50's of this century⁵ the limited jurisdiction of this Church was slightly expanded to the north and south, and then in the 60's and afterwards seven mission territories in different parts of India⁶ were entrusted to her care. Thus this apostolic Church is gradually regaining her ancient status as the Church of All-India. In this context, we must specially think also of the

3. In a letter written to Cardinal SALOTTI, the Prefect of the S. Propaganda Fide Congregation, by the Vicars, Parish priests and the Faithful of the 'Syro-Chaldean' churches of the Vicariates of Trichur, Ernakulam and Changanacherry, on March 19, 1899, we read:

"In addition, the above superiors recommended to the S. Congregation of Propaganda to have the name 'Syro-Chaldean' removed; agreeably to this, the S. Congregation has styled them 'Syro-Malabarites' in the 'Missiones Catholiques'".

For this information, cfr S. GIAMIL, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam*, Romae 1902, 626. This appears to be an official change in the appellation of the Thomas Christians. The Rokos and Mellus schisms induced the 'western spiritual superiors' to do this. They thought that by changing the name they can do away with all 'Chaldaic' influences in Malabar. A folly which is repeated today even by the Thomas Christians themselves! The protest of the Thomas Christians of old, both of the clergy and of the laity, against such actions of the missionaries is evident from the letter quoted above.

4. The first Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam, Aloysius Mar PAREPARAMBIL, proudly calls himself a priest of the "Syro-Chaldean Church of Malabar", in a letter written to His Holiness Pope Pius X, on November 1, 1903: "Ego...sacerdos Indianus, ritus Syro-Chaldeo-Malabarici...": cfr A. Mar PAREPARAMBIL, *An Account of a very Important Period of History of the Catholic Syrians of Malabar*, Puthenpally 1920, documents, p. 230. Cfr also, anyone of the liturgical books printed in Kerala upto 1952, with ecclesiastical approbation: the name used in them is always 'Chaldean' or 'Syro-Chaldean'. Chaldean, Syro-Chaldean, Syro-Chaldaic, Syro-Oriental, Oriental Syrian, East Syrian etc. are often used one for the other with the same significance.
5. In 1953, by erecting the Eparchy of Tellicherry, the territory of this Church was extended to the north to include the Latin Diocese of Calicut. In 1955, her territory was further extended to the north, south and east in such a manner that it covered the whole of ancient Malabar and even some adjacent regions.
6. In 1962, the Exarchate of Chanda was erected as the first mission territory entrusted to this Church to do mission work according to her own Apostolic heritage. In 1968, the Exarchates of Satna, Ujjain and Sagar were added to that. Again in 1972, two more Exarchates, Bijnor and Jagadapur, were entrusted to her. In 1977, all of them were raised to the status of Eparchies and a new one Rajkot was also added.

thousands of her children scattered all over India without any possibility of living according to their own apostolic heritage⁷.

In the Papal Bull erecting the Eparchy of Tellicherry (1953) the 'Syro-Malabarians' are mentioned as 'Chaldeo-Malabarians'. Hereafter, the Vatican sources are almost consistent in using the title 'Chaldeo-Malabarians'⁸.

In this context, it is also useful to consider the real meaning of the Semitic term *Chaldee*. According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, this term means 'Aramaic as used in OT books'⁹. Hence, this term has a biblical implication, far beyond its relation to any particular place. It signifies the spoken language at the time of Jesus in Palestine, namely, Aramaic or biblical Aramaic of the West.

It is in view of all these facts that we dare to propose this new name, "Chaldeo-Indian" to the present Syro—, or Chaldeo-Malabar Church. We are discussing immediately the origin of this individual Church and the constitutive elements involved in her formation. She is, in fact, born of a synthesis of two cultures—the Semitic and the Dravidian or the Chaldaic and the Indian. Hence, it is fitting that both these origins are expressed through her name. The title "Chaldeo-Indian" seems to imply both these heritages. Moreover, this title can stand as a symbol of the original expression of this Church, namely, the original Liturgy, which in all probability was celebrated in Chaldaic or biblical Syriac¹⁰.

In ancient times, this Church was known to the outer world under several titles such as, the 'Thomas-Christians', the 'Church of All-India', etc. Of course, the restoration of one of these titles appears to be the appropriate procedure. But we do not want to ignore the historical accidents in India, which caused the formation of many Churches and of many Thomas-Christian Churches themselves. The appellation of 'Chaldeo-Malabar' or merely 'Malabar Church' is also irrelevant when we consider the original as well as the present situation of this apostolic Church. Hence

7. The express demand of Vatican II in this regard, i. e., OE 4 and CD 23,3, is not yet put into practice in India.
8. Cfr *Nuntia* 2(1976) 3. 8-11. The President of the Pontifical Commission for Oriental Canon Law Codification is mentioned as *Metropolita Ernakulamensis Chaldaeorum Malabarentium*. The same is said also about the consultors to the same Commission from this Church.
9. J. B. SYKES, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford⁶ 1976, 164
10. All liturgical celebrations in this Church were conducted in Chaldaic or East Syriac till 1962, when she was allowed to use the vernacular too. Cfr also, P. J. PODIPARA, *The Rise and Decline of the Indian Church of the Thomas Christians*, OIRSI 31, Kottayam 1979, 6-8

the title, "Chaldeo-Indian Church", which expresses her original identity and also the present developing circumstances.

2. The Rise of This "Eastern and Authentically Indian Church"¹¹

One of Vatican II's most magnificent and magnanimous acts is the acceptance and proclamation, at least in principle, of the equality between different Churches in Roman communion, the Roman or Latin Church being one among them¹². Thus it gave new momentum to the further enrichment of all authentic traditions and ecclesial heritages. In this context, the study of each individual Church, i. e., its formation, expression, development, contribution to the universal patrimony of the One Church of God in Christ, and so on, became important fields of research study. We intend to analyse here only the 'formation' of an individual Church¹³.

Vatican II publicly proclaims and teaches that the 'Apostolic Christ-Experience' and the 'Life-Situation' of a particular community are the two constituent elements or determining factors of each individual Church:

"...the heritage handed down by the Apostles was received differently and in different forms, so that from the very beginnings of the Church its development varied from region to region and also because of differing mentalities and ways of life"¹⁴

Thus the Fathers united in Vatican II and inspired by the Holy Spirit, re-affirmed one of the basic but forgotten principles of ecclesiology, namely, the 'One Church of God in Christ' (1 Cor 1, 2) was concretized or formed and developed as 'different Churches of God in Christ Jesus' (1 Thess 2, 14). Moreover, they declared that 'none of these Churches is superior to the others because of its Rite'¹⁵, and 'they, both in the West and in the East, have the same rights and obligations.'¹⁶

11. Cfr POPE JOHN PAUL II, *II rinnovamento liturgico nelle Chiese Orientali secondo lo spirito del Concilio Vaticano II*, in *L'osservatore romano*, 30 agosto 1980, 1, where His Holiness emphasizes that this is an "Eastern and authentically Indian Church".

12. Cfr OE 3

13. Cfr E. LANNE, *art. Chiesa locale*, in *DVat II*, 797-826, for the theology of the local Church. Note that Vatican II itself uses the terms 'particular Church' and 'individual Church' to indicate a particular Rite or an Apostolic Church with a different liturgy, theology, spirituality and system of discipline, just as the Roman or Latin Church. We prefer to use the term 'individual Church' although we do not wish to show any kind of aversion to the other.

14. UR 14

15. OE 3

16. *Ibid.*

An individual Church is the concretization of the Christ-experience of one or more Apostles in the Life-Situation of a given people. She takes her root when the Apostle's unique encounter with and experience of the Risen Lord is shared to that particular group of people. Thus each individual Church is different from the others both in her Apostolicity and also in her life-situation, or in one of these constituent elements. Each of these Apostolic heritages is fully authentic and expresses clearly the unity and universality of the One Church of God in Christ¹⁷. Moreover, the Supreme Magisterium is bound to respect, preserve, develop and transmit each of these Apostolic synthesis of the one Christian faith.¹⁸

These individual Churches show their 'unity' through the same faith in Christ Jesus, and their 'universality and diversity' through the proper Apostolic heritage, expressed in each one's worship, spirituality, theology and system of discipline.¹⁹

a. The Christ—Experience of St. Thomas the Apostle

Since the Apostolic Christ-experience stands as the principal constituent element of an individual Church, one must look into the specific traits of the Christ-experience, which St. Thomas the Apostle appropriated and shared, in order to understand the genius of Chaldeo-Indian Church. This is, perhaps, a new step in ecclesiology and in theological thinking itself. This was proposed first in the book, *Indo-Chaldean Liturgy*²⁰. We return to it in this article in order to emphasize this line of ecclesiological thinking.

The only source for discussion on St. Thomas the Apostle is the Sacred Scripture. St. John and only St. John makes some specific references to this Apostle. He makes thrice such references and all of them appear to be critical moments in the flow of this Gospel's message. By giving a liturgico-theological interpretation of these three episodes in *St. John*, we come to the identity and individuality of this Apostle and his experience of Christ Jesus.

When Jesus knew that his friend Lazarus was dead, he called his disciples together and said: "Let us go into Judea again" (*Jn* 11, 7). The disciples were amazed at this decision and forbade him saying: "Rabbi, the Jews were but now seeking to stone you, and are you going there again?" (*Jn* 11,8). Jesus, however, showed

17. OE 1. 2. 5.

18. OE 2. 3. 6.

19. UR 15-17

20. V. PATHIKULANGARA, *Indo-Chaldean Liturgy*, OIRSI 30, Kottayam 1979

his interest to go and tried to convince the disciples of his decision. But they appeared to be slow in understanding what Jesus had meant. They could not take in the significance of Jesus' words that 'this illness is for the glorification of the Son of God' (*Jn* 11,4). At this juncture, St. Thomas takes the initiative and encourages his fellow Apostles saying: "let us also go that we may die with him" (*Jn* 11, 16). It must be his intimate, personal relationship and loyalty to Jesus that inspired him to take upon himself even the most trying ideal, Jesus had ever preached: "Greater love than no man has this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (*Jn* 15, 13).

It is during the last supper that St. Thomas makes his second appearance. After having spoken at length about his farewell to this world, Jesus added: "And you know the way where I am going" (*Jn* 14, 4). Exactly as it was in the former case, the Apostles could not understand the significance of what Jesus had said. When all of them stood staring at Jesus, it was St. Thomas who took courage to ask him: "Lord, we do not know where you are going; how can we (then) know the way?" (*Jn* 14, 5). Jesus, answer to this question was so spontaneous, as if he had expected such a question. "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life; no one comes to the Father but by me" (*Jn* 14, 6). These words of our Lord give one of the most important pieces of Revelation in the Sacred Scripture, the revelation of the real salvific mission of Christ. St. John selects St. Thomas from among the Apostles to be instrumental in this important piece of revelation. Why? Perhaps, since he knew St. Thomas from the very beginning of their living together with Jesus, and because Thomas was so faithful and attached to Jesus Christ.

St. John brings St. Thomas to the fore again after Jesus' Resurrection. Thomas was not there in the company of the Apostles, when Jesus appeared to them (*Jn* 20, 24). The news that all the others enjoyed the presence of the Risen Lord brought the greatest grief to him, not because he was jealous, but because he had missed that unique chance. He was so attached to the Lord that he could not restrain himself. He therefore burst out saying: "Unless I see in his hands the print of the nails, and place my hand in his side, I will not believe" (*Jn* 20, 25).

For many centuries, this Gospel passage was explained by theologians to show St. Thomas' lack of faith and consequently, this Apostle is known in western Christianity as 'Thomas the Unbeliever'. But today many biblical scholars argue that it is just the opposite. When this episode is interpreted in the total context of St. Thomas' individuality as it is revealed in St. John's Gospel, it appears to be an expression of deep faith in and intimate personal love for Jesus.

The early Syriac tradition supports this explanation of the modern scholars. Mar Basilios of Seleucia (+468) describes it not as the *unbelief*, but as the *impatience* of St. Thomas²¹. We quote here this patristic testimony from the English translation of Thomas Halton:

.....He (St. Thomas) wanted to see Jesus with his eyes and refused to believe his ears.Longing to see, Thomas protests his disbelief in the hopes that he may be allowed to see. 'You (Jesus) will dissolve my lack of faith', he says, by appearing. I will put my finger in the place of the nails. 'I will embrace the Lord whom I love.As an unbeliever I will see him, and as a believer I will embrace and enjoy him. ... I want to see the Lord, not to hear about him.'. But the Lord appeared again and dispelled both the sorrow and the doubt of his disciple. What did I say? He did not dispel his doubt, but he satisfied his desire. 'You (Thomas) looked for me (Jesus) when I was not there: now take advantage of my presence. I knew your wish in spite of your silence. Before you spoke to me, I knew what was in your mind: I am waiting on you, witnessing your impatience' ”²².

See how clear is the understanding of the Syriac tradition. Since Jesus showed such magnanimity to his Apostle, his response to Jesus was also something extraordinary. "My Lord and my God", is the most complete affirmation of Christ's nature to be found in the lips of anyone in the Gospel, states *Jerome Biblical Commentary* on the Gospel according to St. John²³. Besides all these, in this episode, we have an undisputed witness to Jesus' Resurrection, on which stands the Christian faith (1 Cor 15, 14).

This short discussion reveals to some extent the *uniqueness* of St. Thomas the Apostle and his Christ-experience. In like manner, one can analyse and bring out the uniqueness of St. Peter or St. Paul or St. James or any one among the Apostles. This uniqueness in Apostolicity enters into the very constitution and expression of each individual Church. Hence the proper Apostolicity stands as an important principle of unity and diversity in worship, spirituality, theology and system of discipline, among different individual Churches.

b. The Semitic and Dravidian Life-Situation

The second constituent element of an individual Church, namely, the Life-Situation in the case of the Thomas Christians

21. PG 28, 1081-1092

22. A. HAMMAN (ed.), *The Paschal Mystery*, "Ancient Liturgies and Patristic Texts", Staten Island 1969, 121-122. Cfr also, the *Madrasā*, 'homiletic hymn', for the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle on July 3, in BEDJAN 3, 477 and in *Hudrā* 3, 538-539

23. B. VAWTER, *art. The Gospel according to St. John*, in JBC 464

appears to be a synthesis of the Semitic and Dravidian cultural elements. In the light of the recent excavations in Indus Valley, and further researches done on the evidences gathered from there, most of the scholars have arrived at a conclusion that the ancient civilization of Harapa, Mohanjadaro and Chanbu (2nd half of the 3rd millenium B. C.) was most probably Dravidian. These Dravidians were gradually pushed to the south, as the Aryans began to occupy the north India. The people of south India are mostly of this Dravidian stock and their cultural background was predominantly Dravidian even before the Christian era²⁴.

Only four autonomous Churches developed outside the *limes Romanus*, the limits of the Roman Empire. They are the Churches of Edessa, Mesopotamia (present Iraq), Persia (present Iran) and of India. All of them look to St. Thomas as their direct or indirect Apostle. The church of Edessa held that she was founded by Mar Addai, a direct, disciple of St. Thomas the Apostle, while the Church in Mesopotamia venerate Mar Mari, Mar Addai's disciple, as her founder. The Churches in Persia and in India always stood for their direct evangelization by St. Thomas himself²⁵. Thus the Apostolic heritage of all these Churches is the same, namely, the Christ-experience of St. Thomas the Apostle.

It is almost an accepted fact that India had commercial relations with Palestine and Middle East countries even as early as 10th century B. C. We do not intend to discuss or prove here, the details of this historical fact. We only make use of the conclusions drawn by a research scholar, Fr. Thomas Puthiakunnel, in an article, *Jewish Colonies of India paved the Way for St. Thomas*.²⁶ Accordingly, the seven churches founded by St. Thomas on Malabar coast²⁷ were all situated in or very near to the ancient Jewish

24. Fr. Placid J. PODIPARA has tried to show a probable ethnical relationship between the Chaldeans of Middle East and the Thomas Christians of Malabar, of course relying on the authority of E. B. HAVELL and H. C. E. ZACHARIAS, in one of his recent books, *The Rise and Decline of the Indian Church of the Thomas Christians*, 8-9. The Chaldeans are shown to be the cultural inheritors of ancient Sumarians and the Thomas Christians of Malabar, of the ancient Dravidians. He has substantiated it both through a linguistic comparison and through the similarity in customs and usages. Cfr also, K. M. PANICKAR, *art. History of India*, in "Fodor's 1975 Guide to India", Hodder-Stoughton 1975, 114; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Garden City 1957 30; E. B. HAVELL, *History of Aryan Rule in India*, London 1918, p. 129.
25. P. J. PODIPARA, *op. cit.* 5-6 Remember that Mar Addai and Mar Mari are known as the Apostles of the East, and the first Anaphora used in Chaldaic Churches is named after them.
26. T. PUTHIAKUNNEL, *Jewish Colonies of India paved the Way for St. Thomas*. "The Malabar Church", OCA 186, Roma 1970, 187-191
27. The seven churches on the Malabar coast are, at Cranganore, Parur, Palayur, Quilon, Kokkamangalam (near the Jewish colony of Muttom), Niranam (near Quilon) and Chayal.

colonies²⁸. It proves that the original Christians of India had definite links with the Jewish people and their cultural background.

According to reliable sources, not only the Church in India, but the other three 'Thomite' Churches also had a Jewish background during their very formation. In each of those places, there were Jewish settlements of those who were left behind after the Babylonian captivity²⁹. Thus, we come to the conclusion that all these 'Thomite' Churches were formed and built up on a synthesis of two cultures—*Jewish* and *indigenous*. In the case of the Church in India, it was a synthesis of *Jewish* and *Dravidian*, i. e., *Semitic* and *Indian* cultures.

When there is such intimate unity between all Chaldaic Churches, both in the Apostolic heritage and in the life-situation, the two determining elements of an individual Church, it is in no way wise or prudent to deny any kind of identity between these Churches in their liturgical worship even at its initial stage. In this context we cannot but give due importance to the famous axiom, *lex orandi lex credendi*³⁰, which was often repeated from the fifth century onwards and re-enforced even in the latest document on worship³¹.

This formula on the one hand, proclaims that the Sacred Liturgy in the Church is the expression of her faith and the means to strengthen the faithful in matters of faith already made explicit, and on the other hand, reveals its importance in enlightening and facilitating the process of establishing certain dogmatic facts³². In this axiom, the Sacred Liturgy is recognized as one among the sources of faith. Since the Church is said to transmit to every generation all what she is and what she believes through her doctrine, life and worship³³, the liturgical celebration of a Church

28. T. PUTHIAKUNNEL, *art. cit* 190; the only exception appears to be the church at Chayal, which was then one of the famous commercial centres in Malabar, and the Jews ought to have had frequent contact with this market of forest articles.

29. G. EVERY, *Understanding Eastern Christianity*, PLS, 1 Rome-Bangalore 1978, 7ss.

30. *Lex orandi lex credendi*, is the abbreviation of a passage from *Indiculus de Gratia Dei*, a fifth century document against Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, in which are gathered a series of testimonies of the previous Roman Pontiffs about the question of grace, concluding the whole with an argument deduced from the liturgy. For the English translation of the whole passage and a detailed discussion on this axiom, cfr C. VAGAGGINI, *Theological Dimensions of the Liturgy*, Collegeville 1976, 529 ss.

31. S. Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship, *Instruction 'Inaestimabile Donum' on certain Norms Concerning Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery*, Vatican City 1980, 4

32. Cfr C. VAGAGGINI, *op. cit.*, 531

33. DV 8

must also be the expression of her faith. This general norm can be very well applied to the Churches of St. Thomas the Apostle. In fact, all these Churches celebrated and still celebrate the same Liturgy.

3. The Liturgical Life

We saw that the Christian faith is the synthesis between an Apostolic Christ-experience and a given life-situation. It is the total commitment of a particular community to the Christ-experience awakened in it through the first testimony or witnessing of the Apostle. This original experience is to be repeatedly awakened in order that this community may grow to its maturity and fullness, and then transmit it to the posterity. The specific nature of human salvation and that of the present community, namely, the characteristic of *'already and not yet'*, demands such repetitions. Each individual Church has to foresee this necessity and make arrangements for such perfect experience of the Risen Lord, *always in her own style*. In fact every Church has done it from the very beginning of her existence. The Church in India, together with all other 'Thomite' Churches has arranged it in magnificent system of the 'Liturgical Cycle'.

a. The Liturgical Year

The Chaldeo-Indian Church has a beautiful and elaborate liturgical year, in which the whole Mystery of Christ is celebrated and experienced³⁴. It begins with the 'Nativity-Epiphany' and winds up with the 'Dedication of the Church'. The whole liturgical year is centered around the most important event in the Mystery of Christ, the Resurrection. The first period in this liturgical year, namely, the *Subbarâ*, whose culmination is the Nativity of the Lord, leads the liturgical assembly also through the Old Testament experiences of expecting for the *Messiah*. Through the systematical arrangement of various periods, a gradual and full experience of the Mystery of Salvation is presented in it. In the period of the 'Dedication of the Church', which is the last one, the whole Church, being fully mature and perfected, is offered to the Father by Christ.

In this context, we can in no way ignore the importance of the Lectionary, where the worshipping community responds to the Word of God according to the gradual unfolding of the Mystery of Salvation³⁵.

34. V. PATHIKULANGARA, *The Liturgical Year of the Syro-Malabar Rite: EphLit* 90/2 (1976) 173-196; T. FEDERICI, *Teologia Liturgica Orientale*, 1, "BibbiaeLiturgia" 7, Pro manuscripto, PIL, Roma 1978, 177ss. esp. 248-256
35. Cfr *Ordo Celebrationis*, pp. 43-70, for the Lectionary of the Chaldeo-Indian Church. Cfr also, T. FEDERICI, *Parola di Dio e Liturgia della Chiesa nella Costituzione Sacrosanctum Concilium: Notitiae* 15/ 12 (1979) 648-722, to understand the relevance of God's Word in the Liturgy.

b. The Ra 'za' or Qurbana'

The Ra'za', 'Mystery' or *Qurbana'*, 'Offering', namely, the Eucharistic Liturgy in Chaldeo-Indian Church, is the summary of the whole liturgical year, and the centre of all Christian activity. She enjoys a full and complete experience of Christ in this celebration. It is, in fact, a full expression of the Church. All the spiritual and even the secular activities of the Church must draw their vitality from it. We will explain it in detail afterwards.

c. The Sacraments

Although, one can have an experience of the Lord in its fulness in the Eucharistic celebration, there are still some moments in human life-situation, or better in Christian existence, when man feels God's predilection for him and when God bestows his choicest blessing on him. On those unique and exclusive occasions of man's life, he ought to take critical decisions and give a complete response to God's compelling call. Man must do this not only by himself, but also in the context of his community, the Church, in order to relate it to the totality of the Christ-Event. These are the different Sacraments in the Church.

The Sacraments are always explained otherwise in different manuals and treatises. In the new awareness of the Bible and Liturgy, as the Call of God and positive human response, this explanation seems to be coherent and more revealing.

d. The Liturgy of the Hours

Time and seasons are the gratuitous gifts of God given to men to enrich his life in this world and help him to enjoy it better. At the same time, only man is given the power to understand their real value and use them fruitfully. The salvific call of God is extended to man through time and seasons. Hence, naturally man is bound to give response to this divine call. The Church as the assembly of God's own people, is bound to arrange some celebrations for this too. She has achieved it through the development of the 'Liturgy of the Hours'. The Chaldeo-Indian Church has a magnificent arrangement of liturgical celebrations³⁶ according to her liturgical cycle. The celebrations are arranged according to the gradual unfolding

36. Cfr V. PATHIKULANGARA, *Divine Office in Malabar Liturgy: EphLit* 88/ 6 (1974) 131-141

of the Mystery of salvation, so that the worshiper is easily drawn into an ecstatic experience of the Christ-Event.³⁷

e. *The Sacramentals*

There is another set of prayers and rites existing in each individual Church. They owe their relevance to their relation and resemblance to the Sacraments. These prayers and rites took shape in certain particular historical and liturgical contexts. They too should naturally reflect the special liturgical spirituality of each individual Church.³⁸ Unfortunately, the Chaldeo-Indian Church has failed miserably in this regard. Of course, the rites and ceremonies for the departed are strictly according to the spirit and genius of this particular Church. All others are blind imitations of the Latin Church. This situation is all the more lamentable, as most of them had a purely western context and cultural background both in their origin and development. Even those who are somehow fanatic after inculturation, at the expense of several constitutive and internal values of this particular heritage, have never thought of a re-examination of this much easier problem³⁹.

37. According to Vatican II, the Liturgy of the Hours is the prayer of the Community, the prayer of the whole Church: cfr SC 83-101, esp. 83. 90. 99. 100; OE 22. When we understand it in the proper context of the term *Ekklesia*, the Church, it includes the lay people too. Hence, the Liturgy of the Hours is the common prayer of everybody in the Church, whether they are priests or religious or lay people. The discriminative attitude of the clergy, even today in mentality, to restrict it as the official prayer of priests and religious, prescribing a few 'non-liturgical' exercises of piety to the laity, can no more be justified. We hope and pray that the members of each individual Church, the laity together with the priests and religious, fully conscious of their own history and traditions, may try to feel and experience the Risen Lord, through the celebration of the same Eucharist, the same sacraments, and the same Liturgy of the Hours, during the unfolding of the proper Liturgical Year. The Chaldeo-Indians had such a Christian vision and Life-style, till their Rite and Liturgy were forcefully latinized and mutilated in and after the 16th century. The Churches which separated themselves from them only because of such latinizing process, still continue the cherished practices of ancient days. They preserve even today, the most healthy custom of praying a part of the Liturgy of the Hours in their homes. We do not know whether the Chaldeo-Indians will restore this most noble and healthy example of their sister Churches!

38. SC 13

39. There are also prayers such as rosary, way of the cross, Novenas etc., which we conduct in community; still they are all in the realm of private prayers. Of course, the Church has encouraged the practice of such devotional exercises: only that we have to distinguish them from the liturgical celebrations. The liturgical worship amounts to be the *existential duty* of the Church. The *Qurbanâ*, the *Sacraments* and the *Liturgy of the Hours* are the constitutive elements of liturgical worship. These can never be substituted with private devotions and prayers; nor should such devotions diminish the priority enjoyed by the liturgical prayers. It is also ridiculous to call such private prayer-forms 'Liturgical', making them somehow resemble the liturgical prayers of the Church.

4. The Ra'za' or Qurbana', the Eucharistic Liturgy

After having discussed the origin, the expression and the development of the Chaldeo-Indian Church in general, we concentrate on her central celebration, the Eucharistic Liturgy. The hieratic language of this Church was always Chaldaic, the North-Eastern dialect of Aramaic, which in its Galilaic dialectical specification was spoken by the Lord Jesus. From all available documents, it appears that this Church was greatly devoted to this language and everything given in it.⁴⁰ Since 1962 she began to celebrate the *Qurbana'* also in the vernacular.

The most important *sources*, which were helpful for the present study are:

- (1) the Writings of the Portuguese missionaries,
- (2) the Three Letters of Mar Jacob, the Bishop of the Thomas Christians from 1503 to 1550,
- (3) the Narrations of Joseph the Indian, a Thomas Christian priest, before Pope Alexander VI in 1501,
- (4) the Decrees of the Synod of Diamper in 1599, and
- (5) the Liturgical Books of all Chaldaic or Thomite Churches.

a. *The celebration in the Past*

When we search into the history of the Chaldeo-Indians, we see that they were "Hindu in culture, Christian in religion and Syro-Oriental in worship."⁴¹ They were very close to their Hindu brethren in their religious life, attendance in the church-functions, the church-architecture, and so on. The ancient Thomas Christians in India, as an individual and Apostolic Church, appears to be a model to the modern missionary or theologian or ecclesiologist, who ardently desire to build up a Christian community in its actual life-situation.

There is the testimony of MONSERATE and several other foreign missionaries that the churches and chapels of the Thomas Christians were exactly as those of their Hindu brethren.⁴² A cross on the roof and another one in the open square in front of the church distinguished a Christian church or chapel from a Hindu temple.⁴³ A model for such construction can still be seen at Chengannur, the Jacobite Orthodox church.⁴⁴

40. J. WICKI (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, 5, Roma 1948-62, 416s.

41. P. J. PODIPARA, *Hindu in Culture, Christian in Religion*,..., *OstSt* (1956) 84-104

42. A. DE MONSERRATE, *Information de los christianos de S. Thomè* (1579), MS Roma-Goa 33, f. 149v

43. *Ibid.*

44. Cfr *Der Christliche Osten* 26/5 (1971) 160-161. The photo on p. 160 is the Jacobite Orthodox church at Chengannur of 12/13th century; that on p. 161 is the characteristic raised construction over the sanctuary of the Thomas Christian Churches, the Cathedral church of Palai; mark the St. Thomas Cross over it.

The faithful in this Church are pious and naturally prone to practise their religion. The circumstances in which they are born and brought up might have helped them to practise their religion more fervently. They had great devotion to the Holy cross and the Eucharist. According to Melchior N. BARRETO, who visited the Thomas Christians together with the Bishop of Cochin in 1563, they participated even in the 'Liturgy of the Hours' very fervently.⁴⁵

Just as their Hindu brethren, before going to the church, they used to wash their bodies and put on newly washed clothes. If anyone could not do so, he would not go to the church, or if he did, would not enter the church; for, they thought that only those who were clean of body and clothes were worthy of entering the church. At the entrance of the church, they used to wash again their hands and feet, and the wells used for such washing can still be seen near several ancient churches and chapels. Entering the church, they used to make a profound inclination, the head touching the floor, first to the Cross in the main chapel, then to the chapel of the Baptismal font on the right side and lastly to the chapel on the left side, where the Eucharistic Gifts are prepared. Then they would join the community in prayer.⁴⁶

They used to sing loudly and participate actively in every function in the church. Fasting and renunciation were always considered as necessary factors for the acceptance of their prayers. Hence they observed fasts even which were not strictly obligatory. With his general background, we enter into the celebration of the *Ra'za'* or *Qurbana'* in this Church.

The Frequency of Celebration

There is some difficulty to determine how frequently the Eucharistic Sacrifice was celebrated among the Thomas Christians before the 16th century. Although there is the testimony of PENTEADO against the frequent or daily celebration,⁴⁷ one needs not take it very seriously, because he was writing his impressions after his first contact with the Thomas Christians. But there are also some other testimonies such as of Matheus DIAS, a latinised Thomas Christian, and of DIONYSIO, the Rector of the Cochin College. According to DIAS, the Bishops from Babylon ordained many without giving them permission to celebrate the *Qurbana'*.⁴⁸ According to DIONYSIO, the main office of *catbanars* (priests) was to recite the Divine Office in choir; they did not baptize or celebrate

45. J. WICKI, *op. cit.* 5, 416

46. ID, *Ibid.* 3,805

47. A. DA SILVA REGO *Documentação para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, India*, 3, Lisboa 1947-58, 548

48. *Ibid.* 4, 478; A DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149

the *Qurbanâ*⁴⁹. These documents appear to be a false interpretation of the Eucharistic celebration in the East, in the background of Western practice. The norm in the East is One celebration on One altar in One Church on a day. Not that every priest celebrates individually, as it is the custom in the Western Church.

The Vestments and the Ministers

The vestments used for the *Qurbanâ* was a large piece of cloth in the form of an amice and over it a stole, which they called *orario*.⁵⁰ According to most of the testimonies, the *Qurbanâ* was celebrated only with two ministers, preferably deacons. MONSERRATE, however, mentions the permission given by Mar Joseph to laymen to assist at the *Qurbanâ*.⁵¹ The *Qurbanâ* was always celebrated on the altar at the eastern side of the church with a Cross facing the celebrant.⁵²

The Eucharistic Bread

In all probability, the bread used for the *Qurbanâ* was fermented, although JOSEPH THE INDIAN spoke to the Venetians of the use of azyme among the Thomas Christians⁵³. PENTEADO wrote that it was wheat bread mixed with salt and olive oil.⁵⁴ According to Melchior CARNEIRO, the *Qurbanâ* could not be celebrated without a certain oil which they mixed with wheat flour and the Christians say that NESTOR was condemned by the Pope for having stolen this oil from Rome. They consecrated with this oil and with wheat flour and with Portuguese olive oil.⁵⁵ BARRETO wrote in 1561 that the *cathanars* consecrated fermented bread mixed with a certain oil, which they believed, was consecrated by our Lord.⁵⁶ The description of the Eucharistic bread given by MONSERRATE is interesting:

“Previously they had many rites in the Mass, which they call *Qurbanâ*, meaning oblation; because they make a round loaf of

49. *Ibid.* 12, 400

50. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149

51. *Ibid.*

52. Cfr Durate BARBOSA, *An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants* (1518), Eng. ed by M. L. DAMES, London 1918, II 101

53. *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino Intitolato* (1508), facsimile in *Vespucci Reprints*, Text and Studies 6, London 1916, 158

54. A. DA SILVA REGO, *op. cit.* 3, 548; D. BARBOSA, *op. cit.* 2, 101

55. J. WICKI, *op. cit.* 3, 805

56. *Ibid.*, 5,417: about the *fermentum sacrum* of Chaldeans, cfr HANSSSENS II 169-74

rice with a ball in the middle, don't know whether of the same material, or of wheat flour; I do not know whether only this ball is consecrated or the whole loaf; the case is this that the celebrant consumes the ball and the loaf is distributed to the people, in which even if the ball is of wheat flour, an intolerable error is committed, because the people think that they are receiving communion⁵⁷.

SOLEDADA also wrote that the Franciscans, among other things, corrected the abominable error of consecrating the sacrosanct Body and Blood of Christ in cakes of rice and wine of palms⁵⁸.

The bread was baked by *Chemmasanmar* (the Malabarised form of the Syriac word *sammase*, meaning minor clerics), generally on the terrace over the altar. They used to recite Psalms while baking the bread. The bread thus baked for the day, was brought to the celebrant wrapped in a fresh leaf, preferably a lotus leaf⁵⁹.

The Eucharistic Wine

As regards to the wine used, apart from the statement of SOLEDADA, all agree that it was made out of dried grapes by putting it in water and then pressing out the juice; this juice was consecrated. The reason was that the wine did not grow in Malabar. The dried grapes or raisins came from Catay (China) according to JOSEPH THE INDIAN, and from Mecca and Ormuz according to BARBOSA⁶⁰. MONSERRATE was of opinion that owing to the large quantity of water, used in the process of making wine, the consecration was invalid⁶¹.

The Incense

The Eucharistic Liturgy was never celebrated without incense, with which the inner and outer parts of the chalice and all other things used for the *Qurbana'* were incensed. They used to incense the sanctuary and also the people assembled during the *Qurbana'*. The people, when they were incensed, used to make certain wavings with their hands in order to make the smoke come to them⁶². This action emphasises the sin-removing and penitential aspects of the incense.

57. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149

58. F. DA SOLEDADA, *Historia Seraphica da Ordem dos Frades Menores de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal, Continuator da obra de Frei Manuel Esperanca, que apresenta este mesmo titulo, III, que eo primeiro que escreveu*, Lisboa 1705, 916

59. J. PLACID, *Nammude Ritu* (Malayalam), Mannanam 1951, 34-35.

60. *Paesi Novamente* 198

61. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149; J. PLACID, *Nammude Ritu* 35

62. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149. According to DIONYSIO, the second stage in the punishment of a priest, was to deny him incense during the Divine Services. Cfr A. DA SILVA REGO, *op. cit.* 12, 402s

Some Other Specialities

Whenever the celebrant turned to the people during the *Qurbana*, they said: *slama* 'amkon, 'Peace be with you'⁶³. After the Gospel reading there was Homily. The Creed recited or sung in the *Qurbana* was the Nicene Creed⁶⁴. There was only one elevation during the *Qurbana*, the chalice being never elevated. At the elevation all people rose up and bent their heads down to the floor and said that they were not worthy of seeing it⁶⁵. The Eucharistic bread was divided into many parts, according to PENTEADO, and he gives no reason for so doing⁶⁶. But MONSERRATE says: "They do not break the host into three parts as we do, but only into two and one of the parts is dipped into the Blood, and after having got it wet in the Blood, with it the other portion is wetted in several places"⁶⁷. Here he might be speaking of the consignation, which the Chaldeo-Indians continue to perform even today, namely, the signing of the other portion in the form of the cross.

The Holy Communion

The communion of the faithful was in both species.

PENTEADO gives the following description of the communion: "When the priest has finished communicating, he comes with the ministers (without whom he cannot celebrate), one of whom carrying the divided Sacrament, while the other bearing the Chalice, and stands in the middle of the ministers near the door of the chapel (sanctuary). First the men approach the celebrant to receive communion. Each communicant approaches with his arms crossed on the chest, the right arm over the left. The celebrant taking the Sacrament places it on the right palm of the recipient and he places it in his mouth; then he moves to the right and communicates the Blood applying his mouth to the rim of the Chalice. After the men, the women do likewise"⁶⁸.

BARBOSA's description, although shorter, agrees with PENTEADO's: "They communicate with the salted bread instead of the host, and consecrate thereof sufficient for all who are present in the Church; they distribute the whole of this as if it were blessed bread, and every man comes to the foot of the altar to receive it from the priest's hands"⁶⁹.

63. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149

64. *Ibid.*

65. A. DA SILVA REGO, *op. cit.* 3, 359

66. *Ibid.*

67. Cfr. A. RAES, *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalium*, Roma 1947, 97ss.

68. A. DA SILVA REGO, *op. cit.* 3, 548ss.

69. D. BARBOSA, *op. cit.* 2, 101

M. CARNEIRO found in one of the churches of the Thomas Christians a chalice of copper which would contain half an *almude*⁷⁰, from which all used to communicate, "for, they have this error, namely, that all communicate under both species...⁷¹".

According to MONSERRATE, the Holy *Qurbana* ended with a Gospel which was read by the celebrant facing the people⁷². He might be speaking here of the *Huttama*, the final sealing and blessing over the faithful, which is rather long and is filled with many biblical allusions and quotations.

b. A Reappraisal of Portuguese Testimonies

The testimonies of the Portuguese missionaries prove the fact that the Thomas Christians had scrupulously followed the rites and the structure of the *Qurbana*, of the Chaldaic family. The great reverence they showed to the Holy Eucharist was always an amazing fact to the foreigners. Against this background it would be meaningful to discuss elaborately the different rites of the *Qurbana* itself. But, due to the limits of this study and of the similar articles in this collection, we give only the detailed structure of the *Qurbana*, and short explanations on certain special elements of this structure. Before doing that, we would like to give our remarks on certain observations of the Portuguese missionaries.

The Holy Communion under Both the Species

It is not a novelty to the modern reader, but it was an "abominable error" to the Portuguese missionaries of the 16th century⁷³. Those missionaries who were imbued with the Counter-Reformation spirit after the Council of Trent, may not be accused. But the priests and missionaries of all ages are bound to study the history of the Church and of the Liturgy. Nobody can deny the existence of Communion under double species in the early Church. Gradually it was reduced into one species due to several reasons. But it happened *only* in the Latin Church. The Eastern Churches, on the other hand, faithfully kept up this Apostolic practice all through the ages. The Thomas Christians, being an Apostolic Church, was trained in the early discipline of the Catholic Church. Their relations with the other Churches of the Chaldaic Family only helped them to keep up and foster their Apostolic patrimony. Thus in the 16th century the Thomas Christians had a way of worship very close to that of the early Church. They continued this practice of Holy Communion under both the species at least up to the end of the 16th century. Most probably it was changed in the so called

70. 5 to 30 liters: Cfr A. M. MUNDADAN, *Traditions of the St. Thomas Christians*, Bangalore 1970, 167

71. J. WICKI, *op. cit.*, 3,805

72. A. DE MONSERRATE, *op. cit.* f. 149

73. J. WICKI, *op. cit.* 3,805

Synod of Diamper in 1599. There are documents upto 1581, which show communion under both the species⁷⁴. There is no need to discuss the significance of this practice in this Post-Vatican II era.

The Celebration of the *Qurbana* in Cakes of Rice and Wine of Palms

Our Lord Jesus instituted the *Anamnesis* of the Mystery of Salvation accomplished in him, under the species of bread and wine, the ordinary food and drink of the people of the place, where He perfected that Mystery. Rice is the ordinary food of the Thomas Christians of India. Malabar, the abode of the Thomas Christians, is a land of Palms, and it seems that its present and most ancient name, *Kerala* or *Keralam*, is derived from *Keram*, which means coconut palm⁷⁵. The "wine of palm" or the fermented Juice taken from the palms, namely, 'toddy', is the common alcoholic drink of the people of Kerala. But till recently no one from a noble family dared to drink it in public. Hence, it is very difficult to believe that it was used for the celebration of the *Qurbana*. To all probability, the "wine of the palm" in this context must be the *cocomilk*, the sweet liquid inside the coconut⁷⁶. Even today it is considered as lustral and as an object to placate the deity by their Hindu brethren. It has thus an added sacred character, while toddy, the fermented juice is not so.

Moreover, we are discussing here, the traditions of an Apostolic Church. Whatever be their drawbacks, from all known documents we understand that they were very faithful in preserving their traditions. It was this fidelity that helped them to survive and continue in faith in spite of all the vicissitudes, they had to encounter. We must think that their conviction with regard to the matter of Eucharistic celebration is a part of this Apostolic Tradition. Hence, whenever it was possible for them to get wheat bread and wine of grapes, which our Lord himself used, they used them. But when it was impossible to get these materials, what to do? Should they totally abstain from the celebration? In fact, at times, it was very difficult for them to get wheat and grapes which they bought from Persia and China.

c. The Celebration of the *Qurbana* Today

It is a historical fact that the *Qurbana* of the Thomas Christians was highly latinized and painfully mutilated during and after the 16th century. The open attempt of latinization came from

74. J. PLACID, *Nammude Ritu*, 71

75. K. V. K. AYYAR, *A History of Kerala*, Coimbatore 2 1968, 2

76. PAULINO DA S. BARTOLOMEO, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, Romae 1796, 136: "La messa era puramente Nestoriana: Consagrarsi in vino di coco dagl'Indiani chiamato 'Tagaram' od 'Araacca'. L'ostia era una pasta di farina di grano mescolata con olio e sale. Questa ostia si faceva discendere per un buco dall'alto sull' altare del celebrante".

Alexis de MENEZES and his unauthentic Synod of Diamper in 1599. The words of Dr. Adrian FORTESCUE is worth quoting in this Context. He writes:

“The only case in which an ancient Eastern Rite has been willfully romanised is that of the Uniate (?) Malabar Christians, where it was not the Roman authority but the misguided zeal of Alexis de MENEZES, archbishop of Goa, and his Portuguese advisers at the Synod of Diamper, that spoiled the old Malabar Rite”⁷⁷.

The will of the Roman Pontiffs were always the contrary. For example, we quote here the words of His Holiness Pope Pius XI:

“Si nonnulli, nimie unitatis concordiaque amore compulsi cum non satis Orientalium res atque indolem cognoscerent, vel sacros eorum ritus corrumpere vel eos ad Latinos ritus redigere enisi sunt, at Romani Pontifices, decessores nostri, hisce nisibus pro facultate, nullisque parcendo laboribus, obstiterunt”⁷⁸.

We do not enter into the process of latinization and mutilation; but restrict ourselves to a short analysis of the text of the *Qurbana*, prepared by the special commission set up for that by the S. Congr. for Oriental Churches, evaluated by the Plenary Session of the most Eminent Cardinals who compose this Sacred Congregation, approved by His Holiness Pope Pius XII on June 26, 1957 and put in execution by the hierarchs of the Chaldeo-Indian Church on July 3, 1962.

The Liturgical Books

The following liturgical books are included in the Papal approbation of 1957:

Taksa' d-Quddāsa: It contains the text of the *Qurbana* with the Anaphora of the Apostles Mar Addai and Mar Mari. It was first printed in Chaldaic at Alwaye in 1960. The same text with many of the prayers translated into the vernacular (Malayalam) was again printed at Alwaye in 1962. Its English-Hindi version was published from Allahabad in 1970.

Ordo Celebrationis “Quddasa” juxta usum Ecclesiae Syro-Malabarensis, Romae 1959. It is in Latin and it gives the rites and rubrics for the different forms of celebrating the *Qurbana*, together with the Ecclesiastical Calendar and indication for the readings, Sundays, Feast days and Ordinary days.

Supplementum Mysteriorum sive Proprium Missarum de Tempore et de Sanctis juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Syro-Malabarensis, Romae 1960.

77. Quoted from *Catholic Encyclopaedia* in J. PLACID, *Nammude Ritu* 85-86

78. *Motu proprio, Sancta Dei Ecclesia*: AAS 30 (April 25, 1948) 154

It is a collection of the variable parts of the *Qurbana*⁷⁹, according to the restored Ecclesiastical Calendar, given in Latin.

The Three Forms of Celebration

According to the restored rite, there are three and only three forms of celebrating the *Qurbana*. They are, the Solemn Form, the Most Solemn Form or *Ra 'za'* and Simple Form⁷⁹.

The Solemn Form: It takes the place of the solemn High Mass in the Latin Rite. All the directions needed for the celebration of this Form is given in the *Ordo celebrationis*⁸⁰. Although the ideal for this celebration is two deacons, a thurifer, two acholities and a trained sanctuary choir to assist the celebrant, all of these ministers may be substituted by trained laymen performing the respective functions. The number of the ministers also can be reduced according to the circumstances and needs.

The Most Solemn Form or Ra 'za': At present, it has no equivalent in the Latin Rite. The ministers are, the Archdeacon (always a priest), two deacons, and other ministers as for the solemn form of celebration. All these ministers except the Archdeacon, may be substituted by trained laymen. It is in the *Ra 'za'* that we get the complete structure of the Chaldaic Eucharistic celebration.

In the Pontifical Solemn Celebration, besides the Archdeacon, another priest may also assist the Bishop. He is usually called by the name *Qaijuma*⁸¹. The order of the celebration is the same as that of the *Ra 'za'*. The difference is in the use of the crown, pastoral staff and hand-cross by the bishop. The assisting priests may also help the bishop by singing certain orations and even by reading the Gospel. All the details are described in the *Ordo Celebrationis*⁸¹.

The Simple Form: It is not to be confused with the "Low Mass" of the Latin Rite. There is no 'Low Celebration' among the Orientals. But *de facto* it may look like such a celebration. It is the *Qurbana* celebrated by one priest, at least with the help of one minister. Often the prayers are recited in a particular tune. The use of the incense is provisional for such celebrations. Similarly certain prayers and *propriae* by omitted or abbreviated according to the directions given in the liturgical books. All these directions are summarised in the *Ordo Celebrationis*⁸².

The Text of the *Qurban* at the Time of Diamper

Though it is clear that the Malabar Church used the *Qurbana* of the Chaldaic Family at the time of Diamper, not much is known

79. *Ordo Celebrationis* . 8

80. *Ibid.* 8-24

81. *Ibid.* 30-39

82. *Ibid.* 25-29

regarding its exact text. From the decrees of the Synod of Diamper one could get some idea, by way of explaining the corrections prescribed; at times, it gives also the full or partial texts on which it worked.

R. H. CONNOLLY in his study, *The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy*, argues that the liturgy prior to Diamper could be traced from the decrees of the synod, and that it was the Chaldaic Liturgy, though it was different, in certain cases, from the standard 'Nestorian Liturgy'⁸³.

Comparing the Diamper text with a few manuscript text of the Chaldaic Liturgy of the Apostles, Douglas WEBB has shown that the text on which the synod worked, and hence in use in the Malabar Church in the period immediately preceding the synod, was a composite Chaldaic text 'containing many features which do not usually appear in the ordinary manuscripts', and that its parts were composed mostly after the Alqosh type manuscripts⁸⁴.

Since none of the Chaldaic Missal as revised in the synod has come down to us, we may try to reach it only through an exploration of the Acts of the synod and of the Latin version of the *Qurbana* which GOUVEA gives, perhaps basing on the synodal decrees and the then existing Malabar Missals⁸⁵. R. H. CONNOLLY making a comparative study between the GOUVEA's text and the English translation of the Chaldaic Liturgy given by BRIGHTMAN, proved that the text of the Malabar *Qurbana*, even after the reform in Diamper, remained substantially Chaldaic⁸⁶.

The Synod was aware of the several anaphoras used in the Malabar Church. Actually it mentions three, in addition to that of Addai and Mari: Theodore, Nestorius and Diodore⁸⁷. It is difficult to identify the last one since the East Syriac MSS. do not contain

83. R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy*: JTS 15 (1914) 396-425. 569-589. Until recent times the scholars considered the Urmia text *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Addai et Mari*, Typis Missionis Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis 1890, as the standard one. Its English translation is *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Addai and Mari*, SPCK, London 1893.

84. D. WEBB, *The Versions of the Malabar Liturgy and the Manuscripts*: "The Malabar Church" 45-54. See also, ID., *Antonio de Gouvea's Version of the Nestorian Liturgy of the Apostles*: Studia Patristica 5,3, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 80 Berlin 1962, 213-240. According to him, the manuscripts of the East Syriac *Qurbana* could be grouped into two: the complete texts with full rubrics and prayers, and the incomplete ones which do not give the full rubrics and texts. The first standard type is called Alqosh type.

85. GOUVEA, *Jornada* gives the Latin text in the Appendix without pagination.

86. R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy*: 396-425

87. *Mansi*, 1250

an anaphora under the name of Diodore. But whatever it be, the synod forbade the use of any anaphora other than that of Mar Addai and Mar Mari.⁸⁸

The synod also suggested the use of a Syriac translation of the Roman Mass since it is shorter, and hence, according to the synod, more convenient for the daily celebration of the Liturgy.⁸⁹

Changes in the *Qurbanā*'

The Changes in the text of the *Qurbanā*', prescribed by the synod amount to forty.⁹⁰ They can be thus distinguished: six in litanies, seven in hymns or anthems, four in formulae pertaining to the deacon, one in a response of the people, one in the text of the gospel lesson, one affecting the whole creed. In the prayer of the priest, there are five in the pre-anaphoral part, four within, the anaphora and eleven in the four variable *huttame*' (sealing prayers).

Many of the changes were in view of doctrinal integrity. Thus fifteen of the changes concern the names of reference to Christ. This was a protection against Nestorianism: the simple titles like *Christ*, *Jesus* and *the Son* were amplified into expressions like, "Jesus Christ His Son our Lord."⁹¹ In the same way the title "Mother of Christ" referring to Mary was changed into "Mother of God."⁹² Four changes were intended to substitute the name of the Chaldean Patriarch with the name of the Pope.⁹³

The liturgical style of naming in anticipation the bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ was to be abolished.⁹⁴ So also the names of Nestorius, Theodore and Diodore were to be removed from the commemoration.⁹⁵ In the Creed, canon 116 directed the addition of the phrase, *Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*, and the substitution of *filius essentiae Patris* with *consubstantialis Patris*. Actually, the Syriac word *bare kjana*' means the same as the *homousios* which term was transliterated as *heumasios*. The net result of the changes was to make it conformable to the creed in the Roman Missal.⁹⁶ Following the Roman liturgical laws of the time, the synod prohibited the clerics

88. *Ibid.*, Canon 121

89. *Mansi*, 1251, Canon 123

90. For their list, see R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy* 572-73

91. *Mansi*, 1250, Canon 120

92. *Mansi*, 1245, Canon 111

93. *Ibid.*

94. *Mansi*, 1246, Canon 113

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Mansi* 1247, Canon 116

below the rank of subdeacons to touch the sacred vessels (canon 124), and those below the deacons to use the stole (canon 126)⁹⁷. The bread for the Eucharist was to be pure wheat bread, and the wine pure Portuguese wine (canon 126)⁹⁸. The synod also ordered the use of consecrated altar stones, and chalices of valuable metal (canon 129)⁹⁹.

In the peoples response, "May Christ hear your prayers"¹⁰⁰, the synod made some modification with the addition from the Roman *Teigitur*, "et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicae Fidel cultoribus" (canon 117).¹⁰¹

In the rite of Fraction, the synod "detected" a sacrilegious and impious action. After breaking the bread into two, the priest dips the one in the right hand in the chalice, and with that sign the other part in the left hand. Then he holds both parts together in his hands, and in order that the moistened and the bended part of the host in the right hand may not fall apart, he presses that moistened part against the loaf in the left hand. The synod considered it as a reflection of the Nestorian faith which, according to the "misunderstanding" of Menezes, held that the Body of Christ did not contain the Blood. The synod, therefore, thought that the priest, by pressing the moistened loaf against the other during the rite of Fraction, was trying to infuse the Blood into the Body. The synod prohibited such a practice (canon 122).¹⁰²

Institution Narrative

It is a well-known fact that the Institution Narrative does not appear in the early manuscripts of the anaphora of Addai and Mari¹⁰³. Though the synod of Diamper (1599) speaks about it as it existed at the time of the synod (canon 109-110)¹⁰⁴, it does not give any specific information about its source.

In a study on "The Malabar Liturgy", BURKITT pointed out that the Chaldean bishops who came from Mesopotamia were responsible for this addition, since they changed the liturgical texts "at will". The addition, says BURKITT, was made by a bishop

97. *Mansi* 1251

98. *Mansi* 1253, Canon 126

99. *Mansi* 1255

100. BRIGHTMANN, p. 274

101. *Mansi* 1248

102. *Mansi*. 1251, Canon 122

103. For a Bibliography on the studies pertaining to this issue, see, J. VELLIAN, *The Anaphoral Structure of Addai and Mari compared to the Berakoth preceding the Shema in the Synagogue morning Service: Le Museon* 85(1972) 201-222

104. *Mansi* 1243

105. BURKITT, *The Old Malabar Liturgy* 157

“after the Nestorian revival of 1490”¹⁰⁵. This opinion is evidently based on the suggestion of GOUVEA (1606)¹⁰⁶.

In 1944, Alphonse RAES brought to light foglio 101 of the manuscript *Vat. Syr. 66* of Mar JOSEPH (1566), in which there is the Institution Narrative¹⁰⁷. But there it is written right at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Apostles¹⁰⁸.

The synod, in its observations on the Institution Narrative, stated that the *verba consecrationis* should be the same as in the Roman Missal¹⁰⁹. A comparative study of the Diamper text with those of Mar JOSEPH and the Roman Missal shows the truth of this statement. Both the texts, that of Mar JOSEPH and of Diamper share several things in common with the Roman Missal, namely:

1. “On the day previous to his suffering”
2. omission of “which is broken for you”
3. “and raises the chalice a little above the altar”¹¹⁰
4. “the chalice of my blood.”

At the same time, JOSEPH and Diamper have their own specialities too:

1. “In truth” seen in the consecration of bread and wine
2. the position of “and whenever you eat this bread and drink this chalice...”

106. In a Portuguese introduction to the Latin version of the *Qurbana* given in the Appendix of his *Jornada*, GOUVEA makes the following observation (Latin translation by RAULIN): “Cumque praeterea tamipsi Christiani, quam ipsorum praesules Chaldaei, quie Babylone illuc mitte bantur, summarum ignoratione laborarent, eo devenerunt stultitiae, ut quilibet pro suo libito, etiam consecrationis formae aut verba adiiceret, aut detraheret, Antistes autem quidam, qui rei Ecclesiasticae, Divinarumque Scripturarum ampliori prae aliis eruditione pollebat, errores, qui formae consecrationis subreperant, sedulo expunxit, ne de veritate fidei erga Sacramentum dubium ullum suscitari posset; verum insuper consecrationis formam restituit, nonnulla etiam maioris explicationis gratia adjunxit, verba, ut errorem quoilli erant imbuti, nempe quod in Eucharistia figura tantum corporis Christi existeret, procul ab eorum animis propelleret, ... in forma igitur consecrationis panis, ita disposuit Archiepiscopus ille verba: *Hoc est in Veritate corpus meum*; et in consecratione Calicis hae alia: *Hicest in Veritate Calix sanguinis mei, qui pro multis effundetur, in debitorum propitiati onem, et in peccatorum remissionem, et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum*, quae quidem foma hactenus obtinuit” (RAULIN, 1291-292)

107. A. RAES, *Le Recit l'Institution Eucharistique dans l'Anaphorae Chaldeenne et Malabare des Appotres*: OCP 10 (1944) 218. This manuscript contains a Syriac version of the Latin rite of Ordination (fol. 1-10), a Chaldean Pontifical (fol. 11-100), and the Liturgy of the Apostles addai and Mari, the anaphora of Theodore, and a few lessons and prayers (101-128).

108. According to ASSEMANI, the first and last part of the manuscript were written by Mar JOSEPH of Malabar (+ 1569): cfr BO 2, 370.

109. *Mansi* 1244, Canon 110

110. *Ibid.*

3. "and this will be for you a pledge for ever."

The text of Mar JOSEPH contains the characteristic expression of Eastern Rites at the beginning of the institution Narrative: "In the night in which he was to be betrayed."¹¹¹ That is not kept in the Diamper text. The clause, "and this will be *for you* a pledge for ever", was changed in the Diamper into "and this will be *for us* a pledge *until the end of the world*", since the "pledge" given to us is for so long as we are away from the Lord.¹¹²

In Diamper text, the Institution Narrative is given after the *Epiclesis* and before the Fraction. It is placed outside the anaphora. In Mar JOSEPH, the rubrics indicate that it is recited at the end of the Fraction.¹¹³ This too is outside the anaphora.

It could be that already before the synod of Diamper, possibly in the synod of Angamaly in 1583, which dealt with the *Qurbanā*, the Institution Narrative was shifted to an earlier place, i. e., before the Fraction.¹¹⁴

Epiclesis

The synod of Diamper was very sensitive about the *Epiclesis*. In the anaphora of Addai and Mari, there is no allusion to the changing of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ by the work of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵ Hence, Diamper did not modify it. But it dealt with the hymn, "When the priest enters the sanctuary"¹¹⁶, which appeared at the Fraction, in which reference is made to the invocation of the Spirit to consecrate the bread and wine. The synod decreed to leave out the expression: "The priest invokes

111. For features of the Eastern Institution Narrative, see, L. LIGIER, *La struttura della Preghiera Eucharistica: EphLit* 82 (1968) 208-210

112. *Mansi* 1244, Canon 109

113. The indication as to recite just before the Pauline salutation to which a signing by the priest on himself is added. This signing is made at the end of the Fraction. In the *Qurbana* there is another Pauline esalutation, with the signing on the elements at the beginning of the anaphora.

114. Jesuit report of 1600/1601 suggests: "un dei dotti padri... li ordino anco la messa caldea" (BELTRAMI, p. 259).

115. See the text in BRIGHTMAN 287-88

116. The priest when he enters before the holy altar neatly stretches his hands heavenwards, and invites the Spirit

and He descends from above

and sanctifies the Body and Blood of Christ.

This hymn also appears as the anthem of the Mysteries of the seventh Sunday of the period of the Apostles (*Supplementum* 121-22; as an eucharistical anthem of the Dedication of a church (Chaldaic Pontifical in Syriac, Rome 1957, p. 145; as a proper hymn at the Ordination of priests (*Ibid.*); and as hymn in the *Lelja* of the sixth and seventh Saturdays of the period of the Apostles (BEDJAN 3, 151.168).

For a study of this hymn see A. RAES, *Une Onitha Eucharistique dans les Rites Chaldeen et Malabar: L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1957) 49-64.

the Spirit who comes down from heaven.”¹¹⁷ It is clear that the synod understood this hymn as epicletic. The position of this hymn, i. e., among the hymns of Fraction which immediately followed the Institution Narrative, tended to take such a conclusion.¹¹⁸

The Structure of the *Qurbanā*¹¹⁹

A. *Enarxis*

Puqdanakon, “Your Commandment”: An official formula requesting the permission of the community to begin the Eucharistic celebration. It is a typical Malabar custom at the beginning of all communitarian activities or celebrations.¹²⁰

Puqdaneh da-Msihā, “The Command of Christ”: The response of the community, which brings to light the explicit command of our Lord to celebrate his memorial (1 Cor 11, 24)

Tesbohtā..., “Glory to God in the heights” (Lk 2, 14): ‘Christ has come’: the first tangible call of God, extended to men for his salvation. This symbol sets the scene of the whole celebration.

Abun d-ba-smajjā, Our Father: It is a special composition of the Lord’s Prayer. This is a typical human response to the call of God, fully in the biblical background, a response in which both the past and the future are joined in the present.

Slotā, Oration: An official prayer which introduces the psalmody.¹²¹ Special orations are prescribed for the Sundays, Feast-days and ordinary days.

Mranitā, the Psalmody: A set of three psalms; they usually bring out the OT background of the Incarnation with due emphasis on the special phase of the Mystery celebrated.

De-Qankē, “The Anthem of the Rails”: This hymn introduces the community to the special phase of the Mystery celebrated, relating it to the Cross.

117. *Mansi* 1248, Canon 118

118. According to BOTTE, when the Institution Narrative was inserted, the Epiclesis was pushed back, and this hymn, which was epicletic, was separated from the Epicletical prayer (the order in the text is: Epiclesis, Institution Narrative, Hymn- cfr *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954) 63-64. But it is to be noted that today this hymn goes with the ceremony of prostration in the *Ra’za*.

119. We give only the structure of the Most Solemn Form of Celebration, i.e. the *Ra’za*. This can be shortened to suit the less Solemn and Simple Forms of celebration, but without doing any violence to the genius, theology, spirituality etc., of this Apostolic Tradition.

120. In the present situation, *Puqdanakon* and *Puqdaneh da-Msiha* may be changed as follows:

Celebrant: My dear brethren, shall I begin this celebration with your permission?

Community: The Command of our Lord and the Imposition of hands do authorise you to do this!

121. Some authors interpret it as a collect.

Rite of Incensing: It is a rite of purification, which sanctifies the community and the place of worship. The sanctuary, the nave and the community are being incensed in this rite.

Laku-Marâ', the Song of Adam: It is the Resurrection-Hymn, which introduces the community to the essential theme of the celebration. It is always preceded and followed by the typical orations.

B. The Liturgy of the Word

Trisagion, the Thrice Holy Hymn: It is a hymn to the most Holy Trinity¹²², which shows the readiness of the community to hear the revealed Word of God. It is concluded with a typical oration of the celebrant.

Qerjanê', the OT Readings: There are two OT Readings, one from the *Law* and the other from the *Prophets*. The special phase of the Mystery emphasised in the celebration, as it is revealed in the Books of the Law and as foreseen by the Prophets is announced through these readings.

Surjâ', the Responsorial Psalm: It is in fact the response of the worshipping community to the call of God in the OT.

Slotâ', an Oration in which the help of God is requested to understand and assimilate the Word of God.

Turgammâ', the Homiletic Hymn: The essence of the Epistle to be read is sung in the community for better assimilation.

Sliha', the Apostle: In the Epistle reading, the special phase of the Mystery as experienced by the Apostle and transmitted to us, is proclaimed.

Zummarâ', the *Hallelujâ'* Hymn: The exclamation of joy in hearing the Word of God in the Gospel.

Blessing of Incense: The smoke of incense going upwards throughout the Gospel reading symbolizes our continued response to the call of God, proclaimed in the Gospel.

Evangalion, the Word of God as it is written down is proclaimed in the worshipping community.¹²³

Karozutâ', the Proclamation Prayer: It is the response of the community, assimilating the Divine Word. Special intentions to be retained through out the celebration are also added here.

Preparation of the Eucharistic Gifts: It is done by the celebrant or by the Archdeacon (always a priest) during the *Karozutâ'*

122. At least to the Churches of the Antiochean Family, it is a Christological formula. They make changes in the final clause according to the Feasts of our Lord.

123. In other Chaldaic Churches, there is a *Turgamma'* after the proclamation of the Gospel.

prayer. It is highly symbolical and praise-worthy that the Eucharistic Gifts, which are the symbol of the toils, afflictions and aspirations of the community, are prepared, while the community offers up their intentions.

Prayer of Imposition of Hands: A special blessing imparted to the Catechumens, before they are sent out. In the present context, it is an invocation on the faithful.

Dismissal of the Catechumens: In the Chaldaic Order of celebration, here comes the special formula of dismissal.

Whether they are used or not, they give us special insight to the Eucharistic theology of this Church.

C. The Transference of the Gifts

The Rite of Prostration and of the Threshold: The celebrant convinced of his sublime but awful power, humbles himself before God, making prostrations before His Majesty. He attributes the whole mystery of sanctifying the people's offering to the work of the Holy Spirit, ignoring his own instrumental participation in it. The prayers and hymns contain eucharistic, epicletic and sacerdotal elements.

De-Rā'zê', "The Anthem of the Mysteries": This is the hymn during the transference of the Gifts. It varies according to the Sundays and Feast-days.

Washing of the Hands: A symbolical gesture of internal purification, before transferring the Gifts to the altar.

The Great Exodus: It is the Procession of transferring the Gifts to the altar. It goes from the *Bet-Gazâ'* to the *Bemâ'*, and therefrom to the Altar, symbolizing the Lord being led to *Gagultâ'*, and therefrom to the Sepulchre. It signifies also the intermingling of the heavenly and earthly choirs in this celebration. The prayer during the presentation of the Gifts is a masterpiece of Christology.

Veiling of the Gifts: It symbolizes the burial of our Lord.

Conclusion of the Anthem of the Mysteries: It is an invariable hymn and celebrates the memory of the Virgin Mother, the Apostles, especially of St. Thomas the father and patron of Chaldaic Churches, the martyrs and saints, all the departed who are buried in the hope of Resurrection, and the power of fasting, prayer and contrition of heart for the pardon of sins.

Nicean Creed: After an introductory prayer, comes the universal Creed of the Church, recited or sung before any solemn and official action of the Church. Of course, the Eucharistic celebration is the most solemn action of the Church.

Proclamation of the Deacon: The community is invited to pray for everyone in the Church, the living and the dead.

Formal Entrance: It is now that the celebrant officially enters the sanctuary. The transference of the Gifts and their presentation are to be normally led by the Archdeacon. Although the celebrant confesses his own unworthiness, he expresses his confidence in the mercy of God and in the prayer of the community.

Kusapa': A supplication of the celebrant because of the awareness of his own sins—a necessary condition to render praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, for the accomplishment of human salvation.

D. Anaphora

Gehantâ' I: Praise and thanksgiving—the essential action of any memorial celebration. It is a perfect model for biblical prayer. It is a praise and thanksgiving in general terms.

Exchange of Peace: In accordance with the command of the Lord: "If you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift" (*Mt* 5, 23–24).

Announcement of the Deacon: The usual announcement at the beginning of all Oriental Anaphoras, reminding the community about the tremendous Mystery celebrated, and the need for a total conversion of heart.

Unveiling of the Mysteries: A preparation for the great Eucharistic prayer. The accompanying penitential prayers are recited by the celebrant in a low voice.

Incensing: Again a symbol of purification, adoration and ascending prayer.

Sursum Corda Dialogue: The usual beginning of all Eucharistic prayers. The divine plan of salvation, the priest as mediator, the proper function of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharistic celebration, etc., are the principal themes developed in it.

Kusapa': A penitential prayer to create the proper awareness of our fallen state and to understand better the value of the Redemption.

Gehantâ' II: Remembering the creative action of the Father, the worshipping community renders praise and thanksgiving.

Sanctus: The 'Holy' hymn, according to the vision of the Prophet Isaiah.

Kusopa': A supplication deepening the awareness of our miserable state. It includes also a request of the celebrant to the community for helping-prayer, and the prayer of the community which is purely Christological.

Gehantâ' III: Remembering the redemptive work of the Son, the community renders praise and thanksgiving.

Institution Narrative: It comes in the middle of the third *Gehantâ'*. The rite and mode of singing it separately on the Body and Blood symbolizes the death of the Lord Jesus.

Anamnesis: This part of the third *Gehantâ'* stands in the place of *anamnesis* and is concluded with a *Qanônâ'* of praise and thanksgiving.

Announcement of the Deacon: In order to remind the community again of the awefulness of the Mystery and the need of prayer.

Great Intercession: The celebrant prays for the whole community, both the living and the dead, both the present and the absent. After this, the celebrant, conscious of his unworthiness, requests again the prayer of the community and it prays for him in a special way with the usual Christological formula.

Gehantâ' IV: Remembering the works of the Spirit in the present economy, the community renders praise and thanksgiving. This prayer flows into the Epicletic prayer.

Epiclesis: Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which according to the Pauline theology signifies the Resurrection of the Lord in this Eucharistic celebration.

Doxology: The conclusion of all Anaphoras, rendering praise and thanksgiving to the Lord.

E. Rite of Reconciliation

Prayer to Christ: A perfect Christological prayer—the summary of the Pauline theology in his captivity Epistles.

Penitential Psalms: *Ps* 51 and 122, which express the compunction of heart.

Rite of Incensing: Symbol of purification and propitiation, where too there are certain typical Malabar additions.

Elevation: This is the only elevation in Chaldaic *Qurbana'*. The Holy Mysteries are presented to the community before Fraction.

Fraction and Consignation: Broken for the pardon of sins and for distribution; the Consignation shows the unity.

Kusapa': This prayer with the accompanying rite appears to be a reminiscent of the ancient "Rite of Atonement".

Litanical Prayer: Through this prayer the community proclaims its peace, after having pardoned each other.

Prayer of Absolution: The natural conclusion of the Rite of Reconciliation.

F. Rite of Communion

The Lord's Prayer: It is recited or sung with an introductory prayer and concluding *Embolism*. It is the prayer of the

children of God, who are already reconciled with the Father through the 'Rite of Reconciliation'.

Pax et Sancta Sanctis: Solemn invitation to communion is followed by the community's confession of faith in the Most Holy Trinity.

Dhil-'at: On very important feast days, a special prayer to celebrate the special phase of the Mystery remembered.

Prayers before the Communion; These prayers is accompanied by the communion of the celebrant and the ministers.

D-Bem, "The Anthem of the *Bema*", it is the communion hymn, sung from the *Bema*'.

Bat'e: Invitation to communion: which too just as *D-Bem* varies according to Sundays and Feast days.

Communion of the rest of the community: first priests, then the other clerics, men and women.

Purification of the sacred vessels and the accompanying prayers.

G. Rites of Thanksgiving and Conclusion

Thanksgiving: Separate prayers for the community, the Deacon and the Celebrant, in which the others take part with appropriate responses; most of these prayers varies according to the occasion of the celebration. The second prayer of the celebrant is always Christological.

The Lord's Prayer: as in the beginning.

Huttamâ: The final sealing prayer-this too varies according to the occasion.

Farewell to the Altar: It is borrowed from the Maronite Liturgy; still, it is fully according to the genius and spirit of Chaldaic Liturgy, and explains clearly the significance of the Altar.

The Holy and Divine Liturgy of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church

The Holy and Divine Liturgy of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church

by
Eftimios Skaf

Notes on the Melkite Greek Catholic Church

In the Patriarchate of Antioch, there were Byzantine faithful in communion with Rome at all times. It never has broken off its relations with St. Peter's see officially. Nevertheless, around the 16th century, there was a vast unionist movement, especially in the principal centres of Christianity in the Near East: Aleppo, Damascus and Saida. The presence of Jesuits, Carmelites, Franciscans and Capuchins there contributed much to the promotion of this movement and its organization according to the Western ecclesiological insights of the century.¹

In 1724, the unionists elected themselves a Patriarch Kyrillos VI Tanas, nephew of the great apostle of the union, Archbishop Aftimios Saify of Tyre and Saida (+ 1723). Since then, they have been called by Rome "I Greci Melkiti", the Greek Melkites. Their brethren who have remained faithful to the local Church, call themselves Greek Orthodox. In 1772, the Patriarch of the Greek Catholics received jurisdiction also for the two other Melkite patriarchal sees of Alexandria and of Jerusalem which he added to his title.

Actually, the Patriarchs of the two Churches are: for those in communion with Rome His Beatitude Maximos V Hakim, with the title of Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem; for the Orthodox, His Beatitude Ignatios IV Hazim, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East.

1 J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite, du V au XX siècle*, Louvain-Paris 1979, 37-47; J. Hajjar, *Les chrétiens uniates du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1962, 114-122. 200. 213; A. Raheb, *Conception de l'union dans le Patriarcat Orthodoxe d'Antioche*, Beirut 1981, 15f.

As there are no recent statistics available², we may estimate the number of Greek Catholics to almost one million. They are dispersed in the different countries of the Near East, in Europe, the two Americas, Australia and Africa. Their brethren, the Antiochian Orthodox are scattered under the same heavens, their number being slightly superior.

For more precisions, let us explain the terms which identify the Melkite Greek Catholic Church.

It is *Greek*. This term should not be taken in an ethnic sense, because it is the translation of the Arabic word "Rûm" meaning citizen of the Roman Empire which the Arabic historians call the "Kingdom of the Rûm." We recall here the fact that the word Byzantine to signify the Roman Empire from the beginning of the 4th century, came into use rather late. Besides, Ibn al-Assal calls the Greek language "rûmi".

Melkite The Semitic root mlk from which the adjective Melkite is derived, means king. The term itself translates the qualitative *basilikos* which was attributed to the Chalcedonians in Egypt. The Monophysites, dissatisfied by the definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451) which was supported by Emperor Markianos, used this nickname to designate all those who had accepted the decisions of this council. The Arabic historians apply this term to the Maronites, Armenians and Latins.³

Catholic. Though this qualitative is claimed by the Orthodox Church and the other Oriental Churches, it has been reserved to the Melkites and it has also passed into their civil identity.

When we speak of the Melkite Greek Catholic liturgy, we have in mind the Byzantine liturgy practised by the Antiochian Orthodox and the whole Byzantine family.

The Holy and Divine Liturgy of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church

Comparing the contribution of Constantinople to its liturgy and that of Antioch to the liturgy of Constantinople, we arrive, at the end, to that truth which St. Basil of Caesarea has affirmed: "For the Churches of the whole earth, what could be more vital than

2 The official source of the statistics for the Greek Catholics is at least the *Oriente Cattolico*, published by the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Citta del Vaticano 1932, 1962 and 1974. Other, non-official, sources of information contain statistics: I. Dick, *Christian Orient* (in Arabic), Harissa 1975, 123. Our number reflects the impression of the Greek Catholic Patriarchal Curia. See P. F. Ridolfini, *Oriente Cristiano*, Le Luse 1977, 115f.

3 H. Zayat, *Les Grecs Melkites en Islam*, Harissa 1953.

Antioch?"²⁴ From the Oronte, the liturgy migrated towards the Bosphorus. After having offered their art and their spirit, the Antiochians continued to render their contribution. And when it was perfected, it came back to its land of origin, not as a stranger, but in the way a plant is returning to the soil from which it has been drawn. The liturgical synthesis of Byzantium carries indelibly the mysterious mark of Antioch.

Our study comprises:

- I. The liturgy of Byzantium and the Antiochians
- II. The Antiochian identity of the Byzantine liturgies
- III. The liturgical language of the Antiochians
- IV. Instead of a commentary
- V. Is it possible for the Melkite Greek Catholic Church to initiate a liturgical reform?
- VI. Liturgical vessels and instruments; liturgical vestments; liturgical books

I. The Liturgy of Byzantium and the Antiochians

It is not possible to speak of the Byzantine rite without taking into consideration one of its most important sources. The liturgical authors limit their studies to the anaphora, to the moment where the Byzantine liturgy, almost entirely, recalls the same Antiochian origin. This is why the Melkites, when practising the Byzantine liturgy, find themselves at home.

Consequently the liturgy of the time which determines the strong moments of God's intervention into the life of his people, its essential structures, the sense of its celebrations, the texts which express it and the chants which interpret them, have all the same source.

1. The liturgy of the sanctification of the time

Today we are better informed about the origins of the *typicon* or Book of Ceremonies, the *Ordo* of Church. The works of A. A. Dimitrievsky and Mansvetov which A. Schmemmann resumes, have established that the Jerusalem tradition of this book, attributed to the Monastery of Mar Sabbas, in its last and definite recension, has been effectuated by the monk Nikon of the Black Mountains, abbot of the monastery of St. Simon of the Miraculous Mountain, not far from Antioch, in about the 11th century. Should we not remind that this typicon has become that of the Byzantine Church? The Studite tradition, second typicon family, produced but local typica which, in their basic structure, do not differ from the Mar Sabba

Y. Courtonne (ed.), Saint Basile, Letters, Paris 1957, I 158.

typicon.⁵ So, in the 11th century, an Antiochian monastery was charged to compile the basic book, the typicon, for the Byzantine Church.

The liturgy of the sanctification of the time comprises the two cosmic periods: Matins and Vespers, sunrise and sunset. In the modern Byzantine mystagogy,⁶ they were transfigured to the eschatological time. Let us also mention that the Office of the Sixth and of the Ninth Hours keep its Christic rhythm from the Apostolic Constitutions which are of uncontested Antiochian origin, while the Third Hour, its pneumatic sense, takes its roots from the rules of St. Basil.⁷

Let us add that the ancient monuments of the Byzantine hymnography were transmitted to us by the same Constitutions.⁸ This leads to the statement that "the land of election of Christian hymnography has been very early the Syro-Palestinian region."⁹ It was not only in the early period of the Church, but, from the 5th century, it will become the soil of choice where the flower of the Byzantine hymnography flourished. So we can affirm the Antiochian paternity of the three kinds of Byzantine hymnographical compositions: the *Troparion* is of Auxentios (5th century), the *Kondakion* of Romanos the Melode (490-560), and the *Canon* of Andrew of Damascus, bishop of Crete (+ 692). These and their countrymen John of Damascus, Cosmas of Maiuma, Theodors and Theophanes the Branded Ones (Grapti), originally from Karak... may claim half of the hymnography.

Let us remind that the hymnographic compositions were written according to easy melodies so that the congregation could sing them without difficulty. Their music is not Greek, as we may have thought. Because "We may assume that a core of the Byzantine chant, as of Plainsong, goes back to the early days of the Church and therefore to the practice of Christian communities in Palestine and Syria. That have been only recently accepted by students working on the development of Christian music. For a long time the view was held that Byzantine chant derived from Greek classical music, as that Plainsong originated in Rome or, according to a modified theory, in the Eastern Empire."¹⁰ Consequently, in the Byzantine music, we find the chant of our ancestors.

5 A. Schmemann, Introduction to Liturgical Theology, London 1970, 159f.

6 Ibid. 164; P. Evdokimov, L' Orthodoxie, Paris 1950, 245; F. X. Funk (ed.), Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, Paderborn 1905, 540 (L. VIII, 34).

7 St. Basil, Great Rules, Q. 37: PG 31, 1013B.

8 Funk 454-459 (L. VII, 57).

9 Grossdidier de Matons, Romanos le Melode et les origines de la poesie religieuse a Byzance, Paris 1977, 14.

10 E. Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, Oxford 2 1962, 42f.

2. The Divine Liturgy

Coming to the holy and divine liturgy, called hierourgy and theourgy with regard to its sacred or divine aspect, liturgy to stress its communitary character, holy, because the Holy, of the holies is the offering one and the offered, mystagogy, in so far it introduces us into the heart of the mystery which is the Logos of God the Father, Word proclaimed through out the centuries and commemorated in the Liturgy of the Word or incarnate and died for our redemption, celebrated in the liturgy of the Eucharist. Let me recall that these different names given to the eucharistic synaxis have their origin and their signification with that Antiochian author, the mysterious Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita.¹¹

To be convinced of the Antiochian origin of the liturgy of the Word, it is recommendable to read the description which St. John Chrysostom gives in his homilies and which J. Mateos resumes thus; "When we examine the ancient documents dealing with the Antiochene and Byzantine Liturgies, the writings of St. John Chrysostom, for instance, we find that the Liturgy began with a greeting of the bishop to the People: 'Peace be with you.' Immediately after responding to this greeting, the people sat down and the Holy Scripture was read to them."¹³ This simple line which is found in the most ancient documents of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, was obscured by the interpolation of rites and the addition of processional prayers before the entrance of the bishop. But after the Gospel, we find the line of the Clementine liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions which was commented upon by Chrysostom himself.¹⁴

What distinguishes the eucharistic liturgy of Antioch from those of Rome and of Alexandria, is, before all, the structure of its anaphorae.¹⁵ After the glorification of the All holy Trinity, during a

11 Theourgy: *De coelesti Hierarchia*, C. VII, II: PG 3, 208 CD; Hierourgy: *De ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, C. I, 4: PG 3, 376C; Mystagogy: C. I, I: PG 3, 372A.

12 J. Mateos, *The evolution of the Byzantine liturgy*: John XXIII Lectures, Bronx, New York 1966, 76; *St. John Chrysostom*, In Matth. 32 (33), 6: PG 57, 384-385; *Ad Iudaeos* 3, 6: PG 48, 870; In Col. 3, 4: PG 62, 323.

13 *Funk* 479f. (L. VIII, VI).

14 This is the common order of all the Antiochian liturgies: Praise and thanksgiving, introduction to the Sanctus, prayer after Sanctus, narration of the last supper, anamnesis and offertory, epiclesis, intercession and doxology. A. Hanggi-I. Pahl, *Prex eucharistica*, Fribourg 1968, 204.

15 P. E. Gemayel, *Avant-Messe maronite* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 174), Rome 1965, 139: "So the Syrian liturgies, rather similar in the beginning, slowly diversified, because of proper additions introduced respectively after their separation in the faith." The project of division which we present is based on the general principle: *Lex credendi est lex orandi*. Among all the authors we have consulted, a division similar to ours is only in F.-J. Moreau, *Les liturgies eucharistiques*, Paris 1924, 29.

prayer addressed to the Father, the Antiochian anaphora passes to all the Three Persons describing their respective part in the economy of salvation. In modern language, we would say: a contemplation bearing two shelves: that of the theological Trinity, in herself, and that of the economic Trinity, in her works ad extra. The sense of the trinitarian appropriation is very advanced which eventually would place the elaboration of such a prayer to a period in which the trinitarian theology was already very much developed or even accomplished either by the definitions of the councils or, especially, by the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers. This is also because, after having celebrated the Father and commemorated the works he has done, to be thanked for, and having described those of the Son during the anamnesis and the offertory, it passes to those of the Third Person, the Holy Spirit. The Father is invoked to send him—this is the epiclesis—that he bless, sanctify the bread and the wine making them manifest as the Body and Blood of Christ; then intercession is made for his work, the Church, that of the departed and that of the living. In this way, the order of the Trinity is observed, the circuit of her economy is passed through, each person according to his hierarchy: one only epiclesis which is continued by the intercession for the Church.

3. The shared robe

This liturgy was unique for the whole territory of Antioch. But the Diocese of Orient the centre of which was Antioch, comprised vast territories and peoples of various cultures. This factor in itself would have sufficed to divide the vast patriarchate, especially when being weakened by the heavy blows of the fourth century: the Meletian schism, the ambitions of Alexandria to dominate the Orient and the promotion of Constantinople to the dignity of the first see, in 381, after that of the ancient Rome. The successive wars between the Sassanid Empire and the Byzantine Empire, the Nestorian, Monophysite and Monothelite nationalistic movements which were raised by heresy, accelerated, in their turn, its disintegration and were at the origin of the creation of diverse Antiochian liturgical families¹⁶:

A. Liturgy issued from Nestorianism comprising the Nestorian rite, the Chaldean rite and the Malabar rite;

B. Liturgy issued from Monophysitism comprising the rite of the Jacobites, the Syrian Catholics and the Malankarians;

C. Liturgy issued from the Aramean nationalism being the Maronite rite;

16 We deliberately have avoided the word Monothelite contesting the Maronites to stress the reason of this new liturgical family, which would be the Aramean nationalism. See *P. Naaman*, *Théodore de Cyr et le Monastère de Saint Maroun*, Beirut 1971. The author defends there the national origin of the Maronite rite.

D. Liturgy issued from the Armenian nationalism: Armenian liturgy or rite of the Gregorians and of the Armenian Catholics
 E. Byzantine liturgy: Antiochian liturgy on the shores of the Bosphorus, celebrated with the participation of the Vasilevs (emperor) and his court in the church of Aghia Sophia. Because "the Byzantine liturgy was not born in Byzantium, but at Antioch, and it was shaped at Antioch or elsewhere before it was brought there".¹⁷

We have preferred this classification to that of East and West Syrian liturgies: to the first belonging A, while to the latter B-E. This division contributes to confusion between East Syriac and West Syriac. The first comprises A and B, the second C.

Besides, our classification would easily explain the diversification of the Melkite liturgy from the other Antiochian liturgies. Several authors refer to its byzantinization in the 12th and 13th centuries¹⁸ when the Syro-Palestine Melkites contributed their best compositions to the Byzantine rite. In that line, the Melkite liturgy would be that of Byzantium, and the liturgy of Byzantium that of the Melkites, by mutual contribution of proper elements.

From the other Antiochian liturgies, the Byzantine liturgy is distinguished by the number of its anaphorae restricted to those of St. John Chrysostom and of St. Basil. The liturgy of St. James the Minor—the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem—is used only once a year, on October 23, in Jerusalem, Cyprus and Zante. The Holy Synod of the Melkite Church has authorized its use, in the session of August 1977. The edition of the text is awaited to put the synodal decision into practice.

Aside the eucharistic liturgy, the Byzantine rite has a Liturgy of the Presanctified Species. It is celebrated on aliturgical days, i. e. on days on which the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy is prohibited.

II. The Antiochian Authenticity of the Byzantine Liturgy

Since long, the critique has established that the texts attributed to Proclus (434-446), Patriarch of Constantinople and successor

17 L. Bouyer, *Eucharistie, theologie et spiritualite de la priere eucharistique* Paris 1966, 142; S. Salaville, *Liturgies orientales*, Paris 1932, 14f. divide the Syrian rites in East Syrian, West Syrian and Asiatic Syrian. The Byzantine rite is included in the last. The same division is followed by I.-H. Dalmais, *Liturgies d'Orient*, Paris 1980, 46-57. N. Edelby, *Liturgicon*, Beirut 1960, 11 f.; I. Dick, *Qu'est -ce que l'Orient chretien?*, Paris 1965, 44f.; A. -G. Martimort, *L'Eglise en priere*, Paris 1961, 16-24 divide the Antiochian liturgy in Eastern and Western.

18 C. Charon, *Le rite byzantin et la liturgie chrysostomienne dans les patriarchats melkites: Chrysostomika*, Rome 1908, 493 f.; Edelby 14.

of St. John Chrysostom, are of Constantine Palaeocapa (-1574). According to these texts, St. Basil would have shortened the anaphora of St. James, and Chrysostom that of St. Basil.¹⁹ The modern critique, especially that applying the principles of compared liturgy, preconizes that the anaphora of St. Basil would be but the development of the same text on which the form called "Chrysostomian" would depend; and this would be nothing else than the Greek text of the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles or that of Nestorios.²⁰

1. The Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom²¹

Several attempts have been done to establish the texts related to the eucharistic celebrations, from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom.²² The aim was to prove, in this way, the authenticity of the liturgy attributed to him or, at least, to reconstitute that which he explains. These attempts only confirmed its Antiochian origin, but did not succeed in solving the question of authenticity.

However, the comparison of the anaphora of Chrysostom with that of the Twelve Apostles and of Nestorios, threw a great light on its origin and revealed the link of relationship existing among these three texts. This allows the conclusion that "the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom seems to have been, in the beginning, simply the liturgy which was used in Antioch when he exercised his priestly and then his episcopal ministry there. It is possible that he took it with him to Constantinople. It does not seem him to be its author, but only its revisor."²³

The anaphora of the Codex Barberini 336 of the 8th century equally does not offer a helping proof, because this manuscript which is the most venerable of the liturgical manuscripts, while attributing the liturgy to the Saint, assigns, in the text itself, two prayers to him in a special manner, namely that of the catechumens and that of the offertory²⁴, disavowing thus the general attribution

19 Tractatus de traditione divinae missae: PG 65, 848-852; F.-j. Leroy, Proclus, de traditione divinae missae, un faux de C. Palaeocapa (-1574): *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962) 288f.

20 A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, Chevetogne 1953, 23; G. Khouri-Sarkis, *L'Origine syrienne de l'anaphore byzantine de St. Jean Chrysostome: L'Orient Syrien* 7 (1962) 3-68; *Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles: Prex Eucharistica*, Fribourg 1968, 265-268; *Anaphora of Nestorios*: *ibid.* 387-396.

21 A. Raes, *L'authenticité de la liturgie byzantine de St. Jean Chrysostome: Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 24 (1958) 14; L. Bouyer 273-281; H. Engberding, *Die syrische Anaphora der Zwölf Apostel: Oriens Christianus* 1937, 213f.

22 F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896, I 471-481; C. Kucharek, *The Byzantine Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Allendale 1971, 107-145.

23 Bouyer 273.

Several authors have studied the Codex Barberini 335. They examined it and tried to assign it to a land of origin. According to Brightman and Wilmart, this manuscript would have been copied at Constantinople in the first years of the rule of Constantine V. It was immediately brought to Italy to be presented to an ecclesiastical dignitary.²⁵

Considering, however, the three prayers particular to the liturgy of Chrysostom in this manuscript, we are obliged to revise this opinion. In effect, the prayers of the prothesis, of the Isodos and of the Trisagion, proper to the liturgy of Chrysostom in this manuscript, are different from those of the liturgy of Basil, which precedes it there. Without insisting on the Antiochian character of the prayer of the Isodos (entrance) which sees in the entrance of the bishop that of the Church²⁶ and not that of the angels, we deal here a little longer with the prayer of the Trisagion. This prayer is a copy of that which is found in the service of blessing the Nile river.²⁷ Since this prayer is alien both to the tradition of Constantinople and of Italy, we are forced to find the conclusion of A. Jacob plausible:

“The presence of these Oriental euchological elements is perfectly understood, if one has in mind the exodus of monks from Palestine and Egypt, when the first persecutions broke out under the rule of Islam. On their arrival in Italy, the Oriental monks whose principal liturgy was that of St. Basil, had to integrate in the Byzantine milieu there. The liturgy of St. John Chrysostom began only with the prayer of the catechumens. So they profited from the absence of prayers in the first part of the liturgy of Chrysostom, to insert there prayers of their country of origin which was dear to their hearts.”²⁸

Lacking the whole part preceding the Gospel procession and different from the liturgy of St. Basil as regards the prayers of the

24 Text published by *Goar*, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, Venice 1730, 84; Brightman 315-319.

25 *A. Strittmatter*, *The Barberinum S. Marci* of Jacques Goar: *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933) 329-367; *A. Jacob*, *L' Euchologe de Porphyre* Uspenski, cod. Leningrad grec 226 (Xe s.): *Museon* 78 (1965) 203-211; *A. Wilmart*, *La benediction romaine du lait et du miel dans l'Euchologe Barberini*: *Revue Benedictine* 45 (1933) 11.

26 This is the text of the prayer in the Barberini: “Benefactor and Artisan of the entire creation, receive the Church which comes forward and accomplish what is fitting to everyone and lead (us) all to the perfection and make us worthy of your kingdom.”

27 *M. Black*, *Rituale Melchitarum*, a Christian Palestinian Euchologion, Stuttgart 1938, 30; *A. A. Dimitrievski*, *Description des manuscrits liturgiques conservés dans les bibliothèques de l'Orient Orthodoxe*, Kiev 1901, *Euchologes* II 268.

28 *A. Jacob*, *La tradition manuscrite de la liturgie de St. Jean Chrysostome*, VIII-XII s.: *Eucharistie d'Orient et d'Occident*, Paris 1970, II 137f.

prothesis, of the entrance of the Evangelion and of the Trisagion, the liturgy of St. Chrysostom which had occupied, in certain manuscripts, the second place, arrived at being placed in the first place. This transfer was accompanied by the addition of the prayers of the three antiphons and the suppression of its euchological particularities. The new text hails from the 11th century.

Basing on the euchological particularities of the Codex Barberini 336, A. Jacob divides the manuscripts in two groups.

The first group comprises the following manuscripts: the Euchologion Barberini, cod, Gr. no. 336 of the Vatican library which is of the 8th century²⁹; the euchologion of Porphyry Uspensky, the Leningrad Gr. 226 of the 10th century; the script reveals its Italo-Greek origin³⁰; Grottaferrata F. b. VII of the 10th century³¹; Grottaferrata Gb. IV of the 10th century³²; Grottaferrata Zd. II of A. D. 1090³³

The second group: the Euchologion Sevastianov 474 of the 10th century³⁴; Jerusalem stavrou of the 11th century. The Latin translation of the liturgy of Chrysostom published by A. Pelargus at Worms in 1541: This translation was made on a manuscript of before 1035. It renders the actual form of the liturgy of Chrysostom³⁵. Next to this publication can be placed the Arabic translation of C. Bacha and that in Georgian published by A. Jacob which both rely on a text of the 11th century.³⁶ Finally the translation of Leon Tuscus which makes us know the liturgy, as it was celebrated in the Great Church of Constantinople between 1173 and 1178.³⁷

It is easy to determine the place of origin of the manuscripts of the first group. All are Italo-Greek, but this is not the case with regard to the second group. The only exception is the Jerusalem Stavrou 109 which is of Constantinople, as A. Grabar has shown.³⁸ "Consequently, a conclusion imposes itself. The

29 Ibid. 114.

30 *Id.*, L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski 173-214.

31 *Rocchi*, Codices cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae ferratae in Tusculum digesti et illustrati, Grottaferrata 1883, 257-259.

32 Ibid. 251-253.

33 Ibid. 502-503.

34 *Jacob*, La tradition 126.

35 Ibid. 129.

36 *C. Bacha*, Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite: Chrysostomica Rome 1908 410-469; *A. Jacob*, Version géorgienne, Muséon 1970, 85-119.

37 *A. Jacob*, La tradition 130-132.

38 *A. Grabar*, Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures: Dumbarton Oaks Papers 8 (1954) 161-199.

true ancient tradition of Constantinople is represented by the Euchologion Sevastianov and the manuscripts related to it."³⁹

2 The Anaphora of St. Basil⁴⁰

The liturgy of St. Basil of Caesarea (c. 379) resembles, its exterior form, that of St. John Chrysostom. Only its secret prayers are different. It is celebrated ten times a year: on January 1st, the Saint's feast; on the paramony of Epiphany, January 5th; on the first five Sundays of Great Lent; on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday; on the paramony of Christmas, December 24th. On the paramonies and on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday, the liturgy is celebrated in connection with the Office of Vespers. If the paramonies fall on a Saturday or Sunday, the liturgy of St. Basil is celebrated outside Vespers on the days of Christmas and Epiphany.⁴¹ This anaphora is found in the manuscript tradition in three forms⁴²: 1. the first is short and in the Coptic language; 2. the second, also in Coptic, with additions to no. 1; 3. the third, in Greek, much longer, with a variant added to the epiclesis around the 12th/14th centuries.⁴³ In the light of recent research work, the anaphora of St. Basil seems to be his work. But the questions remain, of which form St. Basil is the author. A double tendency can be observed: either the amplifications of the Greek form, with the propriety of the two short recensions, are attributed to him⁴⁴ or the liturgy and doctrinal recast of the short form which is substantially older, is his work.⁴⁵

The reading of the anaphora offers as well a theological and biblical perspective as a literary structure, worthy of the best tradition of St. Basil. It is the same biblical arsenal and the same spiritual climate we find on parallel pages of his writings⁴⁶, the

39 A. Jacob, *La tradition* 137.

40 A. Raes, *L'authenticité de la liturgie de Saint Basile*: *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 1958, 158-161; *id.*, *Un nouveau document de la liturgie de Saint Basile*: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960) 401-411; B. Capelle, *Les liturgies Basiliennes et Saint Basile*: J. Doresse-E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de Saint Basile*, Louvain 1960, 47-74; A. Baumstark 60f.

41 *Hieratikon Constantinople* 1895, 94.

42 Joseph-Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist, early and reformed*, London s. a., 34 and 97. These authors affirm the existence of three recensions while Raes affirms that of two: *L'authenticité* 161.

43 P. Trembelas, *Ai treis Litourgeias* Athens 1935, 183; S. Salaville II 32 note 1; *The Hieratikon of the Patriarchate of Constantinople* omits this phrase, 1895, 110.

44 A. Raes, *L'authenticité* 161.

45 H. Engberding is formal with regard to this: *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie*, Munster i. W. 1931, LXXXV; more reserved is B. Capelle, *op. cit.* 47-74.

46 *Great Rules* Q. II, 34: PG 32, 913 BCD 915; *De Spiritu Sancto* XVI, XXVI: PG 32, 136 and 185B and *Sources Chrétiennes* vol. 17bis, 376-476.

same power of synthesis displaying, in a living and balanced unity, the whole economy of salvation.

After an elevation towards the All-holy Trinity, contemplated in herself, Basil borrows the voice of the angels to be able to praise, to adore and to give thanks. He continues the rise of his contemplation enumerating the works of the Father, those of the Son and those of the Holy Spirit. In this exposé, he takes the Bible either literally or by evoking the terms and colours to depict his vision of the Mystery. He who prays the anaphora, confirms what Gregory of Nazianza writes to his friend: "In the Holy of the Holies, penetrating not once a year, but particularly, so to say, every day, it is there that he discovers the Holy Trias."⁴⁷

C. Vagaggini, in his famous book "Initiation théologique á la liturgie", presents the text of the anaphora of St. Basil as the model eucharistic prayer. He has inspired us to divide the text. The reader will find, in this division, the primitive form in extra bold print, the second stratum in italics, and in ordinary print the complete text, as it is used in the Byzantine rite. We follow the text as published by Bouyer who, in his turn, has taken it from H. Engberding.⁴⁸ For the English version, we also profited from the Byzantine Daily Worship of J. Raya and J. de Vinck.

I. Glory to the Holy Trinity

O You who are Being, Master, Lord, God, almighty and adorable Father, it is truly fitting and right and worthy of the immensity of your holiness that we praise you, sing to you, bless you, adore you, give thanks to you, glorify you who alone are truly God (ontōs onta Theon); that we offer you a spiritual worship with a repentant heart and a humble spirit, for it is you who granted us the favour of knowing your truth. How could anyone tell your might (dynasteias) and sing all your praises? Or describe your marvels always? **O Master of all, Lord of heaven and earth and all creatures visible and invisible, who are enthroned upon a seat of glory, who plumb the depths, who are eternal, invisible, beyond comprehension and description and change, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the great God and Saviour of our hope!** For he is the image of your goodness, the seal (sphragis) bearing your perfect likeness *revealing in himself you*, the Father; he is the living Word, the true God before all ages, the Wisdom, the Life, the Sanctification, the Power, the true Light through whom (par'ou) the Holy Spirit was made manifest, the spirit of Truth, the Gift of adoption, the Foretaste of the future inheritance, the First-fruits of eternal goods, the life-giving Power, the Fountain of sanctification. Empowered by him (par'ou)

47 Gregoire de Nazianze, Discours funébre 72, 4 (éd. Boulanger), Paris 1908, 215.

48 C. Vagaggini Initiation théologique á la Liturgie, Bruges-Paris 1959, I 114-118; L. Bouyer 284-286.

every rational (logikē) and intelligent creature is made able to worship and sing eternally to your glory, *for all are your servants. It is you the Angels, Archangels, thrones and dominations, the principalities and the virtues, the powers and the cherubim of many eyes praise: it is you the seraphim surround, each one with six wings, and with two wings they cover their faces, and with two their feet, and with two they fly, and they cry one to the other with tireless and perpetual praise, singing, proclaiming, shouting the hymn of victory and saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts: heaven and earth are filled with your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.*

With these blessed powers, o Master and Lover of mankind, we sinners also cry and say: Verily holy (agios) are you and all-holly, and there is no limit to the majesty of your holiness, and [you are] holy (osios) in all your deeds, for in righteousness and justice you have disposed every thing for us (epēgages ēmin).

II. Thanksgiving

1. To the Father, for his Economy

A. The plan of salvation set to failure by disobedience

Having formed man taking clay from the earth, you honoured him with your likeness, **and you placed him in a paradise of delight**, and promised him immortality of life and the enjoyment of eternal goods in the keeping of your commandments. **But when he disobeyed you**, the true God *and his Creator*, **and was deceived through the serpent's guile** and was subjected to death through his own transgressions, in your just judgement, o God, **you cast him forth from paradise into this world** and turned him again to earth wherefrom he had been taken,

B. Promise of Salvation

and divised (oikonomōn) for him the salvation of regeneration (palingenesias) which is in your Christ.

C. The Father visits his Works

For you did not turn away forever from your work which you had made in your goodness, *nor did you forget the work of your hands*: You visited it in many ways through the depth of your mercy; you sent forth prophets, you worked mightly signs through your saints who were pleasing you in every age. **You spoke through the mouths of your servants, the prophets promising the salvation to come**; you gave the law to aid us; you set angels to protect us.

2. To the Son, for his works

A. Redemption — Incarnation

But when the fullness of time had come, **you spoke to us by your Son** through whom also you made the universe, who being the brightness of your glory and the express likeness of your substance,

upholds everything by the power of his Word, and thought it no robbery to be equal to you, God and Father; but although he was God before creation, he was seen on earth and had his conversation (synanestraphē) among men; and **being incarnate of the holy Virgin**, emptied (ekenōsen) himself and assumed the nature of a servant, and was found in the likeness of the body of our humiliation that he might raise us to the likeness of his glory. For since it was by man that sin had entered the world and death through sin, your only-begotten Son, he who was in your bosom, God and Father, condescended to be born of a woman, **the holy mother of God and ever — virgin Mary to be born under the Law** in order to condemn sin in his flesh, that we who died in Adam, might be quickened in himself, your Christ.

B. The Teaching

And having lived as a citizen of this world (empoliteusamenos tō kosmō toutō) **and offered precepts of salvation** and turned us away from the errors of idolatry, he brought us to the knowledge of you, the true God and Father,

C. Death and Descent into Hades

After purchasing us to himself as a favoured people a royal priesthood, a holy nation. And after he had cleansed us with water and sanctified us with the Holy Spirit, **he gave himself up as a ransom to death by which we had been held for having been sold under the sin, and through the cross he went down into Hades (eis ton adēn) that he might fulfil [or: accomplish] all things in himself.**

D. Resurrection — Ascension — Parousia

He loosed the fangs of death. And he rose again the third day opening the way for the resurrection of all flesh from the dead, because it was impossible that the Principle of life be held by corruption, and he became the First-fruits of those who sleep, the First-born among the dead, so that in all things he might have primacy. And ascended into heaven, he was enthroned at the right hand of your majesty on high, he who will come to render to every man his due.

E. The Institution of the Eucharist

However, he left us memorials (ypomnēmata) of his salutary passion, these which we have brought about by his command. For **being about to go forth to his willful and eternally memorable (aoidimon) and life-giving death**, on the night wherein he surrendered himself for the life of the world, he took bread in his holy and spotless hands, presented (anadeixas) it to you, broke it and gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying: Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins. Likewise he took also the chalice (cup) with the fruit of the vine, and having mixed it, he gave thanks,

blessed it, sanctified it and gave it to his holy disciples and apostles saying: Drink of this, all of you, this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.

a) Memorial — Gage

Do this in remembrance of me, for as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show forth my death and confess my resurrection. Remembering, therefore, O Master, his salutary sufferings, his life-giving cross, his tomb of three days, his resurrection from among the dead, his return to heaven, his enthronement at your right hand, O God and Father, and his second glorious and awful coming again,

b) Offertory

we offer you your own, from what is your own, in all and for the sake of all, most holy Lord, we also sinners and your unworthy servants whom you have made worthy to serve (litourgein) at your holy altar, not by reason of our righteousness for we have done nothing good upon the earth, but by reason of your mercy and compassion which you have abundantly poured out upon us, we take courage to approach your holy altar offering the antitypes (prosthesentes ta antitypa) of the holy body and blood of your Christ.

3. To the Holy Spirit, for his benefits

A. Epiclesis on the gifts

We supplicate you and implore you, Holy of the Holies, in the good pleasure of your bounty, to make your Holy Spirit come down upon us and upon these gifts which we present you to bless them, to sanctify them and to manifest (anadeixai) us (in) this bread the precious body of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and (in) this cup the precious blood of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, shed for the life of the world, *changing them by your Holy Spirit.*

B. Intercession for the Church

And all of us who partake of the unique bread and the [unique] cup, unite one another in the communion of the unique Holy Spirit and grant that none of us partake of the holy body and blood of your Christ for judgement and condemnation, but that we find mercy and grace with all the Saints who were pleasing you in every age, *the forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, doctors and each just spirit perfected in the faith.*

Biblical references: Ps 50, 19; Rom 12, 1; cf. Rom 2, 20; Ps 25, 7; Dan 3, 55; 1 Tim 1, 11; Hebr 1, 3; John 14, 8; 1 John 1, 1; John 1, 9; Rom 8, 15; Eph 1, 14; Ps 118, 91; Ps 144, 17; cf. Ps 88, 15; Gen 2; Gen 3; Rom 8, 10; Gen 3, 23; Gen 3, 19; Hebr 1, 1; Gal 4, 4; Hebr 1, 1-3; Phil 2, 6; Baruch 3, 38; Phil 2,

* The words in italics appear only in 15th century manuscripts. Cf. P. N. Trembelas, *Ai Tres Leitourgiai*, Athens 1935, 183

7 and 3, 21; Rom 8, 29; Rom 5, 12; John 1, 18; Rom 8, 3; John 17, 3; 1 Pet 2, 9; Rom 7, 14; Acts 3, 15; 1 Cor 15, 20; Col 1, 18; Hebr 1, 3; &c.

3. The Liturgy of the Presanctified Species⁴⁹

The incompatibility of fast with the eucharistic liturgy, taught by Tertullian⁵⁰, was kept by the council of Laodicea (middle of the 4th cent.). It prescribes to celebrate the liturgy only on Saturday and Sunday, during the Great Lent, and on Holy Thursday. But we cannot assert, from this canon, the existence of a liturgy of the presanctified species, as Leo Allatius does.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the need of communicating at the Eucharist, even on aliturgical days, and the custom to do it, the witness of which is St. Basil⁵², induced the Church to organize a ceremonial for communion. The 52nd canon of the council in Trullo (691) rules the usage which became common, extending the liturgy of the presanctified species to all the days of Great Lent with the exception of the Saturdays, Sundays and the feast of the Annunciation. So, between the 4th and the 7th centuries, we must fix the date of composition of this liturgy⁵³.

Different names are proposed for its authorship: Germanos of Constantinople (715-730) Gregory the Theologian (of Nazianza) (328-390), Gregory the Great called the Dialogos (540-604) and others. The Barberini 336, however, renders this liturgy without indication of an author's name.

The present discipline of the Byzantine Church is to celebrate the liturgy of the presanctified species on the first day of Great Lent, on Wednesday and Friday of each week, and on the first three days of the Great and Holy Week. It allows the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy on Saturdays and Sundays of Great Lent and on the feast of Annunciation. The Melkite Greek Catholic Church is not strict with regard to this regulation.⁵⁴ It tolerates, for pastoral

49 V. Janeras, La partie vespérale de la liturgie byzantine des présanctifiés: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964) 193-222; D. N. Moraitis, The Liturgy of the Presanctified (Greek) Salonika 1955; *Theodoros of Studios*: PG 99, 1687-1690; J. Thibaut, Origine de la messe des présanctifiés: *Echos d'Orient* 19 (1920) 36-46; P. Trembelas 195-198; I. Ziadé, Présanctifiés (Messes des): *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 1936, XIII 108; *Symeon of Thessalonica*, Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum LV LVI LVII LVIII LIX: PG 155, 904-912; S. Salaville II 85-95.

50 Tertullian, De Oratione 19; Ad uxorem II, 5: PL I, 1288, 1408; A. Schmemmann The Great Lent; Crestwood 1974, 45f.

51 L. Allatius, De missa praesanctificationum no. XIX: De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione, Cologne 1648.

52 Letter 93, French translation by Y. Courtonne, Paris 1957, I 203: PG 32, 4 84.

53 J. B. Card. Pitra, Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta, Rome 1868, II 51.

54 Council of Qarqafé (1806) L. II, C. IV, 13; of Ain-Traz (1835) can. 3: Mansi, Amplissima collectio 46, 739f. and 985.

reasons, the eucharistic celebration. Formerly, the permission of the bishop was necessary, but since about 30 years at least, this permission is presupposed. In the latest edition of the Apostles and that of the Evangelion, published by the Paulist Fathers of Harissa with patriarchal authorization, there are special pericopes for the aliturgical days.

This measure which some would call latinization, is due to the widespread and profoundly rooted custom of private eucharistic liturgies and daily communion. If the Oriental discipline of the aliturgical days were strictly observed, as priests who are foreigners to the rite would wish, the parish priests would see their income diminished and their faithful desert their churches for those of other rites which are not bound to this discipline. This would also cause harm to the assiduity of the faithful towards their own rite churches.

The structure of the presanctified species is that of Vespers connected with a procession of the holy gifts and the communion, as it is administered in the eucharistic liturgy. The Vespers are an amalgamation of the liturgical traditions of Jerusalem, Antioch, Cappadocia and Constantinople.

A. The Structure of the Vespers (Hesperinos)⁵⁵

1. Ekphonesis or proclamation common to the beginning of all eucharistic liturgies: "Blessed is the kingdom of the Father..."
2. Psalm 103 called proimiakos or introductory, of monastic origin, during which the priest recites a series of secret prayers, called presbyteral, of cathedral tradition.
3. Great Litany of Peace, Antiochian origin.
4. Kathisma 18 of the Palestinian psalterion (Pss 119-133), the graduals indicated for Lent. During the reading, the priest prepares the holy gifts placing the bread on the diskos or paten, pouring non-consecrated wine into the chalice which he covers by the veils or kalimata. This rite is accomplished at the altar of the prothesis.
5. Chant of the lucernary or lamp-lighting psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116, of Jerusalem tradition, during which the priest incenses the faithful in sign of penitence, of Antiochian tradition.
6. Entrance procession reminding the arrival of the bishop in the church, or the patriarch in the Anastasis.

55 M. Arranz, Les prières sacerdotales des Vêpres byzantines: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971); *Basil of Caesarea*, De Spiritu Sancto 29, 73: PG 32, 205 A; *John Chrysostom*, Hom in . Psalm. 140, 1: PG 55, 426f; Hom. in Gen.: PG 54, 518; *Gregory of Nyssa*: Vita S. Macrinae 25, 9: PG 46, 931; *Egérie*, Journal de Voyage 24, 4: Sources chrétiennes vol. 21, 192; *J. Mateos*, Quelques anciens documents sur l'Office du soir: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969) 368f.; *id.*, La Synaxe monastique des Vêpres byzantines: *ibid.* 36 (1967) 251ff.; *id.*, Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165), Rome 1963, XII-XXIII; Funk 424-441; 544-546.

7. Lucernary hymn, of Cappadocian origin, accompanied by the lighting of the tomb of Christ in the Anastasis, at the patriarch's arrival.
8. Psalm with refrain or prokeimenon, of cathedral tradition. Reading from Genesis, according to the Antiochian tradition.
9. Blessing with the candle: "The light of Christ enlightens all men!" Constantinopolitan lucernary.
10. Psalm with refrain, of cathedral tradition, and reading from the Book of Proverbs, according to the tradition of Constantinople.
11. Antiochian lucernary, with penitential incensing.
12. Ecteny: Prayer for the different categories in the church (catechumens, admitted for illumination and faithful), of Antiochian origin.
13. Great Entrance with the presanctified species, accompanied by the chant of the hymn: "Now the powers of heaven minister with us in an invisible manner; for lo, the King of glory is coming", which Patriarch Sergios ordered to be sung in March 615.⁵⁶

B. Eucharistic Communion

14. Supplication, of Antiochian origin.
15. The Lord's prayer and preparation for communion.
16. Kephaloklysy or inclination of the head.
17. Eucharistic communion after the elevation and the manual acts.
18. Thanksgiving, prayer behind the ambon and dismissal

The liturgy of Chrysostom and that of St. Basil have both their origin, as far as the basic text and the structure are concerned, in the Antiochian tradition. The liturgy of the Presanctified Species is also a synthesis where the Jerusalem-Antioch tradition is dominant. Limiting their eucharistic anaphorae to two, the Melkites have sacrificed the anaphora of St. James. The reason of this sacrifice is not evident. It might be that the text which was unified and generalized by the Patriarchs Aftimios III Karma (1634-1647) and Athanasios III Dabbās has therein a rôle. The liturgy of St. James and also many other particularities of the Melkite rite were subject to the unifying work of the translator and the editor. The first, faithfully followed the text of the Greek editions of Venice, the latter completed the work by having it printed.

56 S. Salaville II 116; Paschal chronicle: PG 92, 989.

57 G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne*, Paris 1948, I; Bouyer; J. Hajjar; C. Korolevsky, *Liturgie en langue vivante*, Paris 1955; *id.*: *Chrysostomica, Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, Rome 1908, 473-717: *Le rite byzantin et la liturgie chrysostomienne dans les Patriarchats melkites*; *id.*, *Histoire des Patriarchats Melkites*, vol. III: *Les institutions*; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, Louvain-Paris 1979; S. Salaville,

III. The liturgical language of the Antiochians

“Those who are orthodox in everything, but completely ignorant of the Greek language, will celebrate in their own language, provided they have copies of the habitual prayers, without variants, translated (the text literally says: copied) on scrolls, well written in Greek characters.”

Answer of Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch (1185-?), in 1203, to Patriarch Markos of Alexandria. Response to the 5th question.

1. Antioch, capital of Hellenism in the East

Born at Antioch, the Antiochian rite was conceived from the Greek Bible and Jewish and other prayers of worship. Its language was that of the culture, the Greek spoken particularly by an élite and used in the great towns of Syria on its littoral. Its style was that of the nice language created by Libanios, the famous Antiochian rhetorician. It was Greek, this is true, but a Greek which was not that of Greece or Asia, but that of Syria.

An expert writes: “One can be of the opinion that Libanios, the Antiochian Master of Basil and the two Gregory, has brought about a remarkable type of culture and prepared literary forms of suppleness and stupefying richness where nothing was lacking but the contents of a substantial thought, and this was contributed there, by these Christian authors.”⁵⁸

The most striking example of what this language, this “great rhetoric”, as it is called, could pretend, was the remodelling of the abundant background of eucharistic prayers, transmitted by the 3rd century.

2. The Greek of Antioch, language of the anaphorae

This great rhetoric succeeded in giving the eucharistic prayers that symmetrical and balanced form, conform to its canons. “Though it was imagined to be only the ultimate perfection of the art of Demosthenes or Aischinos, it became, in reality, something really different. It kept the anxiety about a rational deductive development of thought in a rigorous grammatical form using, but with discernment, all the resources of the Greek vocabulary and syntax. But it has added the Oriental smell of profusion and the beam of the images, the balance of the ideas and of the sonorities, and, above all, an amplification of rhythm. The Greek monody has been transposed into a kind of entirely hellenistic symphony which may have seemed an abundance of bad taste and mispronunciation (*pataqués*) not only to Demosthenes, but still to Cicero.”⁵⁹ The phrases increase

58 *A. Puech*, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Paris 1930, III, the chapter on the Cappadocians.

59 *Bouyer* 243f.

in length and, being unable of containing one thought in one sentence, they develop in successive phrases, united among themselves not by the construction of the syntax, but by the filiation of one main idea.

The Antiochians found this main idea and, on its base, they constructed their anaphorae. This is the trinitarian scheme we have spoken of. It constituted the ideal framework for containing the preceding eucharistic themes and corresponding to the historizing hermeneutic of the Bible and the epic of God's conversation with man it is speaking of. It was, so to speak, fateful that this pleased the Byzantine Church so much that Byzantium adopted this rhetoric and, more generally, aesthetics of Antioch together with the theology of Basil and Gregory. This conquest by enchantment did not stop at the shores of the Marmara sea; from Constantinople, its stream reached the steppes of the Rus'. The envoys of St. Vladimir, after having assisted at the offices in the Agia Sophia, told their ruler: "We believe to be in heaven and not on earth."⁶⁰ So Antioch reached the Rus' to form the Russian soul.

The first-fruits of this work was the so-called Clementine liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.⁶¹ In Jerusalem, there arose an analogous composition, the liturgy which is attributed to St. James. The two liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom lead this kind to its perfection.

3. The progressive abandonment of Greek

Although the Greek language was widely spread, it was not the language spoken by all the people. Already Chrysostom complains of being unable to address his countrymen coming to assist at the office, in Syriac.⁶² And "once leaving Antioch, the more profoundly one penetrates into the Syriac world".⁶³

To respond to the needs of this category of persons, the Greek was early translated into Syriac and vice versa, as we may state in regard to the works of St. Ephrem.⁶⁴ The translation from Greek into Syriac or other languages could be simultaneous. Egeria reports that, while the bishop who knew Syriac, preached in Greek, a priest was simultaneously interpreting his sermon in Syriac for those faithful who did not understand Greek. The homily for the feast of the

60 P. Kovalevsky, *Saint Serge et la spiritualité russe*, Paris 1958, 17; M. Gervase, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, London 1963, 23.

61 Const. Apost. L. VIII, 12, 6: Funk 497f.

62 John Chrysostom, In Matth. hom. VII, 1: PG 57, 74.

63 Barty 20.

64 C. Emereau, *Saint Ephrem le Syrien, son oeuvre littéraire grecque*, Paris 1931.

Resurrection, in 399, was preached in the church attributed to the Goths, and it was immediately translated by an interpreter.⁶⁵

The movement of translation was very intense, because "the Syriac literature is, for a good part, made of translations, and there are not many Greek Fathers who, earlier or later, had not a part of their writings translated into Syriac... , and we may add, that a good number of these translations was done immediately after the publication of the original texts."⁶⁶

Even in the Greek speaking milieu the use of this language lessened due to the successive separations of Antioch and Constantinople caused by the heresies, the invasions, the arrival and installation of Islam. Because of all these facts, the Greek culture diminished and was confined to certain centres, especially monastic ones, which, in their turn, emptied themselves to the profit of South Italy, of the capital and of Rome. The Arabs profited of those who still knew Greek, Arabic and Syriac, for the translation of Greek philosophy, mathematics and sciences. These passed to them without having successors.

The local Church the liturgy of which was rather Greek, especially in the great centres, saw itself forced to adapt to the new conditions, that the idiom of the people be the idiom of their prayer. Most of the liturgical books were translated either into Syriac or Arabic, according to the needs of the faithful. Of this vast literature we have, as far as we know, only some specimens already published. Others were made known by research workers as C. Korolevsky, A. Baumstark and J. Nasrallah. The documents pertaining to the Horologion and the Euchologion the Arabic translation of which dating from the 11th century, were published by M. Black. Baumstark mentions another publication by J. Molitor.⁶⁷

Before the exploration of this vast, still inedited literature, we cannot draw any enlightening conclusion, because besides the interest for the history of the liturgical language of the Melkites, the study of these manuscripts will permit the research workers to determine the local variations of the Byzantine Melkite rite, the steps of its evolution and the reciprocal influences with the other

65 *Egérie*, Journal 47: Sources chrétiennes vol. 21, 261-263; *John Chrysostom*, Hom in S. Pascha: PG 63, 499-510. This homily was preached by the Saint in 399. An interpreter translated it immediately from the Greek into the language which was understandable to the Goths. *Bardy* 138f.

66 *Bardy* 26f.; *J. -B. Chabot*, Litterature syriaque, Paris 1934, 145-153.

67 *C. Korolevsky*, Histoire des Patriarcats melkites 30f. presents 185 manuscripts. Most of them are in Syriac and in Arabic; *A. Baumstark*, 103f. referring to the *Historie de la litterature syriaque* 337; *J. Nasrallah* 216f.; *M. Black*, *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion*, Cambridge 1959; *id.*, *Rituale Melchitarum. A Christian Palestinian Euchologion*, Stuttgart 1938 (quoted by Baumstark 104).

Antiochian rites. I permit myself to remind that the Byzantine Typikon tolerates these variations. Because, before the fixation of the rites and texts effectuated by the Diataxis of the 14th century and the arbitrary eclecticism of the Venetian editors in the 16th century, the manuscripts contained a lot of varied texts and rites responding to the local customs. ⁶⁸

4. The Arabization of the language of Antioch

According to the indications by C. Korolevsky and J. Nasrallah, it seems to be certain that the general need of Arabic imposed itself from the 17th century onwards. "Then the Syriac definitely ceased the way for Arabic which became the main language". Before this date, since the 11th century, fragments of the liturgical books were translated, and by the by, this version extended to all the others. These translations were of different value. It has been necessary to translate the books completely and to unify the translations. This task was done by a person who played a great role in this work, Patriarch Aftimios III Karma (1572-1635).⁶⁹

"In 1612, he undertook the revision of the Liturgikon or Missal containing the liturgies of Sts. Chrysostom and Basil and that of the Presanctified, with the offices connected with the Vespers and the Sunrise of which he made an extract containing the deacon's part."⁷⁰ He described his work in this way: "Then I, the humble Malatios (his episcopal name was Meletios), examined the Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, and I found them full of mistakes and variants. I corrected them as best I could on the Greek, and I translated them somehow anew with pain and fatigue."⁷¹ The major observation against this translation would regard the suppression of the variants and the alignment of the rite to the Greek edition.

68 *Diataxis* means the regulation of the ceremonies. This we are dealing with was published by Philotheos Kokkinos in the 14th century, when he was a hiero, monk and hegoumenos (Abbot) on Mt. Athos. Later he became Patriarch of Constantinople (1364-1376). See Trembelas 1-16. where the diataxes for the holy liturgy are published. *Goar* published those for the Vespers and Matins (Orthros), pp. 1-8. As regards the editors of the liturgical books at Venice, J. B. Card. Pitra writes: "When the Greek published their liturgical books for the first in Venice, in the 16th century, they made use of modern manuscripts which already had been altered in numerous important passages because of the dogma. Since then, this alteration has increased, and nowadays, from the viewpoint of the purity of text, nothing is more incorrect than the editions of the Greek Orthodox; not because they contain heretical passages, apart from some alterations which are easily distinguished, but because of having lost or suppressed a large number of troparia which have given new evidence to the chain of the Catholic tradition. "See his *Hymnographie de l'Eglise Grecque*, Rome 1867, (Introduction) 62f.

69 J. Nasrallah, op. cit. 78f; for the work of Karma ibid. 70-86.

70 Ibid. 80.

71 Korolevsky, *Histoire* 121f.

Reproduced in innumerable manuscripts, in face of the Syriac and Greek, the version of Karma was printed, together with Greek, by Patriarch Athanasios Dabbās in 1701, at the cost of Prince Constantine Brancovan in the presses of Snagov (Bucarest). The Arabic text was re-edited and the Greek corrected, according to the Euchologion of Benedict XIV, at Rome in 1839.⁷² Another edition was published in Vienna in 1862 and in Beirut in 1900. This last edition served for the official edition of 1962.

5. The languages of the Byzantine liturgy

The translation of the Byzantine liturgy into the language of the people is one factor of its diffusion. Before Vatican II, Roman legalism did not understand this. It was thought of imposing on it the same laws as on other Oriental rites. The Roman dicasteries thought of applying categories of a liturgical language to a rite which never had known such a restriction. Antioch is the town of man; its genius was able to find a religious language for any Christian in prayer. Its liturgy as well as its Bible is universal.

This is why it also remained open, accessible and accommodable to each horizon and culture.

Our brethren the Orthodox were never obliged to keep to one liturgical language. So the Russian missionaries celebrated in Old Slavonian as well as in Estonian, Lettonian, German, Eskimo and the Indian dialects of Alaska, in Chinese, Japanese and English.

Today the Byzantine Melkite rite is celebrated in Arabic, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and German. The Melkite Greek Catholic eparchy of Newton (USA) has adopted, for its use, the "Byzantine Daily Worship" of Archbishop Joseph Raya and Baron de Vinck, published at Allendale, New Jersey, in 1969, and the "Byzantine Melkite Euchologion", 1972.

4. Instead of a commentary⁷³

If we attempted to write a commentary on the Holy and Divine Liturgy, this would be an enterprise going beyond the frame

72 Except for the edition of 1900, on the other editions see *Korolevsky* 72- 96c.

73 *C. Bandali*, Introduction to the Divine Liturgy (in Arabic), Beirut² 1975; *A. Baumstark*, Liturgie comparee, Chevetogne 1953; *R. Bornert*, Less Commentaires Byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe siecle, Paris 1966; *N. Cabasilas*, Explication de la divine Liturgie (=Sources Chretiennes 4bis), Paris 1967; *F. Bouwen*, Pour une renaissance liturgique dans l'Eglise byzantine: Proche-Orient chretien 19 (1969) 59-68; *P. de Meester*, Les origines et les developpements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome: Chrysostomica, Rome 1908, 245f.; *Id.*, Grecques liturgies: Dictionnaire d' Archeologie et de Liturgie VI 1595f.; *G. Dix*, The Shape of the Liturgy, London 1978; *L. Duchesne*, Origines du culte chretien, Paris 1925; *N. Edelby*, Liturgicon, Beirut 1960; *Archim Elias*, Christian Worship (in Arabic), Tripoli (Lebanon) 1965; *P. Evdokimov*, Priere de l'Eglise

of this work. The subject is vast, delicate and demands a special preparation on the part of the reader.

In effect, the patristic literature comprises about ten titles of authors belonging to different hermeneutic schools. Its study makes arise a problem of different dimensions: of history, of literature, of history of a liturgy, of liturgical theology and of Byzantine theology. The later authors are also numerous, without counting the modern authors who have devoted themselves to studies of research in order to know the evolution and morphology of the liturgical texts.

This is also the reason why we give here rather a complete bibliography of the liturgical studies which allows the reader to deepen his knowledge.

The division of the liturgical action into two parts, that of the Word and that of the Eucharist, appears to be inadequate with regard to the parts of the Byzantine liturgy. We have rites which are performed *in silence*, before the Holy Doors of the sanctuary, in the skevophylakion (sacristy) and at the prothesis behind the iconostasis; other rites *in a loud voice* before the entrance of the Evangelion, the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word proper.

d' Orient, Mulhouse 1966; *J. Goar*, Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum, Venice 1930; *J. M. Hanssens*, Institutiones liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus, T. II De Missa Rituum Orientalium Pars I, Rome 1930; T. III De Missa Rituum Orientalium Pars II, Rome 1932; *F. Haddad*, Sacrifice of Praises (in Arabic), Beirut 1974; *C. Korolevsky*, Le rite byzantin et la liturgie Chrysostomienne dans les Patriarcates Melkites: Chrysostomica, Rome 1908, 473f.; *id.*, Histoire des Patriarcates Melkites, Les institutions, Rome 1911, III 1f.; *M. Mandala*, La Protesi della liturgia nel Rito Bizantino-Greco, Grottaferrata 1935; *A. G. Martimort*, l'Eglise en priere. Introduction à la Liturgie, Paris 1961; *J. Mateos*, La celebration de la Parole dans la Liturgie Byzantine (=Orientalia Christiana Analecta 191), Rome 1971. This book reprints the articles of the author published in Proche-Orient chretien 1965-1968 under the general title: Evolution historique de la Liturgie de St. Jean Chrysostome; *F.-J. Maureau*, Les liturgies eucharistiques, notes sur leur origine et leur developpement, Paris 1924; *A. Raes*, Introductio in liturgiam orientalem Rome 1947; *S. Salaville*, Liturgies orientales, Paris 1932; *id.*, Liturgies orientales, Paris 1942, 2 vols.; *id.*, Le rôle du diacre dans la liturgie orientale, etude historique, Paris-Athens 1962; *R. Taft*, The Great Entrance (=Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200), Rome 1978; *id.*, Evolution historique de la liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome. 1^{re} Partie: Entre des mystres: Proche-Orient chretien 22 (1972) & 24 (1974); *H. J. Schulz*, Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt, Trier² 1980; *P. Trembelas*, Ai Treis Leitourgiai, Athens 1935; *id.*, L' audition de l' anaphore eucharistique par le peuple: L'Eglise et les Eglises, Chevetogne 1955; *G. Wainwright-E. Yarnold* The study, of Liturgy, London 1978; *C. Kucharek*, The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy, Allendale 1971; *Un Moine de l'Eglise d'Orient*, Notes sur la liturgie, Beirut 1973; *J. Corbon*, Liturgie de source, Paris 1980; Brightman- Hammond, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford 1967 (reprint); *A. Hanggi-I. Pahl*, Prex Eucharistica, Fribourg 1968; Ieratikon, Rome 1950; *J. Raya-J. de Vinck*, Byzantine Daily Worship, Allendale (N. J., U. S. A.) 1969; *G. Wagner*, Der Ursprung der Chrysostomusliturgie (=Liturgie-wissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 59), Münster Westf. 1973.

To be adequate, we therefore propose the following division:

- I. Preparatory rites
- II. Enarxis
- III. Liturgy of the Word
- IV. Liturgy of the Eucharist.

Before Vatican II, the liturgical action was commonly divided in three main parts: preparation, liturgy of the catechumens and liturgy of the faithful. But the liturgy of the catechumens took its denomination from an outdated institution.

I. The Rites of the Preparation

1. Preparation of the ministers

A. Penitential prayers at the Holy Doors

The word reverence is translated in Greek by *metany* (*metanoia*) which is little or great, according to the bowing of the body. When it is performed, it is usually accompanied by the invocation: "O Lord, be propitious to me, a sinner, and have mercy on me", unless there is a contrary indication. Etymologically *metany* means conversion or penitence. On penitential days, the bowings are multiplied.

B. Vesting of special ornaments

The vestments of the deacon are: the *sticharion*, the *oraron* and the *epimanikia*.

The *sticharion* corresponds to the Latin alb. It is a tunic falling down to the feet. It symbolizes the spiritual rejoicement and the purity of the sacerdotal state.

The *oraron* or diaconical stole is a long band adorned by crosses or the word *Agios* which reminds the deacon of his angelical ministry.

The *epimanikia*, etymologically over-cuffs, serve to fasten the extremities of the sleeves. They signify divine power communicated by God to the priests.

Alone the archdeacon has the right to take them after a *chirotesy* (imposition of hands without sacramental character, distinct from the *chirotony*). This service is particular to the Melkites.⁷⁴

The vestments of the priest are: In addition to what just has been said, the *epitrachelion*, the *epigonation* or *ypogonation* (above or below the knees), the *zonē* (girdle) and the *phelonion* or *phelonion*.

The *epitrachelion* (on the neck) is formed by two bands the extremities of which being united in front, leaving a space to pass the neck. It is adorned by a cross and fringes. Its symbolism is indicated by the verse accompanying it.

74 Great Melkite Euchologion, Jerusalem 1865, 30.

The *zonē* serves to fasten the sticharion and the epitachelion. It signifies the spiritual strength and innocence.

The *epigonation* derives from the apron which was worn in old times in order not to besmirch the tunic. It symbolizes the spiritual sword of the divine Word. It is a mark of authority, and therefore only bishops, archimandrites and distinguished priests may put it on. The Melkite Euchologion provides for a special service of conferring it to a priest who is made chorepiscopus.⁷⁵

The *phelonion* or *phenolion* (from the Latin penula) is a vast mantle covering the whole body and having a simple opening to pass the head through. It symbolizes the strength and the light coming from on high and the power of God which embraces the priest entirely.

The vestments of the bishop

After the epigonation, the bishop takes the

Sakkos. It is a short tunic with half-sleeves, richly embroidered and closed on both sides either by ribbons or little bells. It is the tunic of the emperor of Byzantium who conceded its use to the patriarchs and later also to bishops whom he wanted to honour in a special way. It signifies the tunic of derision by which the Jews covered the shoulders of Our Lord.

Omophorion (what is carried on the shoulders). It is a long band of cloth adorned by crosses which the bishop passes around his neck, then on his breast, so that the extremities fall down on both sides of the left shoulder. It symbolizes the sheep gone astray which the Good Shepherd carried on his shoulder. According to the allusion contained in the prayer of vesting, the sheep is the human nature. The Melkites have but the great omophorion for the eucharistic liturgy; the small one is used only when the bishop makes use of the epitachelion for funerals and other services. It should be mentioned that the Orthodox use the small omophorion at certain moments of the Eucharistic liturgy, too.

The *enkolpia* (on the breast), singular form: *enkolpion*. These are two medaillons of oval form in which relics have been conserved. These medaillons are adorned by the image of Our Lord and of the holy Virgin. Therefore they are also called panagion or panagia. The two medaillons remind the bishop that he must possess a pure heart and a righteous spirit.

The *pectoral cross* (*stavros* or *stavrion*). The distinguishing mark of the bishop is not the pectoral cross, as e. g. in the Latin rite. The archimandrites and assimilated dignitaries also wear it. It reminds the bishop that he must carry his cross in imitation of Christ.

75 Ibid. 8.

The *mitre* (*mitra*) or *crown* (*stephanos*) is a headgear in the form of a quadrilobed bonnet which is adorned by embroideries and precious stones and surpassed by a cross. The bishops use it during pontifical functions. It symbolizes the crown of thorns. Its origin is not certain. According to modern authors, the Ecumenical Patriarch is said to have taken up the imperial mitre after the fall of Constantinople. For the whole of the episcopate, the use of the mitre is not older than the 18th century.

The *crozier* or *pastoral staff* is shorter than in the Latin rite. Originally the crozier was a simple wooden stick which ended in the form of a T. Wood gave up its place to ivory, ebony and precious metal. It may have taken its definite form from the imperial crozier. It symbolizes pastoral authority which has to be strong and prudent like the serpents which adorn the crozier. The superiors of religious orders have the right to use the crozier during official celebrations.

The *dikērotrikēra*. These are two candlesticks one of which having two and the other three candles crossing each other. The first symbolizes Christ in his two Natures, the second the Trinity in her Three Persons. The bishop uses them to bless the people in solemn liturgies.

C. Washing of hands

Before taking meals, the Jews wash their hands. They recited Ps 25: 6-12 in order to hallow this gesture. The original rite has been before the preparation of the eucharistic meal. In the 8th century, this preparation was shifted to the place where it is now. But in pontifical liturgies, the washing of hands is kept in its original place; the bishop interrupts the incensation to wash his hands, facing the people, while the choir is singing the Cherouvikon.

2. Preparation of the matter of the sacrifice

A. The sacred vessels

The *chalice* (*potērion*). In its form it is similar to the Latin chalice. But the cup will be larger to contain sufficient wine for the communion under the two species.

The *diskos* corresponds to the Latin paten, but it has a brink to prevent the particles from falling down.

The *asteriskos* or *astēr*. Two metal sheets crooked in semi-circle or angle and held together by a clamp on which a star is suspended. Its function is to protect the particles from the veil covering them. It symbolizes the star of Bethlehem which stood still above the grotto.

The *lance* (logchē). It is a knife in the form of a lance the extremity of which ending in a cross. It serves to cut the bread and symbolizes the lance by which Our Lord was pierced.

B. The Matter

The *prosphora* or *oblation*. It is a leavened bread in round form. It is uniform, flat and thick. The upper part is adorned by different impressions which are the sphragis (seal), the panagia (all-holy) and the merides (particles). The sphragis has a square form in the centre of which there is a cross carrying between its beams the initials IC XC NI KA (Jesus Christ is victorious). The panagia is a triangle surpassed by a cross which the priest cuts out during the commemoration of the holy Virgin. The particles for the commemoration of the saints are nine in number.

It is prescribed to use five *prosphorae* for each Divine Liturgy: from the first the sphragis is taken, from the second the panagia, from the third the particles to commemorate the saints, from the fourth the particles to commemorate the living, and from the fifth the particles to commemorate the dead. In practice, however, one contents oneself with a smaller number, often even with one only *prosphora*.

The *wine* of the vine, as in the Latin rite. A few *drops of water* are added. This has been the Jewish custom to which Our Lord conformed. But the liturgy gives a christological meaning to the pouring of water and wine: blood and water came forth from the Lord's side.

The *prothesis*. Archaeologically speaking, the prothesis has been a depot where the deacons have put the offerings of the faithful and taken what has been necessary for the sacrifice. Of the simple deposit, the prothesis has become a small niche where the sacrifice is prepared. Inspired by Scripture and the senses of service which the liturgy has created for this rite, it is the habitude to adorn the prothesis with icons either of Our Lord's Nativity or of Abraham's sacrifice.

The actual rite, very simple in the beginning, a simple prayer,⁷⁶ has got complicated with the ritualization of the gestures. The excess in symbolism reached its summit in the 13th century. The work of Philotheos Kokkinos (1354-1376) consisted in fixing the rites and especially the commemorations. We could say that the "liturgy of the prothesis"⁷⁷ got its definite form in the Diataxis of this patriarch.

Nowadays the prothesis is performed behind the iconostasis, between priest and deacon. Its actual place is before the celebration

⁷⁶ Brightman 539.

⁷⁷ Mandala 107.

of the Holy and Divine Liturgy. The Byzantine Antiochians continue to conserve the original place of the prothesis in solemn pontifical liturgies. But this liturgical archaeologism makes the celebration very long. With the Melkite Catholics, the priest is preparing the gifts, without, however, closing the rite. The bishop finishes the incensation during the Cherouvikon (Cherubis hymn) at the prothesis accomplishing there the last rites: commemoration of the concelebrating priests, covering of the gifts with the kalymmata or veils, and prayer of the proskomidy.

This chain of prayers which is accompanying a judicious choice of verses taken from the Scripture, reproduces, between the two poles of the Redemption and Incarnation, the eschatological dimensions of the mystery of Christ. Around the mystically immolated Lamb who enters into his glory at this moment, are standing, on the one side, the Virgin Mary, First Church, source of life, as a new Eve who issued of the pierced side of the true Adam of whom the first Adam was but an image, and on the other side, the nine categories of the saints among whom are placed also the angels. This commemoration raised a problem which is reflected in the manuscripts. The tradition, however, has kept it definitely, because Christ must be all in all, including the angels who "had come to serve him." The symbolism is continued: below the Lamb, the celebrant lays down the particles commemorating the Church of the living and then of the dead. So there is space to admire the representative power of the liturgical gestures and the christological sense emerging from this paten which is round like the world and whose dimensions extend to the confines of eternity.

The prothesis closes with the incensing. Is this to recall the incense offered by the magi? Or the hallowing of the places, as it is explained⁷⁸ by Ps.-Dionysios, which announces the beginning of the liturgy?

At this point, the question arises whether the priests celebrating more than one liturgy either in the same church or in different churches, accomplish each time this so beautiful and so complicated rite. Our experience authorizes us to say: no. This is regrettable, but the laws of life are stronger than the liturgy.

II. Enarxis (Prelude)

3. Initial prayers

Heavenly King: of the 13th/14th century

Glory to God in the highest: of Antiochian origin

Lord, you shall open my lips: beginning of all Jewish prayers

⁷⁸ Ps.-Dionysios, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* C. III, II.

4. Dialogue between the priest and the deacon

The verse of Ps 117, 126 opens the dialogue and announces the *kairós* of God. May we translate it by "It is time to accomplish the service of God" or "It is time for the Lord to act", the two versions define the two dimensions of the liturgy: time consecrated for the service of the Lord; or time chosen by the Lord to act. Acting for God and Acting of God – this is the whole liturgy.

The deacon whose mission is to fly like an angel between the sanctuary and the assembly, makes the priest know that everything is ready for God's intervention or for the preparation to act for God. "Give the blessing, Father" means "Begin the service by declaring blessed the name of the Lord."

5. "Blessed is the Kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit

This is the beginning of every eucharistic prayer: of the holy and divine liturgy, of baptism, of matrimony and of the presanctified. In the 8th century, the word *Basileia* took an abstract meaning and became the title of the *Basilevs* (= emperor). This is why the exact translation of the word is not kingdom or reign. The Jewish *Barakath* of which this is a variant, addresses itself to God or to one of his titles. The formula was introduced in the 8th century.

6. The Great Collect or Synapte

This is a long dialogal prayer between the deacon and the people which is concluded by a trinitarian doxology. As in the Apostolic Constitutions, it was said together with the prayer of the faithful. It migrated then to the moment of the Trisagion. Therefore its name is also Collect of the Trisagion. But soon it occupied its actual place, in the 13th century. This collect is invariable. It receives variants during the services of matrimony and of baptism. Some are of opinion to overcome the rigidity of the text by introducing formulae which correspond to particular needs and circumstances. Others find it improper to begin a liturgy with a collect. They think of returning to the Antiochian structure, as it is reflected in the writings of Chrysostom and is found in the Chrysostomian liturgy of the Barberini 336.

7. The three antiphons

Stational and processional office, independent from the liturgy. It was definitely integrated into the liturgy in about the 8th century. In the 14th century, the antiphons were replaced, on Sundays and certain feasts, by the *Typika*, i. e. Pss 102 and 145, and, instead of the third psalm, the *Beatitudes*. The feasts of Our Lord and the Theotokos have their own psalms, as antiphons.

The Synod of 1969 has ordered to resume the three antiphons reducing them to one only and making of the Troparin. "Only-Begotten Son and Word of God" the processional chant, during which the Evangelion is carried through the assembly (Little Entrance).

This hymn is said to have been composed by Justinian II in 528.

III. The Synaxis of the Word

8. Procession with the Evangelion

This is the ancient entrance of the bishop into the church. Arrived before the sanctuary, he addressed himself to the community in prayer: "Peace to all." During pontifical liturgies, the bishop remains outside the sanctuary till this moment. The entrance of the Evangelion coincides with that of the bishop into the sanctuary.

9. The proper of the Saint

The first eucharisticsynaxis have been held above the tombs of the martyrs. The troparia remind of this practice. The order of the troparia is the following: of the Saint of the day, of the patron of the church, and then the prescribed kondakion of the liturgical period.

10. The Trisagion

This chant is common to all the Antiochian liturgies. In the Byzantine rite, it was sung together with verses of Ps 79. Traces of this psalm can still be found in the pontifical liturgy: the bishop blesses the people using one of its verses: "Lord, Lord, look down from heaven and see, visit this vine, protect it which your right hand has planted." The trisagion has a trinitarian meaning in the Byzantine rite, while in the other rites a christological.

During the baptismal periods: Saturday of Lazarus, Great Saturday, Paschal week, Pentecost, Christmas and Epiphany, instead of the trisagion, the baptismal troparion is sung: "As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. Alleluia" (Gal. 3, 27). This troparion has been said during the procession between the baptistery and the church. It is the antiphon of the two psalms 31 and 92.

Nowadays also the troparion of the Cross is replacing the trisagion on September 14 and its octave, on August 1, and on the third Sunday of Great Lent. This troparion has been chanted during the adoration of the holy Cross: "To your Cross, we bow down in worship, O Christ. And we glorify your holy resurrection."

11. The Psalms of the Lessons

Formerly the Byzantine liturgy had three lessons: Prophecy, Apostolos and Evangelion. The prophecy disappeared in the ordinary liturgies in the 7th century and is only conserved when Vespers are connected with the divine liturgy: Great Thursday and Saturday, paramonies of Christmas and Epiphany.

After the reading of the prophet, the reader announced the psalm of David: one verse was chosen as prokeimenon (response) to be sung after each verse of the psalm.

The same has been done after the reading of the Apostolos. The precentor intones the Alleluia which is repeated thrice after the prescribed verses of the psalm. Generally two verses are sung.

The attempts of restoring the liturgy have tended especially to a revalorization of the psalms as well of the prokeimenon as of the alleluarion. It has been the mind of creating or rather recreating moments for the communitarian celebrations which have almost disappeared from the liturgy after all what had been added to the beginning of the primitive liturgy.

12. The Apostolos or Praxapostolos (Acts and Epistles)

The Praxapostolos is the book containing the pericopes of the Acts and of the epistles of St. Paul and the other apostles. The Acts are read between Easter and Pentecost. From Pentecost Monday onwards, all the epistles are continuously read. The Byzantine liturgy does not make use of the Apocalypse. The weekly distribution of the readings is done in cycles of eight weeks each. The prokeimenon of the Sunday is in correspondence with the tone of the Oktoichos (Book of the Eight Tones).

In parallel to the weekly readings, the Apostolos also contains the readings distributed for the days of the solar calendar and the appropriate readings for the principal feasts.

13. The Gospel

The lectio continua is the principle of the evangelical pericopes for the days of the week except Saturday and Sunday. The criterion for the selection of the readings of Sunday is the miraculous aspect of the evangelical recital. Several authors are criticizing the Sunday selection and plead for another distribution.

Apart from the readings distributed on the weeks and beginning with Easter, Pentecost and Holy Cross and the lessons of the Triodion, the Byzantine liturgy is in possession of readings for the principal feasts of the solar calendar.

The weekly readings embrace the four gospels according to the following order: St. John—from Easter to Pentecost; St. Matthew—

from Pentecost to the feast of the Holy Cross, intermingled with a selection of St. Mark, beginning on the 12th Sunday; St. Luke—from the feast of the Holy Cross till the beginning of the period of the Trisagion, intermingled with a selection of St. Mark from the 13th week onwards; St. Mark—during the whole period of the Triodion (Great Lent).

The Evangelion is continually deposed on the altar itself which is representing Christ; it is, so to say, the soul animating this monument of stone. The Mystery of the Eucharist, sacrifice of our altars, is liturgically in the position of a minor, because only the Book of the Good Message rules continually on the holy table.

The Byzantine Evangelion is the living kerygma of the mysteries of the death and the resurrection of Christ. Its cover proclaims them. On the one side, the Resurrection is represented in the middle, and in the four edges, in medaillons, the four evangelists; on the other side, the crucifixion in the middle, and in the medaillons either the great prophets or the four evangelists, witnesses of the death and the resurrection.

One of the particularities of the Byzantine liturgy is the separation of the 'missal' from the Gospel book. The latter is the holy book, and it is the object of a rich and varied worship. It is venerated on the altar. Each time the priest enters into the sanctuary, he bows three times before the altar renewing the faith of his presbyteral ordination, and kisses, the altar and the Evangelion, the two poles of his life. It is presented to the veneration of the faithful in the orthros (matins) of Sunday; it is carried in procession—Christ is passing through the people to heal and to instruct; the blessing is given with it by tracing a large sign of the cross, at the end of the little procession and after the reading of the pericope. In the Orthodox Church, the bishop, together with his hand-cross, is using a small richly adorned Evangelion which he continually carries.

With the exception of the procession of the Presanctified Species, the Eucharist is not the object of any special worship. The Melkite Church has introduced the feast of Corpus Christi and the benediction with the Holy Sacrament. But these two services are severely criticized by the 'purists'. In the Orthodox Church, there is not even a visit to the Holy Sacrament known. After the Divine Liturgy, the Eucharist returns into the shadow.

But should we remain immobile and insensible towards Christ who is really present in the divine margarites (precious stones), as the liturgy calls the holy species?

14. The Homily

It is the continuation of the apostolic kerygma and the tradition renewing itself.

15. The Ecteny

In the 8th century when the dismissal of the catechumens of the Church became ineffective, the Byzantine liturgy underwent great transformations among which we have to mention the introduction of the ecteny after the Gospel and the transfer of the great collect to the time of the trisagion. This introduction and transfer have burdened the simple structures of the Liturgy. It would be very opportune to review the question, if some appropriate reforms are to be effectuated. By the way, the unsafeness of the liturgical tradition with regard to the place of the great collect is the instinctive sign of its inopportunity. Instead of being theocentric, the Byzantine liturgy, by the multiplicity of its litanies, has become rather anthropocentric.

Theoretically the ecteny is the prayer of the ecclesial community reunited before the ineffective dismissal of diverse groups. The beginning of the ecteny is a formula of animation transformed into prayer, in the practice of the liturgy: "Let us all say, with our whole soul and our whole mind"—this is the very meaning of the word ecteny: insistent prayer—"let us all say: Kyrie eleison." The second is of Jewish smell: "Lord Almighty, God of our fathers...." The difference between the ordinary collect and the ecteny is that in the latter "the deacon instructs first the people how to answer and incites them to praying fervently; then he addresses himself immediately to God with a series of invocations which appeal to divine mercy".⁷⁹ The Synod of 1969 has authorized changes in the formulation of these rogations to actualize the intentions of the liturgy. Already before the Synod, the Orthodox, particularly in the United States of America, have recited the Trisagion of the dead after the Gospel, when they celebrated the Divine liturgy in the intention of the departed.⁸⁰

16. The Dismissal of the Catechumens

Besides the catechumens, this dismissal comprise also that of the photizomenoi, illuminandi, i.e. of those preparing themselves for the mystery of Illumination or Baptism. The parallel text of the Clementine Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions has rogations on which Chrysostom comments and which are at the origin of our great collect and of the Aitēsis or litany of the "Angel of peace".

The Synod of 1969 suppressed this part together with the first prayer of the faithful.

⁷⁹ Mateos, *La celebration de la Parole* 155.

⁸⁰ *The Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.*, The Priest's Service Book, 2nd part, 256.

17. The Prayer of the Faithful

In the beginning, there were three prayers in parallel to the cathedral office of Constantinople: one prayer in the intention of the faithful, the second of kephaloklysy, and a third of dismissal. It seems that the prayer of kephaloklysy, —bowing of the head—has been later transferred after the Lord's Prayer.

The unfolding of the antimension took place during the first prayer of the faithful.

Note on the antimension or eileton (anti and mensa: instead of a table). On a quadrangle of 50 × 60 cm, often in linen or silk, numerous designs are printed, the principal ones representing the descent of the cross or Christ's burial; others represent the trinity and the evangelists, holy doctors and the instruments of the Passion. On the reverse, there is a small pocket containing some fragments of relics. The antimension replaces the portable altar which once, was of wood.

Although certain documents prohibit its use on consecrated altars, the deviation of this law has become a habit.

The eilēton is the corporal which contains the antimension.

The consecration of the antimension is connected with that of the altar.

On it, the name of the consecrator is mentioned. The tradition of the Melkite Church is that each patriarch consecrates antimensia marked with his name and his coat of arms.

IV. The Eucharistic Liturgy

18. The Great Entrance

After the proclamation of the second prayer of the faithful, the priest begins to recite a secret prayer which is not found in the manuscripts of the 8th and 9th centuries. During this time, the choir sings the Cherubic Hymn, commonly called the Cherouvikon. It was introduced into worship under Justin II (567–578).

Whenever the priest is about to perform an important action, the liturgy determines a special prayer for his personal preparation, e. g. for baptism or the blessing of the waters.

The ceremonial particularities of the Great Entrance were definitively fixed in the 14th century.

Several people criticize the manifestations of piety by the faithful towards the eucharistic species. We should remind, however, of all the gestures performed on the gifts during the prothesis. The bread and the wine have been sanctified through the rites of the immolation. The bread has become the immolated lamb and the wine the blood shed for our salvation. Without being yet the antitypes of

the body and blood, they are, nevertheless, through the word of the liturgy, the bread and the wine which have participated in that what they are going to become. They have become icons of the body and blood. This is why the Great Entrance will be the beginning of the procession of Christ, the king, like his entrance in Jerusalem, the priest carrying the gifts of the sacrifice, and the victim offering himself. "Today we call symbol a thing which is not what it signifies; once by symbol a thing was meant which, in a real way, was what it signified; besides, for the ancient mentality, the heavenly reality has always been present in and under the form by which it manifested itself without, however, identifying itself completely with that on earth."⁸¹

Therefore it is not out of place to see the liturgy lay down the gifts on the altar with words signifying the laying-down of the body in the grave.

19. The offertory

The prayer of the proskomidy is attributed to St. John Chrysostom, in the manuscript Barberini 336. The liturgy of St. Basil has a different prayer.

An attentive analysis of this prayer and a revision of its translation through critical reading of the text, show that it is not an offertory prayer, as it was thought, but rather a prayer of the Great Entrance itself. Instead of reading "Accept also the prayer of us, sinners and carry it to your holy altar and make us fit...", we should correct "Accept also the prayer of us sinners and let us attain your holy altar and make us fit..."

When the prothesis changed its place, the prayer belonging to it was transferred, too: "O God, our God, who sent forth the heavenly bread, food for the whole world, our Lord and God..." The prayer of the Great Entrance became that which we call today the prayer of the proskomidy. It is therefore out of place to hear the deacon pray: "For the precious gifts here offered, let us pray to the Lord." The prayer is for the clergy and not for the gifts. The moment of its recitation should be precisely during the procession when the clergy approaches the altar to lay down the gifts there.

If we wish to retrace the primitive structure of the passage between the celebration of the Word and that of the Eucharist, it should be recalled that the liturgy of the Word took place outside the sanctuary. At the chant of the offertory, in this case the Cherubic Hymn, the clergy entered into the sanctuary reciting the prayer called prayer of the proskomidy now. In this moment, the deacon brought the bread and the wine from the prothesis. The

81 A. V. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Tübingen 5 1931-32, 4 1909, I 476,

bishop then prepared the sacrifice reciting "O God, our God, who sent forth...". It was the beginning of the anaphora.

20. The Ceremony of Peace

Since most ancient times, the kiss of peace has been an integral part of the liturgy, probably in execution of Mt 5, 23. St. Justin speaks of it in his first Apology, 65 (PG 1, 248). He places the kiss of peace just before the anaphora.

Today the kiss of peace is reserved to the celebrants. They embrace each other exchanging the salutation: "Christ is in our midst", says the first, and the second answers: "He both is and will always be." During the paschal time, the period of the Pentekostarion, the greeting is: "Christ is risen!"—"He is truly risen!"

The formula introducing the ceremony of peace is composed of two phrases of different age: "Let us love one another" is the ancient formula introducing the kiss of peace; and "that with one mind we may confess" leads to the Creed which is resumed here by "the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Trinity one in substance and undivided". Thereafter it is fully recited.

By placing the kiss of peace here, before the anaphora, the Byzantine liturgy would teach that brotherly reconciliation is an essential condition for the participation in the eucharistic prayer. In the Roman liturgy, the ceremony has its place only after the consecration of the gifts to indicate that the peace is the fruit of the death of Christ who has become our peace. This is why the peace comes down from the altar: from the priest to the deacon and the faithful.

21. The Creed

The symbol of Nicea and Constantinople, introduced into the Divine Liturgy first at Antioch by Petros the Fuller (476-488), was definitely adopted by Constantinople under Patriarch Timotheos (511-518).

In the Roman liturgy, the Creed belongs to the Liturgy of the Word. If the Byzantine liturgy places it before the anaphora, this is to signify that the recital of the Creed has no didactic aim but is rather a preparation of the faithful for the recapitulation of the deeds accomplished by the Trinity for his salvation.

The formula introducing the Creed, is strange: "The doors, the doors. In wisdom, let us be attentive!" Let us hint to the fact that the Synod of 1969 has suppressed the first part of the formula. The analysis of the formula leads us to recognizing a different origin of the first part. Before the transfer of the gifts, the hypodeacon made himself sure that the unworthy had left and ordered to close all the doors that none of those dismissed would

return. It would be comprehensible, if we admitted that the ceremony of peace was the last action of the Liturgy of the Word and the closing of the doors the first of the Liturgy of the Eucharist. The two elements were transferred to this place.

The second part of the formula is an exhortation used by the deacon in different places of the liturgy: before the readings, at the end of vespers (*hesperinos*) and matins (*orthros*), at the Little Entrance of the divine liturgy and of vespers... Sometimes this admonition is accompanied by the injunction "*Orthoi*" (Let us stand) in order to add to the silence required by wisdom, the right position. This is to avoid the monotony of repeating "let us be attentive", that a biblical term of very rich resonance is used.

The Melkite Synods, when examining ecumenical problems, have prescribed the recital of the Creed without the Western addition "*Filioque*"; this was already permitted by Pope Benedict XIV in his "*Etsi pastoralis*" (1742). But considering the assistance at the liturgies by faithful of different Christian or Catholic denominations and their common recitation of the Creed, one realizes the purely theoretical character of this prescription.

22. The dialogue between the Priest and the People

Before the very beginning of the dialogue, the deacon announces solemnly what is going on to take place: "Let us stand well, let us stand in awe, let us be attentive to offer the holy oblation in peace." To this invitation the people answers: "A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise." This translation is that of the actual text which, according to the experts, seems to be of later origin. The older text says: "Mercy, peace, and sacrifice of praise." Let us explain: The holy oblation (*anaphora*) we are going on to celebrate, is mercy, peace, and sacrifice of praise. This translation explains the accusative used in the Greek original which is an apposition to the accusative of "oblation."⁸²

Following this description of the oblation, the priest addresses the congregation, as in all the other Eastern rites, using the salutation of St. Paul to the Corinthians (2 Cor 13, 13).

23. The Anaphora

The Synod of 1969 recommends the reading aloud of the first part of the anaphora which precedes the "*Agios*" (*Sanctus*). To some this prescription appeared as an innovation, whereas an amendment (*Novelia*) of the 4th century issued by Justinian had already ordered the saying aloud of the anaphora.⁸³ An attentive

82 Trembelas, *Leitourgiai* 95f.,

83 *id.*, *L' Audition de l' Anaphore par le Peuple: L' Eglise et les Eglises*, Chevetogne 1955, II 211.

study of the anaphora shows that the dialogue between the priest and the people constitutes the internal structure of the prayers. Trembelas examined this question in an article "L'audition de l'anaphore par le peuple". After having analyzed a great number of ancient documents and manuscripts, he concludes: "The introduced practice...consisting in pronouncing the prayers of the liturgy aloud, is not only no innovation but has its roots in the practice of the ancient Church; it should be characterized rather as a return to genuine liturgical tradition."⁸⁴

Besides the saying aloud, some have introduced a dialogue between the priest and the people, particularly in the intercessions. They thought of innovation, whereas the structure of this prayers is dialogal in itself. For example: "We offer you this spiritual worship...especially for our all-holy...Mother of God...the holy prophet and forerunner John...holy N...whose memory we honour today and for all your saints.—By their prayers, visit us, o God."

The same internal dialogue is found in the intercession for the dead: "Give them rest where the light of your face keeps watch."

The transformation of this prayer into a secret, alternated by parts to be said aloud, created a repetition of the intercession for the hierarchy of the Church.

In this regard, the practice of the Orthodox Church differs from that of the Melkite Church. The latter mentions the pope, the patriarch and the bishop in the non-patriarchal eparchies, the Pope and the patriarch in the Patriarchal eparchies. The Orthodox mention but their hierarchical head: bishop, or archbishop, or patriarch. For the Melkites, the Propaganda Fide took the decision on January 2, 1740. Though Kyrillos Tanas, the then Patriarch of Antioch, protested against this measure⁸⁵, it was nevertheless made concrete in the Liturgikon of the Propaganda Fide of 1839.

The habitude to say the anaphora in a low voice lead to another excess, the singing of the beautiful troparion in honour of Our Lady: "It is fitting and rite to call you blessed, o Theotokos....." which is delighting the singers and the faithful, but which represents, from the liturgical point of view, an anomaly. Because, of the simple invocation of the Theotokos which did not interrupt the liturgical action, an environment was created which made the faithful lose the details of the originally dialogal intercession, or the diptychs which rendered the intentions of the present ones.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 220.

⁸⁵ Korolevsky, Histoire 74.

The structure of the anaphora was explained above. We shall not repeat it here, as the anaphora of Chrysostom has the same trinitarian plan as that of Basil.

24. The Anamnesis

Many stop at the historical narration of the eucharistic institution. They wish to stress that the consecration of the species would take place alone through Christ's words. How ever this opinion may be, from the theoretical viewpoint, the words of the anamnesis permit no doubt with regard to their liturgical value: "Remembering, therefore, this precept of salvation..." Sure, the liturgy of Chrysostom has not the insertion "Do this in remembrance of me." This phrase is found in the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles. But the reminder of this command and its objective interpretation signify the actualization of what has been accomplished at the Last Supper. So we can infer liturgically that, what would have lacked to the recital of the institution, would certainly be completed by the anamnesis.

By the way, what is accomplished at a given moment, is explained by the liturgy at different and successive moments. The transformation of the bread and of the wine which is effectuated in an ineffable way—the liturgies try to make it manifest and to attribute a part, in the recapitulation of the economy of salvation, to each Person of the Trinity. The anaphora is a triptychon rendering the mystery of God's economy, unique mystery, and depicting it on three panels, one for the Father, another for the Son, and the third for the Holy Spirit.

"Remembering, therefore, the precept of salvation and everything that was done for our sake, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the enthronement at the right hand, the second and glorious coming again."

All these events of the past and of the future, the anamnesis tries to actualize them in this ascending moment of the liturgy; because the summit of the Eucharist is that what is about to follow.

The three paragraphs of the anamnesis constitute, in our opinion, one only phrase which should be reconstituted for a better understanding. "We praise you, we bless you, we give thanks to you, Lord, and we pray to you, our God." This summit of the eucharistic prayer is the principal phrase which commands the two other paragraphs. This is in "offering you your own, from what is your own..." But what does it mean "your own, from what is your own"? Several authors have attempted to interpret the two phrases in substituting "from what is your own" by the gifts the priest is elevating and offering. But no grammatical rule permits such an interpretation, still less to consider the eucharistic gifts as

a résumé of all the actions the anamnesis has recalled. In our opinion, the acts themselves are resumed by "your own, from what is your own"; they are the object of the offering. All the manuscripts render "offering your own...." in the form of the present participle and not in the plural form of the first person. This participle is ruled by the verb: "We praise you..." Both the participles "remembering" and "offering you" are ruled by the same verb "We praise you...." This is the reconstituted text:

"Remembering, therefore, this precept of salvation and everything that was done for our sake, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the enthronement at (your) right hand, the second and glorious coming again, offering you your own, from what is your own, in all and for the sake of all, we praise you, we bless you, we give thanks to you, Lord, and we pray to you, our God."⁸⁶

25. The Epiclesis

With the epiclesis, the third part of the anaphora takes its begin. The word means invocation. We ask the Father to send his Spirit upon the assembly in the church and on the here offered gifts, in order to make of the bread the precious body of his Son and of the wine the precious blood of his Son changing them through his Spirit.

East and West separate in this question. A lot of ink was spent about it. The bitterness of the struggle made the positions exasperated. Exclusivism in the opinion has marked the two camps. The words of institution alone, Epiclesis alone—have the power of changing the eucharistic species.

The liturgical question was transformed into a theological question. The witnesses of the Fathers were collated for the one or the other clan. In the moment where the Oriental theologians proclaim the existential character of theology and consequently flee from the conceptual, essentialist positions, they are seen in search of conceptual clarity in the question: Epiclesis alone. The apophatic character of their theology prevents them from speaking of transubstantiation for the change or benediction, sanctification and manifestation, keeping to the text of Chrysostom and Basil.

These theological questions attained the liturgy as well. To a simple text, with a clear liturgical action, troparia and verses of Ps 50 borrowed from the office of the lenten Third Hour were added, accompanied by prostrations and kneelings. The recent manuscripts and the non-critical liturgical editions have reproduced these outgrowths while the most venerable manuscripts and the serious editions of the liturgical books have conserved the alert and simple allure to the text.

86 Bouyer, *L' Eucharistie* 286.

The Melkite Greek Catholic Synod of 1969 suppressed what this theology had added, and rendered the text its originality.

In spite of the attitude of the theologians, the two Churches, the Roman and the Byzantine, reciprocally recognize the validity of their Eucharist. The sacramentary tradition of these two Churches is slightly different. The Roman insists on the personal intervention of the minister, while the Byzantine on the intervention of the Holy Spirit: "I baptize you..."—"The servant of God, N., is baptized..." and this is the case with all the other sacraments or mystēria. But neither the one nor the other deny the intervention of the Spirit and of the minister. This is a question of slight distinctions or theological plans.

If one wishes to be faithful to the liturgy and consequently to the theology preceding from it, one has to admit that the words of institution were actualized in the anamnesis. We cannot any more deal with their purely recitative value. After these words, the liturgy calls the eucharistic gifts "spiritual and unbloody worship" and "antitypes of the body and blood". If the words of the Institution have no value and if the anamnesis has not given them an objective sense making what they signify, how could simple bread and simple wine be offered and be called a spiritual and unbloody worship? Or how could they be called antitypes? Let us remember that this word is equal to our Sacrament, Mystērion, reality hidden and veiled by its outward appearance.

In our opinion, the Eucharist is the gift which the Father makes to the world which he has loved; it is the Son who gives himself; it is the Holy Spirit who is actualizing this gift. Our intelligence is not capable of grasping this mystery; this is why it is developed in three times to be better understood. These are the three phases of the one only instant.

26 The Fruits of Holy Communion

During the chant of the hymn to the Theotokos, the deacon, after the Priest, incenses the holy table all around. This incensing is not to the altar and the precious gifts, no, in this moment, the deacon has had the diptychs, i. e. two tablets on which the intentions of the holy sacrifice were written, in his hands; he read them and at each name mentioned, he once waved the thurible. There are two moments reserved to what is usually called the diptychs: at the Great Entrance, aloud; during the chant of the hymn, after the epiclesis, in silence.

After the anaphora, the deacon continues with a series of rogations the first of which being for the Eucharist itself, the others those which we call "angel of peace". The Synod of 1969 prescribed

to suppress the latter before the kiss of peace and to maintain them here.

In the rogations for the Eucharist, as in the prayer after the epiclesis and that preceding the Lord's Prayer, something about the fruits of the Eucharist is said.

The first prayer presents with a difficulty in regard to the interpretation: "So that for those who partake of them, they may be for the cleansing of the soul, for the remission of sins" and makes a word of explication necessary: "for intimate confidence in you". The Greek text has in its manuscript and printed tradition the word *nēpsis* and not *nipsis*. It is true that the modern pronunciation of Greek is assimilating these two words. But almost all the translators render the word *nipsis* instead of *nēpsis*, cleansing instead of sobriety which the text demands. As for us, we prefer to follow the actual Arabic text and translate the word in its current form: "for the sobriety of the soul". The other meaning of *nēpsis*; awakening of the spirit, cannot be applied to the soul, principle of life. The usual translation has still another tautology: cleansing of the soul is the same as remission of sins.

As regards the word "intimate confidence" which is the translation of *parrēsia*, its technical sense must be kept. The soul, purified by *apatheia*, rediscovers the liberty of its relations with God; it dares present itself again before him, it comes back to his familiarity. As Adam before his fall—"the appearance of the *parrēsia* thus marks the end of purgative life, the restoration of the soul in the paradise of divine friendship."⁸⁷

27. The Manual Acts

What distinguishes the Byzantine liturgy from other liturgies, is the disposition of the parts of the Lamb after the fraction. The priest puts them on the *diskos* in the form of a cross:

IC
NI KA
XC

The consignation is done in the following way: the priest takes IC and traces, with this particle a sign of the cross over the chalice, and then he drops it there. The consecration of the bread separated from the wine, symbolizes the sacrifice of Christ; the communion the return of life into the body or the resurrection. It is the risen Christ with whom the faithful unites himself in holy communion. To stress the living presence of the body, the Byzantine liturgy prescribes, since the 6th century, to pour some hot water into the chalice. This is the *zeon* (fervour). "The fervour of

87 J. Danielou, *Platonisme et Theologie Mystique*, Paris 1944., 111.

faith", says the priest while pouring the zeon into the chalice, faith "full of the Holy Spirit".

28. The Communion

Before the manual acts which prepare the holy species for their consumption, there has been another preparation, that of the ministers and the faithful for holy communion. It is done in three times: in the prayer before the Our Father, in the Lord's prayer itself and in the secret prayers said by the priest. The texts are clear by themselves and, in our opinion, only a few words should be said with regard to the Lord's prayer. The daily bread asked for in Lk 11, 3, is the supersubstantial bread of Mt 6, 11. It is not the bread of the present, but the bread of the future, that of the Kingdom, the Eucharist.

Originally the priest placed the host into the right hand, supported by the left, of the deacon and of the faithful who then drank from the chalice. This custom has been always maintained for the communion of the deacon and of the priests concelebrating with the bishop. Since the 7th century, the deacon puts the particles of the bread into the chalice, and the priest communicates the faithful by means of a spoon taking the bread imbibed by the wine from the chalice.

The priest purifies his fingers either with a spongos or with a triangle of fabric of cotton called mussa. Both recall the sponge of the Passion of Christ. The small spoon is called labis (tongs, pincers) recalling the tongs the Seraph carried when approaching the live coal to the lips of Isaiah (Is 6, 6).

The use of the spoon disappeared, with the Melkites, in the beginning of this century. In 1896, Archbishop Germanos Mo'akkad, pleaded for its suppression.⁸⁸ This plea was at the beginning of a movement which ended by adopting communion by intinction, instead by means of a spoon, and this not only with the Melkites, but also with the Italo-Greeks (or Italo-Albanians) and others.

At this point, we have to state that many elements of the Holy and Divine Liturgy were not, dealt with and remained in the shadow. The rites of the Divine liturgy have their origin far in history. To understand them all, it is not enough to take into consideration the Byzantine history, that of the primitive Church or that of synagogal worship. History of liturgy goes back to the origins of mankind which always had its worship and its rites. Revelation did not suppress them, but it has cleansed, elevated and restructured them; it has assumed them in a new synthesis.

⁸⁸ *Archbishop G. Mo 'akkad*, *Livre de la verification des vœux de ceux qui suivent le rite grec (in Arabic)*, s. l., s. d., 4-13.

“Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he has purposed in him, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, *to re-establish all things in Christ*, that are in heaven and on earth, in him” (Eph 1, 3 and 9-10).

V. Is it possible for the Melkite Church to proceed to a liturgical reform?

1. *Lessons of the history*

In 1957, there appeared a series of articles concerning a common subject, the restoration of the Byzantine Liturgy, in the review “Proche-Orient chrétien”. The contributions were due to Archbishops Butros-Kamel Medawar and (then still Fr.) Neophytos Edelby, and the professors Foundoulis, Schmemmann and Trembelas. The result of these articles was to alert the opinion on the necessity of proceeding to a work of revision of the Holy and Divine Liturgy. The repetitions of the prayers, their monotony, the disappearance of the antiphonal psalms, the absence of really communitarian celebrations, and the domination of Greek in the choral chant were criticized.

The wind of the time blew also against the shape of the sacred vestments, the gilded crosses, the crowns richly adorned by precious stones, the pectoral crosses and the episcopal enkolpia. Modesty, simplicity, and poverty were looked for.

All these ideas were well received by the young priests, always in search of novelties and of their priestly and particularly communitarian identity.

Liturgical science was still at its very beginning, and the erudite and learned articles of J. Mateos appeared only from 1961 onwards, i. e. two years after the last of the series mentioned above. Already in 1959, Fr. (now Metropolitan of Aleppo) Neophytos Edelby had published his *Liturgikon*.

The unrest of the young and the science getting more and more importance, aroused study groups, workshops of liturgical experimentation, a liturgical committee, especially in the eparchy of Beirut, and the Congress of the Greek Catholic (Melkite) Clergy.

The result of all these attempts was the publication of a liturgical book by the liturgical committee of Beirut (pro manuscripto) which was marked by the return to a certain Antiochian structure, the multiplication of anaphorae and the adoption of prayers variable to the circumstances.

The Holy Synod was also assailed with liturgical questions and problems of liturgical pastoral, and answering, it published its decree

of reform or rather of abbreviation of the Divine Liturgy, as we have pointed out above.

After reiterated contacts between the Melkite hierarchy and their Orthodox confrères, a liturgical symposium took place in the Convent Christ-Roi (Christ the King Convent) near Beirut from December 10 to 12, 1972. Many hopes were attached to this event; but the result set right the expectations. The works remained secret, and no committee was authorized to continue them.

The liturgical committee of Beirut, however, transformed into Synodal committee, succeeded in presenting several projects to the Holy Synod: infant baptism; a liturgy containing funeral elements; an eucharistic matrimonial liturgy. The first project was definitely approved; the other two admitted *ad experimentum* and then left to the discretion of the bishop.

In the Synod of 1981, the bishops wanting to do a basic work for the liturgical renewal, established a committee; its aim was to define the sense of the liturgical renewal and its criteria. Its report is already finished and remitted to the central Secretariat of the Synod.

2. Shadows and Lights

Definitely established since the age of the printing press, transcribed before, from generation to generation, with an almost constant faithfulness, the Byzantine liturgy did not know any notable change since the 14th century.

How could it resist to the erosion of the centuries and adapt itself to the genius of so diverse peoples? Should we not inquire into the secret of its permanence and research the reasons of its continued success?

Indeed, apart from some allusions of local character, the imperial note of some of its intercessions and some hymns, the old age of its sanctoral and its exclusivism, the indiscutable archaism of certain gestures and symbols, it must be admitted: the high attitude of its performance, the dominating elevation of its trinitarian theology, the depth of its Christology, the faithfulness to the veneration (*proskynesis*) of the Virgin Mother of God and the biblical sense for man and his vocation in Christ.

The expressions of its prayers are noble and permit any attentive participant to integrate himself in it and to find an answer for his actual needs. Compared with the other Oriental liturgies, it excels by distinction and high literary attitude of its language, by the dramatic character of its processions and the hidden celebration, behind the iconostasis, of the most solemn moments. The disconcerted spirit is thrown into the clearness-obscurity of its high theological contemplation by its prayers, its symbols and the maternal attention

to the necessities of life; and the ear is trickled by the touching eloquence of Antioch, and the sense and the measure proper to its language. Could this be the paschal light of Jerusalem? The secret and stale perfume of the holy places? The constant attention to the mystery lived between the Already and the Not yet? Or everything what Byzantium was able to offer in her glory and refinery of her riches in the decorations, her splendour in the liturgical instruments and vessels, of her lustre and fineness in the clothing of her ministers, and of her enchantment in the light, music and smell?

All this constituted the depths of her soul and the brightness of her exterior.

3. The Imperatives of the change

But people are too busy, to listen for a long time, and a little superficial to ponder on what they heard. Modern taste turns towards destitution, poverty, simplicity and quick and immediate expression.

Before a monument of such enchanting beauty which contains a culture which is no longer understood, a civilization which is not of our time, the Greek Catholic, especially the young in search of identity, question themselves; in face of a liturgy which is almost no more taught in the Schools of Theology, which is only alive, to a certain extent, in some houses of clerical formation and prayer, the young clergy question themselves; in face of a liturgy which is so rich in hymnography, but the celebration of which is almost everywhere limited to that of the Sunday liturgy, the liturgists, in their turn, question themselves.

Nevertheless, to speak of a liturgical reform seems an extremely difficult enterprise.

4. Difficulties of the change

The first difficulty originates in the riches of the Byzantine liturgy itself: Those who love the after-taste of antiquity, who have a taste for archaism and who are charmed by the writings of the Fathers who have formed and commented on the sacred rite, prefer to stay at the status quo where they are well installed.

Those who find that the mission of the Greek Catholic Church is to be able to live the liturgical and ecclesiological riches of Orthodoxy maintaining wholly their union with the Church of Rome. Orthodoxy is a very complex machine; it does not move, or it is almost unable to move towards modernisation, re-styling and adaptation.

5. The Reform pleaded for

It is not for novelty's sake that a reform is thought of. Every action which is often repeated risks to become ritualistic, every text

which is re-read, loses of its first virginity and acuteness. It is no more a search for new aesthetics. Our continuity in history—even history of salvation, our cultural identity which is within the movement of the Septuagint and the great rhetoric of Antioch, of the tragic poetry of Romanos, and of the contemplation of the Jesus prayer, oppose to it.

The Typikon, the ordo of the ceremonial and the disposition of the prayers, work of the Fathers, must be understood in its liturgical, not in a formalistic, reality. The Church has prepared there, for the action of God, incense, light, poetry, chant. We should say that God has accustomed himself to this plan. But man, the Greek Catholic of the end of the 20th century, estranged himself from liturgy at the source of life. For him, liturgy has become a sealed book and a dried up canal which is no longer carrying its water along. Let us open for him the sealed book, and let us repair the leading canals! The reform is a catechesis, a formation and a return to the sources of life. Reform does not mean a shortening of the Divine Liturgy, an abridgement of Baptism, Funerals and the offices. The length of the sessions creates, for the active and devoted participants what the slow and progressive ascent of Moses on the slope of Sinai has created: cleansing, entering into the cloud, and contact with God. If we shorten, then to be more authentic and accessible. We should wish to live and make live intensely the moment of the liturgy. If we shall not make the reform together with the Orthodox Antiochian brethren, and this is regretable, we shall do it without presumption and temerity, in a way which does not estrange the souls; we shall try it alone, by restoring, through history, the path of the return. i. e. the restructuration of our celebrations, beginning with the primitive inspiration, to render them, faithful to the Antiochian and Byzantine traditions, that simple and modest line which had presided over their initial formation.

The liturgical reform we are pleading for, is the work of a living Church. The faithful and their pastors are the crucible of liturgical life. Out of their interaction, their unity in the Holy Spirit, the renewed liturgy will be born: neither reactionary nor progressive but an overture for the good of the souls and a faithfulness to what we have been and to what we wish to continue to be.

VI. Liturgical vessels and instruments—Liturgical linen and vestments—Liturgical Books

A. *Sacred vessels and instruments*

Artophorion: tabernacle

Asteriskos (astēr): star

Diskos: paten

Lonchē: lance

Labis: spoon for communion
 Peristera: dove serving as artophorion
 Potērion: chalice

B. Not sacred vessels and instruments

Agiasmatarion: portable holy water font
 Bikion: vessel in which the Myron or holy Chrism is kept
 Dikēron: candlestick for two candles, symbolizing the two natures in Christ
 Dikēro-Trikēra: candlestick for two candles and candlestick for three candles, symbolizing the all-holy Trinity
 Exapteriges: Portable diskos with the representation of a Cherub with six wings (ex = six; pteriges = wings), liturgical fan
 Manualion: portable candlestick for one candle
 Polykēron: candlestick for several candles
 Rhipidion: the same as exapteriges
 Stavros: cross
 Thermarion: vessel to heat the water serving as zeon
 Thymiaturion or Thymiatis: thurible, censer

2. Liturgical Linen and Vestments

A. Linen

Antimension: see the note above; replaces the portable altar or altar stone

Eilēton: a piece of linen fabric covering the antimension from outside

Spongus: triangle sponge to purify the fingers after touching the holy species

Mussa: triangle pocket of cotton having the same purpose as the spongus

Kalymmata: veils to cover the diskos, the chalice and both together. The first is the diskokalymma, the second the deuterokalymma, the third, the largest, the Aēr (cloud; nepheli).

B. Liturgical Vestments (see the description above)

Of the Deacon

Sticharion
 Orarion
 Epimanikia

Of the Priest

Sticharion
 Epitrachelion
 Zonē
 Epimanikia
 Epigonation
 Phelonion

Of the Bishop

Sticharion
 Epitrachelion
 Zonē
 Epimanikia
 Epigonation
 Sakkos
 Omophorion
 Pectoral Cross
 Enkolpia
 Crosier
 Crown (mitre)

3. Liturgical Books

Apostolos: Book containing the readings taken from the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles.

Evangelion: Book containing the readings taken from the four Gospels.

Heirmologion: Selection of the Heirmoi, or types of the first troparion of the nine odes of the Canon of the Orthros

Horologion: Book of the Seven Hours of the Divine Office and of the troparia of the movable and fixed feasts.

Leitourgikon: Book containing the three Liturgies.

Mēnaia: Book containing the hymnographical compositions of the fixed feasts of the solar calendar.

Oktoēchos: Book of the eight tones: the hymnographical compositions for the days of the week in a cycle of eight weeks. It is called Little Oktoēchos (Mikros) if it contains but the service of Sundays, and Great, if it contains everything.

Praxapostolos: another name for the Apostolos

Pentekostarionē Book containing the hymnographical compositions of the time between Easter and Pentecost Sunday.

Paraklitiki (Paraklētikē): The same book as the Great Oktoēchos

Psalterion: the liturgical psalter.

Triodion: Book containing the hymnographical compositions of the pre-Lenten and Lenten period (Great Lent).

Typikon: Ecclesiastical ordo of the Divine Office and the Divine Liturgy.

The Divine Liturgy or Canon of the Ministration of the Church According to the Armenian Rite

The Divine Liturgy or Canon of the Ministration of the Church According to the Armenian Rite

by

Garabed Amadouni

I. Historical Survey

1. Origin of the Armenian Liturgy

As the Gospel of Our Lord penetrated in Armenia on two ways, from the South through Syria and from the West through Cappadocia, there were also two streams of liturgical tradition which found their way into Armenia: the Syriac and the Cappadocian in their respective languages, in Syriac and in Greek.

In the beginning of the fourth century, when the official conversion of Armenia to the Christian faith took place and St. Gregory the Illuminator established the ecclesiastical hierarchy, it was rather the Cappadocian tradition which enjoyed preference by the young Armenian Church.

St. Gregory the Illuminator has received himself his education at Caesarea in Cappadocia. He brought to Armenia missionaries of the Church of Cappadocia with which Armenia was hierarchically linked throughout the fourth century.

This is why the ancient liturgy of St. Basil the Great which was in use since the fourth century, has been maintained, more or less in its primitive purity, until the end of the fifth century. Two anaphoras which have come down to us and are ascribed to St. Gregory the Illuminator and to St. Sahak (5th cent.), are nothing else than the pre-Byzantine anaphora of St. Basil.

In the early 5th century, the Armenian alphabet was invented. The Holy Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers were translated into Armenian, and by the by the Armenian language became liturgical replacing as well the Greek as the Syriac languages. The authors of this movement of Armenism, the Vardapet St. Mesrop Mashtots as well as the Catholicos St. Sahak and their disciples, among whom the most influent in the development of the liturgy were Ghiut and John Mandakuni, Armenian Catholicos of

the fifth century, took up the venture to armenize the already existing liturgies, the Divine Office and the Euchologion. So the Armenian liturgy is the result of a wise fusion of the pre-existing traditions, the Syriac and the Cappadocian, with properly Armenian additions.

Its background is represented by the ancient liturgy of St. Basil. It was enriched by certain prayers borrowed from the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. This borrowing is very much perceptible in the first part of the Armenian liturgy, the liturgy of the Word. On the contrary, the diptychs or the remembrance of the faithful and the commemoration of the Saints which follow the epiclesis, have their origin rather in the Syriac tradition.

This basis which received its form since the end of the fifth century, remained almost intact till the Middle Ages when, due to the continued relations with Western Christianity, during the period of the Kingdom of Cilicia, certain secondary borrowings of the Roman liturgy were introduced: the *confiteor*, Psalm 42 *Iudica me Deus*, and in the end, before the dismissal of the faithful, the reading of the prologue of the Gospel of St. John. Besides, from an authentic Armenian source, the long prayer of St. Gregory Narekatsi which is addressed to the Holy Spirit, was introduced as well as the chant *Khorourd Khorin*, i. e. "Profound mystery", of Khatchatur Vardapet Taronetsi (beginning of the 13th cent.).

All these additions have, however, only touched the preparatory part or the end of the liturgy, the ancient basis of which remained intact. Consequently it must be said today, that the Armenian Church is essentially celebrating that liturgy which was in use already one century after the conversion.

In the past, Armenia knew more than one Anaphora, but nowadays there is but one. It is preceded by the "meridian liturgy" or the "Dchashou Pashton" (literally Liturgy of Meal = Liturgy of the Word), which has variable parts, according to the feast of the day. These are the introit, the meridian troparion (Dchachou Sharakan), the antiphons, the readings from the Holy Scripture, the hymn Cheruvikon (Srbatsout' ioun).

2. The frame of the liturgy

The interior of the church must be divided into three parts: the nave, the choir, the *bem* or sanctuary.

The nave (*atian*) which goes from the entrance of the sacred building to the choir, occupies almost half or even more of the church. This part is reserved for the congregation. According to an ancient custom, one of the naves, if there are several, must be separated by a balustrade and reserved for women: this is the *gynaikeion*; sometimes a tribune is reserved for them.

Now comes the *das* or choir: It is a little elevated, one or two steps higher than the nave. From the latter it is separated by a balustrade. The *bem* or sanctuary is the place which is occupying the whole apsis. It is elevated and three, four or even five steps higher than the choir. The main altar is in the centre of the bem, at a good distance from the background of the apsis. The bem is reserved for the celebrant and the ministers who are assisting him from nearby, i. e. deacons and hypodeacons.

Choir and bem occupy almost half of the church building.

At the level of the bem, to the right of the main altar there is the small altar called *ēntzayaran* (oblatorium). It is corresponding to the *prothesis* of the Byzantine rite. The oblations are prepared on this altar. To the left side of the bem, there is a corresponding altar, that of the diakonikon (*sarkavagaduon*).

Two *veils* serve, at certain moments of the Divine Liturgy, to hide the whole bem or only the main altar from the sights of the public.

3. The liturgical vestments of the celebrant

a) The *shapik* corresponding to the Byzantine sticharion or the Latin alb;

b) The *urar* or *phourar* which has the form of the epitrachelion of the Byzantines and corresponds to the stole;

c) The *goti*, the cincture or zoni, is adorned with precious stones;

d) The *bazpan* on the right and the left hand is serving to fasten the extremities of the shapik. They correspond to the Byzantine epimanikia;

e) The *vakas* (ephod or 'humeral) covers, from behind, the neck of the celebrant. It resembles to and traces doubtlessly its origin from the Syriac hood;

f) The *shourdjar* (cope) is corresponding to the Byzantine phelonion or the chasuble of the Latins. It has the same form like the Syrian one;

g) The *saghavart* or *khouyr*, the royal crown, is used when the celebrant is a priest; if he is a bishop, he will use the *T'ag*, the mitre, so also a prelate enjoying the right of the pontificals. Besides, the bishop wears the *konk'er*, the epigonation of the Byzantines, and on his shoulders the *emip'oron*, the omophorion. The Armenian Catholic Catholicos-Patriarch of Cilicia is also using the Latin *pallium* sent by the Popes in the Middle Ages in token of ecclesiastical communion with the Holy See of Rome.

The celebrant wears *sandals* which are normally more or less richly decorated, depending on the hierarchical dignity. None is allowed to approach the altar with ordinary shoes.

Since the Middle Ages, the bishops have begun to use the Latin pastoral staff. The *staff* surmounted by two interlaced serpents, as used by the Byzantine and Syrian rite hierarchs, is proper to the Armenian *Vardapets*, i. e. "doctors".

The celebrant is also holding a small cross in his hand to bless the congregation.

During the solemn liturgy, two deacons or hypodeacons carry two fans adorned with small bells (*k'shots*).

II. The Participation of the congregation in the Armenian Liturgy

Liturgy is the public prayer of the Church and it finds its full significance only in the effective participation of all the assembly in the sacred action which is taking place on the altar. The Armenian liturgy manifests itself, by its dramatic structure, marked in a special manner by the incessant dialogue between the celebrant, the deacons and the congregation, the interlaced gestures, the delimitation of its parts by the use of the veils, as particularly apt to affirm and promote this participation, provided the faithful be accordingly instructed and catechized to this end. The necessity of such an effective participation consequently derives from the nature itself of the eucharistic worship, and we should like to expose, though in a succinct way, its theological foundations trying to illustrate them by the prayers of the Armenian liturgy.

1. Liturgy is the supreme worship of the Church

The external pomp of the liturgy, especially in its solemn form, should not make forget that liturgy is essentially and basically a *sacrifice, the supreme worship of the Church*.

One of the dominating aspects of the Divine Liturgy is that of *sacrifice*. The Divine Liturgy is the representation or re-enactment of the sacrifice of Calvary, in a mystery.

The principal sacrificer as well as the principal victim is always remaining Him who has immolated himself on Calvary: Jesus Christ. This is why the Armenian anaphora, invoking the Father, says: "You gave us your only begotten Son, both debtor and debt, immolation and anointed, lamb and bread of heaven, high priest and sacrifice: for he is distributor and he himself is distributed in our midst always, without ever being consumed."

In the Divine Liturgy, Christ makes use of the priest to render present on the altar in a bloodless way the immolation done once

for ever on Calvary. Christ delivers himself as immaculate Victim to the Church, that she may have, at her disposal, an oblation which is worthy of the divine Majesty.

This sacrifice which is, before all, the sacrifice of Christ, is also that of the Church and ours. And it becomes ours the more we are careful, at each celebration, to add, from our part, something which belongs to ourselves: at acts of adoration, of thanksgiving, of praise, the oblation of ourselves by our complete submission to the divine will, and this always in union with the holy sacrificial offering, the principal victim.

In this way the Church, the community of the faithful, can conform herself to and get participation in the state of victim of the sacrificial offering and somehow achieve what was lacking to the eucharistic Offering, namely the immolation and the offering of the Church.

2. Liturgy is a Memorial

A second aspect of the sacrifice of the Divine Liturgy should not escape to the attention of the participants, that of *Memorial*. This is necessary in order to make their participation more fruitful.

One of the characteristics of this sacrifice is its reference to the bloody sacrifice on Calvary. This reference is stressed when the celebrant, just after the words of Institution, in the most solemn moment of the liturgy, makes the *anamnesis*, i. e. the Memory of the mysteries of Our Lord Jesus Christ, holding the host and the chalice in his hands offering them to God the Father and saying the following formula:

“We therefore, O Lord, in accordance with this commandment, bringing forth the saving mystery of the body and blood of your Only-begotten, are mindful of his redemptive sufferings for us, of his life-giving crucifixion, his burial of three days, his blessed resurrection, his divine ascension and his session at your right hand, O Father; his awful and glorious second coming we confess and bless.”

This recollection is followed by the offering of the Lord's Body and Blood: “We offer you your own, from what is your own, in all and for the sake of all.”

By this detailed and most exact recollection of the mysteries of Our Lord, the celebrant recognizes before the divine Majesty the whole *raison d'être* of the liturgical sacrifice, its direct dependance on the mystery of our salvation, the work of redemption. This remembrance, or this reminder, is very significant. It is backing our faith, our hope, and the motives of our love and of our gratitude towards the Holy Trinity.

Following the recommendation made by Our Lord: "Do this in remembrance of me", and of St. Paul: "Whenever you do this, you will announce the death of the Lord", all the liturgies are impregnated by this reference to the mysteries of the redemption. The dominating theme of each anaphora is the recital of the deeds of the redemption.

So the liturgy in which the principal act of worship is taking place, presents itself as a *memorial* of the great deeds of mercy which God the Father has accomplished among us through his son, Our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Liturgy is a communitarian worship

At last, the liturgy is a communitarian worship. The faithful participating in it, should be fully convinced that it is not the priest who is offering this sacrifice alone, but, with him, the Christian community.

It would suffice to follow from near the prayers and the ceremonies of the liturgy to be aware of it. Everywhere God is addressed in the name of the community, in the plural form, by "We". Have the exhortations of the deacon not the aim, to include the congregation into a real participation, by responses like: "*Ter oormya*"—Lord, have mercy; or by hymns sung by the choir.

Consequently it is the whole congregation which is celebrating the liturgy in union with the priest, their representative who, united with Jesus, presents himself to the divine Majesty.

The faithful have to take part in the liturgy as true actors performing the sacrifice. They have to play their very role. And they will have done it when, in solidarity with the priest, they unite, with him, their voices and their gestures as well as their feelings, in order to offer the Holy Trinity, with him, the worship of addoration, praise, thanksgiving, expiation and prayer to obtain the necessary graces for the life of the soul, by means of the chants and responses reserved to them.

Indeed, placing ourselves on the spiritual level, there is an abundant source of Christian life for the faithful who take active part in the liturgy.

Through the liturgy, the Christian souls truly receives lights for their intelligence and graces to vivify and fortify them. These lights are diffused either by the simple listening to the Holy Scripture the efficacy of which having its origin, before all, in the fact that it is the Word of God; or also by the fact that it is heard in connection with the eucharistic sacrifice.

In the liturgy, the Word of God must fall into a soil prepared by the active prayer of the assembly, and on the other hand,

it is preparing for the reception of the graces of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

The melodious chants, the prayers inspired by the Christian truths which are an expression of the ardent piety of the Church Fathers, are addressed by the assembly to God the Father in the name of Christ our Mediator and give the Divine Liturgy its exceptional efficiency. The eucharistic communion which normally is closing, also for the faithful, this act of worship, puts the seal on the efficacy of this sacrifice for the spiritual life of the soul.

III. The Text of the Divine Liturgy or Canon of the Ministration of the Church

A. THE PREPARATION

1. The Vesting

While the Priest is vesting, the Clerks shall sing the following:

[The Hymn of Vesting]

O mystery deep, inscrutable, without beginning. Thou that hast decked thy supernal realm as a chamber unto the light unapproachable and hast adorned with splendid glory the ranks of the fiery spirits,

With ineffably wondrous power didst thou create Adam, the lordly image, and didst endue him with a gracious glory in the paradise of Eden, in the place of delights.

Through the passion of thine holy Only-begotten all creation hath been renewed and man hath again been made immortal, apparelled in garment indispoilable.

O chalice, fountain of a rain of fire, which thou didst pour down upon the apostles in the holy upper-room, pour down also upon us, O God the Holy Spirit, thy wisdom together with this raiment.

When the Priest willeth to offer the Sacrifice, he shall put on vestments mystically in this wise.—Together with the Deacon he shall go into the vestry, where the vestments for the liturgy are kept. Then the Servers, having put on their vestments everyone according to his rank, shall say:

[The Psalm of Vesting]

Psalm 132

V. Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness; and let thy saints shout for joy.

R. Lord, remember David and all his meekness.
(How he swore unto the Lord: and vowed unto the God of Jacob.

Surely I will not enter into the tabernacle of my house; nor go up into my bed,

I will not give sleep to mine eyes; or slumber to mine eyelids. nor rest to my temples, until I find out a place for the temple of the Lord God of Jacob.

Lo, we heard of the same at Ephratah; we found it in the field of the cedars.

We will go into his tabernacles; we will worship at his footstool.

Holiness becometh thine house, who didst clothe thyself with majesty and didst gird thyself with the glorious holiness. Gird thou our loins with truth. Thou who didst stretch forth thy creating arms against the stars, strengthen our arms with power, that we may lift up our hands to intercede with thee.

By the wreathing of the crown about our heads, encompass our thoughts and gird our senses with the cross-emblazoned stole, as with the stole of Aaron, which was worked with flowers embroidered in gold to adorn the Tabernacle.

O God, Lord and sovereign of all assemblies, thou hast invested us with the cope of thy love to be ministers of thine holy mystery.

Heavenly king, preserve thy Church unshaken and keep the worshippers of thy name in peace.)

Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place; thou and the ark of thy holiness.

Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness; and let thy saints shout for joy.

For thy servant David's sake, turn not away thy face from thine anointed.

The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David, and hath not turned from him; of the fruit of his loins will he set upon his throne.

If thy children will keep my covenant, and my testimony that I shall teach them.

Their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore.

For the Lord hath chosen Sion, and he hath desired it for his habitation, saying: This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have pleasure therein.

I will abundantly bless her provision; and I will satisfy her poor with bread.

[I will also clothe her priests with salvation and her saints shall shout for joy.

There will I make the horn of David to bud; I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed,

His enemies will I clothe with shame; but upon himself shall my holiness flourish.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.¹

And the Deacon shall proclaim:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

Let us request in faith with one accord of the Lord, that he may bestow upon us the grace of his mercy.

May the almighty Lord our God save us and have mercy upon us.

And they shall say twelve times:

Lord, have mercy.

The private prayer of the celebrant Priest before vesting:

O Jesus Christ our Lord, who art clothed with light as with a garment, who didst appear upon earth in unspeakable humility and didst walk about with men, who didst become eternal high-priest after the order of Melchisedec and didst adorn thine holy church; O Lord almighty, who hast vouchsafed unto us to put on the same heavenly garment, make me also, thine unprofitable servant, worthy at this hour when I make bold to approach the same spiritual service of thy glory, so that I may divest myself of all ungodliness, which is a garment of defilement, and that I may be adorned with thy light. Cast away my wickedness from me and shake off my transgressions that I may be made worthy of the light prepared by thee in the world to come. Grant me to enter with priestly glory upon the ministry of thy holy things together with them that have kept thy commandments innocently, so that I also may be found prepared for the heavenly nuptial chamber with the wise virgins to glorify thee, O Christ, who didst bear the sins of all. For thou art the holiness of our souls, and unto thee, O beneficent God, is befitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Deacon shall draw near and shall robe him with the vestments, saying [before each vestment]:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

Receive, save and have mercy.

The Priest:

Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[The Prayers over the Vestments]

And after the blessing, he shall first put the khouyr [crown or hood] upon his head, saying:

1. Can be omitted by Armenian Catholics

Put, O Lord, upon my head the helmet of salvation to fight against the powers of the enemy, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ unto whom is befitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

For the shapik [alb or sticharion]:

Clothe me, O Lord, with the garment of salvation and with a robe of gladness, and gird me with this vestment of salvation, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

For the phourar [stole or epitachelion]:

Clothe my neck, O Lord, with righteousness and cleanse my heart from all filthiness of sin, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. *For the goti [cincture or zone]:*

May the cincture of faith encircle me round about my heart and my mind and quench all vile thoughts in them and may the power of thy grace abide in them at all times, by the grace, etc.

For the bazpan [maniple or epimanikia] on the right (or left) hand:

Give strength, O Lord, to my right (or left) hand and wash all my filthiness, that I may be able to serve thee in health of soul and body, by the grace of our Lord, etc.

For the vacas [ephod or amice]:

Clothe my neck, O Lord, with righteousness and cleanse my heart from all filthiness of sin, by the grace, etc.

For the shourchar [cope or phelonion]:

In thy mercy, O Lord, clothe me with a radiant garment and fortify me against the influence of the evil one, that I may be worthy to glorify thy glorious name, by the grace, etc.

After being apparelled with the sacred vestments, he shall say:

My soul shall rejoice in the Lord, for he hath clothed me with a raiment of salvation and with a robe of gladness. He hath put upon me a crown as upon a bridegroom and hath adorned me like a bride with jewels, by the grace, etc.

For the towel:

Cleanse my hands, O Lord, from all filthiness of sin, by the grace of our Lord, etc.

[If the Celebrant be a Priest, the prayer to the Holy Spirit by St. Gregory of Narek may be said here, in secret.]

2. THE PURIFICATION

Then they shall come in front of the holy Table [in the Chancel], and the Priest shall wash his hands, saying:

[The Lavabo]

Psalm 26.

[On the ordinary days this psalm is said in secret.]

The Priest:

V. I will wash my hands in innocency; so will I compass thine altar, O Lord.

The Deacon:

R. Do judgement for me, O Lord, for I have walked innocently; my trust hath been in the Lord that I may not be sick.

Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try out my reins and my heart.

[Thy mercy, O Lord, is before mine eyes; and I am pleased in thy truth.

I shall not sit in the seats of the vain; neither will I go in with them that are without law.

I have hated the congregations of the wicked; I will not sit among the ungodly.

I will wash my hands in innocency; so will I compass thine altar, O Lord.

That I may hear the voice of thy blessing; and tell of all thy wondrous works.

Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house; and the place where thy glory dwelleth.

Destroy not my soul with the ungodly; nor my life with the bloodthirsty;

Whose hands are in iniquity, and their right hand is full of bribes.

As for me, I have walked innocently; deliver me, O Lord, and be merciful unto me.

My foot shall stand aright;

In great congregations will I praise thee.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit,

Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.^{2]}

The Priest:

By the intercession of the holy Mother-of-God, O Lord, receive our supplications and save us.

The Deacon:

Let us make the holy Mother-of-God and all the saints intercessors with the Father in heaven, that he may be pleased to have mercy and to have compassion and save his creatures.

Almighty Lord, our God, save us and have mercy.

The Priest:

[*The Prayer of Intercession*]

Receive, O Lord, our supplications by the intercession of the holy Mother-of-God, the immaculate birthgiver of thine only-begotten Son and by the supplication of all thy saints. Hear us, O Lord, and have mercy; forgive, expiate and remit us our sins; make us worthy to thank and to glorify thee with the Son and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

2. Can be omitted by Armenian Catholics

(Then [turning to the people] he shall again say:)

[Confiteor]

I confess before God and before the holy Mother-of-God and before all the saints and before you, fathers and brethren, all the sins that I have committed; for I have sinned in thought, word and deed and with all the sins that men commit. I have sinned, yea, I have sinned; I pray you, beg of God forgiveness for me.

[If there be a Priest present he shall answer, but if not,] those standing by shall answer:

[The Prayers for Forgiveness]

May God the almighty have mercy upon thee and grant thee forgiveness of all thy transgressions of the past and of the present, and may he deliver thee from those of the time to come and may he confirm thee in all good works and give thee rest in the life to come. Amen.

[And he shall answer:]

May God, that loveth men, set you also free and may he remit all your transgressions; may he give you time to repent and to do good works; may he direct also your life in the time to come by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the mighty and the merciful, and unto him be glory for ever. Amen.

The Clerks:

Remember us also before the immortal Lamb of God.

The Priest:

Ye shall be remembered before the immortal Lamb of God.

3. THE ACCESSION

The Clerks, in antiphon:

[The First Psalm of Entrance]

Psalm 100

Cry unto the Lord all ye lands; serve the Lord with gladness. Come before his presence with joy, know ye that he is the Lord our God.

It is he that hath made us and we were not by ourselves; we are his people and the sheep of his pasture.

Enter into his gates with thanksgiving; and into his courts with praise.

Give thanks unto the Lord; and bless his name.

The Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting; and his truth endureth from generation to generation.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

The Deacon shall proclaim:

By the holy Church let us beseech the Lord that through her may he deliver us from sin and may save us by the grace of his mercy.

Almighty Lord our God, save and have mercy.

The Priest:

[The Prayer in the Temple]

In the midst of this temple and before these holy symbols accepted by God and glorified, and before this holy place, we humble ourselves and bow down in fear. We glorify thine holy, wondrous and triumphant dominion and unto thee with the Father and with the Holy Spirit we offer blessing and glory, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And going up to the altar, the Priest shall say, in antiphon:

[The Second Psalm of Entrance]

Psalm 43

V. I will go unto the altar of God; unto God who maketh my youth joyful.

[The Deacon:]

R. Do judgement for me, O God; and do justice to me in my cause.

From the unholy generation; from the sinful and deceitful man deliver me.

Thou art, O God, the giver of my strength; why hast thou forgotten me? Why go I so heavily while my enemy oppresses me?

Send out, O Lord, thy light and thy truth that they may lead me; and bring me unto thine holy hill and unto thy dwelling.

I will go unto the altar of God; unto the God who maketh my youth joyful.

I will give thanks unto thee with praises, O God my God.

Then why art thou so heavy, O my soul, and why dost thou disquiet me? Put thy trust in God, give thanks unto him, the deliverer of my countenance is God.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit,
Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

The Deacon shall proclaim:

[The Litany in the Sanctuary]

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

Let us bless the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made us worthy to stand in this place of praise and to sing spiritual songs.

Almighty Lord our God, save and have mercy.

The Priest, aloud:

[The Prayer in the Sanctuary]

In this dwelling of holiness and in this place of praise, in this habitation of angels and the house of expiation of men, before these symbols accepted by God and glorified, and before this sanctuary, we humble ourselves and bow down in fear. We bless and glorify thine holy, wondrous and triumphant dominion, and together with the heavenly hosts we offer blessing and glory unto thee with the Father, and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[If the celebrant be a Bishop, the Clerks shall sing the following hymn while the Bishop is saying the Prayer to the Holy Spirit, in secret.

But if the celebrant be a Priest, the curtain shall be drawn and the Clerks shall sing a melody according to the proper of the day.]

[Chant before the Melody]

(Chosen of God, O blessed holy priest, thou resemblest Aaron and Moses the Prophet, who prepared the garments which Aaron always did wear. He fashioned the robe which was formed of four elements:

Of scarlet, of blue, of gold, of purple. Threads upon threads were worked in. The first row was of carbuncle and the sacred ephod was skirting round about and at the treading of his heels the earth resounded and the tabernacle rejoiced.

So now likewise Christ doth prepare thee, our priest.

When thou enterest into the holy tabernacle, remember therein those of us that have fallen asleep.

When thou offerest this oblation, remember me also, a man of many sins.

May he be pleased to have mercy upon us at his second coming.

[If the celebrant be a Bishop, he shall put the precious omophorion over his breast, and approaching the table of the gifts by the altar, and falling on his knees, shall say, with streaming tears silently and speechless, these prayers to the Holy Spirit, who is the economizer of the act.

But if the celebrant be a Priest, the curtain shall be drawn and these prayers shall be said in secret behind the curtain, if they have not already been said after vesting.]

Of Gregory of Narek

[Prayer to the Holy Spirit]

Almighty, beneficent, lover of man, God of all, maker of the visible and the invisible, saviour and restorer, provider and pacifier, O mighty Spirit of the Father, we entreat thee with open arms and pray with sighs and cries standing before thine awful presence.

We draw near with great trembling and utmost fear to offer first this reasonable sacrifice to thine unsearchable power, as to the sharer of the unalienable honour of the Father in throne, in glory and in creation; to thee, the searcher of the hidden depth of the mysteries of the all-perfect will of the Father of Emmanuel who sendeth thee and who is the saviour, the life-giver and the creator of all. Through thee was made known to us the triune personality of the one Godhead, whereof thou also art known to be one, O thou who art incomprehensible!

Glory to the Father, honour to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever.

Christ is blessed by all, unto the ages of ages. Amen.)

By thee and through thee did the ancient scions of the patriarchal family, named seers, declare in plain language the things past and the things to come, the things that have come to be and the things that have not yet come to be.

O Spirit of God, Moses proclaimed thee as the one who, moving—uncircumscribed power as thou art—on the surface of the waters and brooding with tremendous envelopment, and covering and defending the newly born under thy wings in tenderly love, hast made known the mystery of the font.

On the example of the same pattern, before setting up the fluid element of the last screen, thou didst form in lordly manner, O mighty one, the complete natures of all beings and of all things out of nothing. Through thee all these thy creatures are created for the renewing of the resurrection, which will be in that time which is the last day of this life and the first day of the land of the living. The first-born Son, being of the same generation as thou art and of the same essence of the Father, obeyed thee also with oneness of will, as he did his Father. He, being in our likeness, announced thee as very God, equal and consubstantial with his mighty Father. He declared blasphemy against thee to be unforgivable and he stopped the impious mouths of them that rebel against thee, as of such as fight against God, while he forgave blasphemy against himself, the righteous and the spotless one, finder of all, who was betrayed for our sins and rose again for our justification.

Unto him be glory through thee, and unto thee be praise with the Father almighty, unto the ages of ages. Amen.

I shall again repeat, in the same order of speech, until confidence in the upward contemplation of light be wonderfully revealed, announcing and bringing the good news of peace again from on high.

We beseech and implore thee with tearful sighs from the depth of our souls, O glorified creator, uncorruptible, uncreate, timeless, merciful Spirit, who makest intercession for us to the Father with unutterable groaning, who keepest the saints and cleanseest the sinners and makest them temples of the living and life-giving will of the Father most high.

And now, deliver us from all unclean deeds that are not agreeable to thy dwelling, and may the shining light of thy grace be not quenched within us, in the perceiving eyes of our understanding; for we have learnt that thou dost unite with us by means of prayers and of approved behaviour that are sweet like incense.

And inasmuch as one of the Trinity is offered and another accepteth the same, being will pleased in us through the reconciling blood of his first-born, do thou accept our supplications and prepare us to be habitations of honour in all readiness to be worthy to taste of the heavenly Lamb and to receive, without the punishments of damnation, this immortal life-giving manna of the new deliverance.

And let our offense be consumed by this fire, as was that of the Prophet by the live burning coal held to him with the tongs, that in all things thy mercy be proclaimed, as the loving-kindness of God the Father was proclaimed through the Son, who brought the prodigal son into the paternal inheritance and advanced the harlots into the heavenly kingdom of the blessed righteous.

Yea, yea, I also am one of them. Receive me also with them as one who is in need of great loving-kindness, who has been freed by thy grace and has been purchased by the blood of Christ; that in all this thy God-head may be made known to be in all, being glorified with the Father, in equal honour, in one will and in one praised authority.

(The Deacon:

Bless, lord.)

The Bishop, aloud:

—For thine is the compassion, the power, the loving kindness, the strength and the glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[After these prayers the curtain shall be drawn.]

4. THE PROTHESIS

(Meanwhile the Clerks shall sing a Melody proper to the day.)

Melody for Sundays of Resurrection:

I Praise the voice of the lion, who roared on the four-winged cross.

On the four-winged cross he roared. And his voice resounded in the Hades.

(Repeat.)

Melody for the feasts of the Cross.

The cross appeared in the beginning, blooming in the garden planted by God.

It was a comfort to Seth, a presage to the father Adam.

We have put our trust in that wood, on which our Lord Jesus was nailed.

We humble ourselves and worship, before this only sign accepted by God.

For the feasts of the Mother-of-God:

Her eyes! Like twain seas side by side, dense with smiles and overflowing,

Like two glittering suns in the morning.

[For melodies proper to other feast days, see the Variables.]

Then the Celebrant shall approach the Table of Gifts by the Altar and the Protodeacon shall offer him the wafer, [saying:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord:

Receive, save and have mercy.

And the celebrant shall take the wafer in his hand and making the sign of the cross over it, shall say:

Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen]

And he shall place the wafer on the paten, saying:

[The Words of Prothesis]

Remembrance of our Lord Jesus Christ,

[Who is seated on the throne not made with hand. He accepted the death of the cross for mankind.

Bless, praise and exalt him for ever.]³

[Then the Protodeacon shall offer him the wine, saying:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord:

Receive, save and have mercy.

And the priest shall make the sign of the cross over the wine, saying:

Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.]

Then taking the wine he shall pour it crosswise into the chalice, saying:

In remembrance of the redeeming economy of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ;

3. Can be omitted by the Armenian Catholics.

[Through the fountain of whose blood, flowing from his side, all creatures have been renewed and made immortal.

Bless, praise and exalt him for ever.]⁴

And he shall say the following prayer of St. John Chrysostom.

[The Prayer of the Prothesis]

O Lord our God, who didst send our Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly bread, the food of the whole world, to be saviour and redeemer and benefactor, so as to bless and to sanctify us; do thou, O Lord, bless now also this presentation, receive this upon thine heavenly altar.

Be mindful, beneficent and lover of man as thou art, both of them that offer it and of them for whom it is offered and keep us without condemnation in the priestly ministration of thy divine mysteries. For holy and glorious is the most honourable majesty of the glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And he shall cover the chalice saying:

[The Psalm of the Prothesis]

Psalm 93.

The Lord reigneth, he is apparelled with majesty; the Lord is apparelled, he hath girded himself with strength.

He established the world that it cannot be moved; thy throne is established of old, thou art from everlasting.

The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voices; the floods shall rise in their course.

Above the voices of many waters, the mighty breakers of the sea; Thou art mighty, O Lord, on high; thy testimonies are very sure. Holiness becometh thy house, O Lord, for evermore.

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Thereupon he shall make the sign of the cross [over the Gifts], saying, three times:

[The Words of Annunciation]

The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the most high shall overshadow thee.

4. Can be omitted by the Armenian Catholics.

B. THE SYNAXIS

I. THE CENSING

[*The Hymn of Censing*]

(In this tabernacle of votive offerings in the temple of the Lord, we are assembled together for the mystery of the service of supplications of the holy oblation before us. We are grouped in a choir with sweet-smelling incense in the upper court of this tabernacle.

Receive our prayers ascending straight unto thee as the savour of frankincense, myrrh and cinnamon. Keep us, who offer them in holiness, that we may serve thee now and always.

Through the intercession of thy virgin Mother accept the supplications of thy servants: O Christ, who with thy blood hast made thy holy Church brighter than the heavens. Thou hast also ordained within her after the pattern of the heavenly hosts, the orders of apostles, of prophets and of holy teachers.

This day we, orders of priests, deacons, clerks and clerics herein assembled offer incense before thee, O Lord, as Zachariah did of old. Accept from us our prayers with offerings of incense, as the sacrifice of Abel, of Noah and of Abraham. Through the intercession of thy supernal hosts maintain ever unshaken the throne of Armenia.

And he shall burn incense, saying:

[*The Prayer of Censing*]

I offer incense before thee, O Christ, for a spiritual fragrance. Receive it for a sweet-smelling savour into thine holy, heavenly and intelligible place of offerings. Send down upon us in return the graces and the gifts of thine Holy Spirit.

And we offer glory unto thee, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[*And the curtain shall be withdrawn.*]

And then censing he shall come down into the church, along with the Deacons, and then going up again he shall bow down to the altar three times.

[*Hymn of the Church*]

Rejoice exceedingly, O Sion, daughter of light, holy mother catholic, together with thy children. Adorn and bedeck thyself, O glorious bride, heavenlike resplendant tabernacle. For the anointed One, God, Who is from him Who is, is ever sacrificed in thee unconsumed. He dispenseth his own holy body and blood in reconciliation of the Father and in propitiation for us, in fulfilment of his

holy economy. May he grant forgiveness to the builder of this temple.

The holy Church confesseth the spotless virgin Mary as the bearer of God, for through her was given unto us the bread of immortality and the cup of rejoicing. Give ye blessings unto her, with spiritual songs.)

2. THE ENARXIS

And the Protodeacon, standing in the middle of the church, shall cry aloud:

Bless, lord.

And the Priest shall say aloud:

[*The Blessing*]

Blessed be the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Clerks shall begin the Introit ["zhamamout"] according to the proper of the day, or else the following:

[*The Monogenes*]

Only-begotten Son and Word of God and Being immortal, who didst deign to become incarnate through the holy Mother-of-God and evervirgin.

Thou, unchangeable as thou art, didst become man and wast crucified and didst trample down death by death.

O Christ our God, who art one of the Holy Trinity, in glory equal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us.

[*For introits proper to various feast days, see the Variables.*]

When [the introit is] ended, the Protodeacon shall cry:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord:

Receive, save and have mercy.

—Bless, lord.

And the Priest shall say:

Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

+Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy Spirit.

The deacon:

Let us bow down to God.

The Clerks:

Before thee, O Lord.

And the Priest shall say aloud:

[The Prayer of the First Antiphon]

O Lord our God, whose power is unsearchable and the glory inscrutable, whose mercy is immeasurable and the compassion inexhaustible, do thou, according to thy abundant love of man, look down upon this thy people and upon this holy temple and make abundant thy mercy and thy pity unto us and unto them that pray with us. For unto thee is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Clerks shall begin the Psalm [of Jashou] and the Hymn [of Jashou] proper to the day:

[Jashou Responsory for Resurrection Days]

Psalm 93. 1-5.

Antiphon:

The Lord reigneth, he is apparelled with majesty; the Lord is apparelled, he hath girded himself with strength.

Responsory:

He hath made the world so sure that it cannot be moved.

[Jashou Hymn of Resurrection, Mode I.]

Unto the king of glory, Christ, who was for us incarnate of the holy virgin and endured the cross, let us with one accord sing praises.

And while the Clerks sing, the Priest shall say the following prayers, in secret:

[The Prayer of the Second Antiphon]

O Lord our God, save thy people and bless thine inheritance, preserve the fulness of thy Church. Sanctify them that have come to greet in love the beauty of thine house. Do thou glorify us by thy divine power and forsake not us that have put our trust in thee. For thine is the might and the power and the glory, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

+ Peace unto all.

Unto him who suffered the burial of three days and rose again from the dead with power, let us with one accord sing praises.

Unto him who mightily destroyed the gates of hell and endued his Church with majesty, let us with one accord sing praises.

And when the Clerks give the "glory", all shall bow down before the sanctuary [bema].

[For psalms [Jashou responsories] and hymns of Jashou proper to other feast days, see the Variables.]

[The Prayer of the Third Antiphon]

O thou that hast taught us all to pray in common and with one accord, and hast promised to grant the requests of two or three agreeing together in thy name, do thou fulfil now the petitions of thy servants as may be expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth and in the world to come life everlasting. For thou art, O God, beneficent and lover of man and unto thee is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

3. THE LESSER ENTRANCE

And the Priest bowing to the Altar shall say the following prayer in secret:

[The Prayer of the Lesser Entrance]

O Lord our God, who hast established in the heavens the orders and hosts of angels and archangels for the ministry of thy glory, make the holy angels also enter now with our entrance, that they may serve together with us and may with us glorify thy goodness.

The Priest, aloud:

For thine is might and power and glory, unto the ages. Amen.

And they shall kiss the altar.

And the Deacons shall cry:

Proschoumen.

One of the Deacons shall lift up the Gospel.

And the Clerks shall sing the Trisagion according to the proper of the day.

[The Trisagion]

For Eastertide and for Sundays of Resurrection:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,

[Who didst rise from the dead]⁵

Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

[For the Theophany and Transfiguration:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,

5. Is omitted by the Armenian Catholics.

Who wast revealed for us,
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

For the feasts of Purification, of Pentecost and of Assumption:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who didst come and art to come
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

For the feasts of the Cross, of the Church and for Saints' and Fasting days:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who wast crucified for us,
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.]⁶

And the Priest shall at the same time say, in secret:

[The Prayer of the Trisagion]

O God, the holy One, who dost rest in the saints and whom with the trisagial cry the seraphim praise and the cherubim glorify and all the heavenly hosts adore, thou, who hast brought all creatures into being out of nothing, who hast made man after thine own image and likeness, and hast adorned him with every grace of thine, and hast taught him to seek wisdom and understanding, and hast not forsaken the sinner, but hast laid upon him repentance unto salvation, thou who hast made us, thy lowly and unworthy servants, worthy to stand at this hour before the glory of thine holy altar and to offer the adoration and glory due to thee.

Do thou, O Lord, accept from our mouths, sinners as we are, the trisagial hymn and keep us by thy living-kindness, forgive us all our trespasses, both voluntary and involuntary; sanctify our souls, our minds and our bodies and grant us to serve thee in holiness all the days of our lives, through the intercession of the holy Mother-of-God and of all thy saints who through the ages have been well-pleasing unto thee. For thou, O Lord our God, art holy and unto thee is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And when the Trisagion and the Prayers are ended, the Deacon shall proclaim:

[The Great Litany of the Synaxis]

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

6. Is only said by the Armenian Orthodox.

—For the peace of the whole world and for the stability of the holy Church, let us beseech the Lord.

And with open arms the Priest shall say the following prayer, in secret:

[The Prayer with Open Arms]

O Lord our God, accept the supplications of us thy servants, made with open arms, and be merciful unto us according to thy great mercy. Send down thy compassion upon us and upon all these people, that await for the abundant mercy which cometh from thee.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—For all holy and orthodox bishops, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

..For the life of our Patriarch Lord (N.) and for the salvation of his soul, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—For doctors, priests, deacons, clerks and for all the children of the covenant in the Church, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—For pious kings and for God-loving princes, captains and their armies, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy

—For the souls of them that are at rest and have fallen asleep in Christ in the true and right faith, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Again with one accord for our true and holy faith, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Let us commit ourselves and one another unto the Lord, the almighty God.

The Clerks: Let us, O Lord, be committed unto thee.

—Have mercy upon us, O Lord our God, according to thy great mercy. Let us all say with one accord:

The Clerks: Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy.

And the Deacon shall cry:

Bless, lord.

And the priest shall say, aloud:

—For thou, being God, art merciful and lover of man and unto thee is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[4. THE LECTIONS]

Thereafter the Priest shall bow to the altar and shall come and sit on the step.

Then the Clerks shall begin the [Jashou] Psalm [the Gradual] according to the proper of the day.

[For Jashou psalms proper to various feast days, see the Variables.]

And they shall read from the books of the prophets. [as shown in the Calendar].

[Then the Messedi (the Tract) shall be said according to the proper of the day, if such be appointed in the Lectionary (Jashotz).]

And [they shall read from the books] of the Apostles. [as shown in the Calendar].

Then they shall sing the Alleluia as is shown by the lesson.

Alleluia for the Sundays of Resurrection. Mode I.

Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Sion; for it is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come.

[For Alleluias proper to other feast days; see the Variables.]

And when it is ended, the Deacon shall cry:

[Alleluia.] Orthi.

And the Priest shall turn and make the sign of the cross over the people, saying:

† Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

A Deacon:

.. Hearken ye in fear.

The Deacon:

To the holy Gospel according to (Matthew.)

The Clerks:

Glory to thee, O Lord our God.

The Deacon:

Proschoumen.

The Clerks:

God doth speak.

And the Deacon shall read the holy Gospel, [as shown in the Calendar] at the end of which all shall say:

Glory to thee, O Lord our God.

[5. THE CREED]

Then the Nicene Creed shall be said in full:

We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten, of God the Father, only begotten, before all ages.

God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten and not made ; of one substance, by whom all things came into being in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible.

Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate, was made man, was born perfectly of the holy virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit;

By whom he took body, soul and mind and everything that is in man, truly and not in semblance.

He suffered and was crucified and was buried and rose again on the third day and ascended into heaven with the same body and sat at the right hand of the Father.

He is to come with the same body and with the glory of the Father to judge the quick and the dead; of whose kingdom there is no end.

We believe also in the Holy Spirit, the uncreate and the perfect⁷; who spoke in the law and in the prophets and in the Gospels.

Who came down upon the Jordan, preached to the apostles and dwelt in the saints.

We believe also in only one catholic and apostolic Church.

In one baptism of repentance for the remission and forgiveness of sins;

In the resurrection of the dead, in the everlasting judgment of souls and bodies, in the kingdom of heaven and in the life eternal.

(Thus far the articles of faith).

[The Anathema]

As for those who say there was a time when the Son was not or there was a time when the Holy Spirit was not or that they came into being out of nothing or who say that the Son of God or the Holy Spirit be of different substance and that they be changeable or alterable, such doth the catholic and apostolic Church anathematize.

(The Priest:)

Said by (St. Gregory) the Enlightener

(Doxology after the Creed]

As for us, we shall glorify him who was before the ages, worshipping the Holy Trinity and the one God head, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

7. Armenian Catholics add: who procedes from the Father and the Son.

[6. THE PRAYERS AFTER THE LECTIONS]

The Deacon shall proclaim aloud:

[The Litany after the Lections]

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord have mercy.

—Again in faith let us beseech and ask of our Lord God and saviour Jesus Christ, at this hour of service and prayers, that he may make them worthy of acceptance: may the Lord hearken to the voice of our supplications; may he receive the requests of our hearts; may he forgive our trespasses and have mercy upon us.

May our prayers and requests at all times enter into the presence of his great majesty and may he grant us to labour in good works with one accord, in one faith and in righteousness, so that he may send down upon us the gifts of his mercy.

May the Lord almighty save us and have mercy.

While they sing, the Priest shall say this prayer, in secret:

[Prayers after the Lections]

[a] Our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, who art great in mercy and abounding in the gifts of thy beneficence, who of thine own will didst endure at this hour the sufferings of the cross and of death on account of our sins and didst abundantly bestow the gifts of thine Holy Spirit on the blessed apostles, make us also, O Lord, we beseech thee, sharers in thy divine gifts, in the forgiveness of sins and in the reception of the Holy Spirit.

The Clerks: Save, O Lord.

—That we may pass in peace this hour of holy sacrifice and the day now before us in faith, let us ask of the Lord.

The Clerks: Grant, O Lord.

—The angel of peace to guard our souls, let us ask of the Lord.

The Clerks: Grant, O Lord.

—The forgiveness and the remission of our transgressions, let us ask of the Lord.

The Clerks: Grant, O Lord.

—The great and mighty power of the holy cross to help our souls, let us ask of the Lord.

The Clerks: Grant, O Lord.

—Again with one accord for our true and holy faith, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Let us commit ourselves and one another to the almighty Lord God.

The Clerks: Let us, O Lord, be committed unto thee.

—Have mercy upon us, O Lord our God, according to thy great mercy.

—Let us all say with one accord:

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord have mercy.

The Priest, aloud:

—That we may be made worthy to thank and glorify thee with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

‡Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

The Deacons:

Let us bow down to God.

The Clerks:

Before thee, O Lord.

The Priest, aloud;

[b] With thy peace, O Christ our saviour, which passeth all understanding and speech, defend us and keep us fearless from all evil; make us equal to thy true worshippers, who worship thee in spirit and in truth; for unto the most holy Trinity is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ.

(*The Clerks:*
Amen.)

The Deacon:

Bless, lord.

The Priest shall make the sign of the cross over the people and shall say, aloud:

[*The Dismissal of the Synaxis*]

‡May the Lord God bless you all.

[*The Clerks:*

Amen.]

After this, if the celebrant be a Bishop, he shall take off his omophorion, [his mitre and his slippers. If he be a Priest, he shall take off his crown and his slippers].

[C. THE HOLY SACRIFICE

1. THE OFFERTORY

a. THE GREAT ENTRANCE]

*The Deacon:**[The Dismissal of the Catechumens]*

Let none of the catechumens, none of little faith and none of the penitents nor of the unclean draw near unto this divine mystery.

*The Clerks:**[The Hymn of the Great Entrance]*

The body of the Lord and the blood of the saviour are laid up for us.

The heavenly hosts invisibly sing and say with unceasing voice: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts.

*The Deacon:**[The Bidding of the Hagiody]*

Sing psalms unto our Lord God, ye clerks, sing spiritual songs with a sweet voice.

The Clerks shall sing the Hagiody according to the proper of the day.

Hagiody for Sundays, for the feasts of the Church and of the Angels:

With angelic order thou hast filled, O God, thine holy Church. Thousands of thousands of archangels stand before thee and myriads of myriads of angels minister unto thee, O Lord; yet thou art well-pleased to accept praises from men in the mystical song: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts.

And while they sing, the Priest shall bow before the Holy Table and shall pray mystically, in secret:

[The Prayer of the Great Entrance]

None of us that are bound by carnal passions and desires is worthy to approach thy table or to minister to thy royal glory; for to serve thee is great and fearful even to the heavenly powers.

Yet through thine immeasurable goodness, thou, infinite word of the Father, didst become man and didst show thyself to be our high-priest, and as the Lord of all didst commit unto us the priesthood of this ministry and of this bloodless sacrifice; for thou art our Lord God, who rulest over them that are of heaven and

them that are of earth, who sittest upon the cherubic throne, Lord of the seraphim and king of Israel, who only art holy and dwellest in the saints.

I beseech thee, who alone art good and ready to hear, look upon me, thy sinful and unprofitable servant, and cleanse my soul and my mind from all the defilements of the evil one, and by the power of thine Holy Spirit enable me, who have been endued with the grace of this priesthood, to stand before this holy table and to consecrate thy spotless body and thy precious blood.

Bowing down my neck unto thee, I entreat thee, turn not thy face from me and reject me not from among thy servants, but make me worthy, thy sinful and unworthy servant as I am, to offer these gifts unto thee.

For thou thyself offerest and art offered and receivest and givest, O Christ our God, and unto thee, together with thine eternal Father and the most holy and beneficent Spirit, we give glory now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[For hagiodies proper to other feast days, see the Variables.]

And burning incense, they shall come to the holy mystery.

[The Deacon:]

[The Responsory before the Cherubicon]⁸

In the sun hath he set his tabernacle; and he cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber.

The Clerks:

And he rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.

The Deacon:

Cast up an highway for him that rideth upon the heaven of heavens toward the east.

God shall come from the south: and the Holy One from mount Paran.⁹

And then the Clerks shall sing:

[The Cherubicon]

We who mystically represent the cherubim,
And sing the trisagial hymn to the life-giving Trinity,
Let us lay aside all wordly cares,
That we may receive the king of all
Invisibly escorted by the orders of angels.

8. Usually on ordinary days this responsory the Cherubicon and the Responsory of the Great Entrance are said inaudibly by the Deacon while carrying the Gifts.

9. Is omitted by Armenian Catholics.

Then the holy bread and the cup of immortality shall be brought up by the Deacons to the Holy Table. (And coming to the steps of the Altar, the bearer of the awful mystery shall say quietly:)

The Responsory of the Great Entrance)

(Lift up your gates, O ye princes, let the everlasting doors be lifted up and the king of glory shall come in.

And the Celebrant will cense and ask:

Who is the king of glory? The Lord strong in his power, the Lord mighty in battle.

The Deacon:

Lift up your gates, O ye princes; let the everlasting doors be lifted up and the king of glory shall come in.

The Priest:

Who is the king of glory? The Lord of hosts.

The Deacon:

ven he is the king of glory.

And The Celebrant shall bow with fear and trembling and shall receive the gifts from the hands of the Deacon and shall make the sign of the cross over the people, saying:

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

The Clerks:

Alleluia.}]¹⁰

[b. THE LAYING OF THE GIFTS]

And the gifts shall be brought on to the Table.

The Deacon:

[*The Litany of the Offertory*]

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Again in faith and purity let us stand in awe and pray before the holy altar of God; not with evil conscience and offence, not with guile and cunning, not with deceit and wiles, not with doubt and not with little faith; but with a right conduct, a pure mind, a single heart, with perfect faith, being filled with love, full and abounding in all good works.

Let us stand in prayer before the holy altar of God that we may find the grace of mercy in the day of appearing and the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

10. Can be omitted by Armenian Catholics.

May he save and have mercy.

The Clerks:

Save, O Lord, and have mercy.

And the Priest shall burn incense and [then] shall wash his fingers, saying:

I will wash my hands in innocency; so will I compass thine altar, O Lord.

While they sing, the Priest shall pray with open arms, in secret:

[The Prayer of the Offertory]

Lord God of hosts and creator of all things, who hast brought into visible existence all things out of nothing, who also in thy love of man hast ordained us to be ministers of so awful and ineffable a mystery, thou, O Lord, to whom we offer these oblations, accept from us this presentation and consummate it to be the mystery of the body and blood of thine Only-begotten and grant this bread and this cup to be to us, that taste of them, a remedy of forgiveness for our sins;

The Priest, aloud:

By the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with whom unto thee, O Father, and also to the Holy Spirit is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[c. THE KISS OF PEACE]

The Greeting]

‡ Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

The Deacon:

Let us bow down unto God.

The Clerks:

Before thee, O Lord.

The Deacon:

[The bidding for the Kiss of Peace]

Greet ye one another with an holy kiss.

And ye that are not able to partake of this divine mystery, and have gone without the doors, pray.

The Clerks:

[The Hymn of the Kiss of Peace]

Christ in our midst hath been revealed
He who is God is here seated.

The voice of peace hath resounded,
Holy greeting hath been enjoined.

Here the Church is become one soul,
The kiss given for bond of fulness.

The enmity hath been removed,
And love is spread over us all.

Now, ministers, raising your voice,
Give ye blessings with one accord

To the consubstantial Godhead,
To whom seraphs hagiologize.

And they shall kiss the Altar and one another..

[2. THE EUCHARISTIA

a. THE PROLOGUE]

(In a solemn service on a feast-day some say also this:

The Deacon:

[The Responsory of the Prologue]

Ye who stand with faith before the royal holy table, behold
Christ the king enthroned and the heavenly hosts surrounding
him.

The Clerks:

We lift up our eyes and behold and we implore him saying:

Remember not our sins, O Lord, but in thy pity forgive them.

With the angels we praise thee, Lord, and with thy saints, glorify
thee.)

[The Responsory of the Eucharist]

The Deacon:

Let us stand in awe, let us stand in fear, let us stand aright and
let us attend with good heed.

The Clerks:

To thee, O God.

Deacon:

Christ, the spotless Lamb of God, is offered in sacrifice.

The Clerks:

Mercy and peace and a sacrifice of praise.

*The Priest shall turn to the people and making the sign of the
cross [over them] shall say, aloud:*

The grace, the love and the divine sanctifying power of the
Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, be with you all.

The Clerks:

Amen. And with thy spirit.

The Deacon:

The doors, the doors,

With all wisdom and good heed! Lift up your minds in the fear of God.

The Clerks:

We lift them up unto thee, O Lord almighty.

The Deacon:

And give thanks unto the Lord with the whole heart.

The Clerks:

It is meet and right.

While they sing, the Priest shall pray with joined hands, in secret:

[*The Preface*]

It is verily meet and right with most earnest diligence always to adore and glorify thee, Father almighty, who didst remove the hindrance of the curse by thine inponderable and fellow-creator Word, who having taken the Church to be a people unto himself, made his own those who believe in thee and was pleased to dwell amongst us in a ponderable nature, according to the economy through the Virgin, and as divine master-builder building a new work, he thereby made this earth into heaven.

For he, before whom the companies of vigilant angels endured not to stand, being amazed at the resplendent and unapproachable light of thy Godhead, even he, becoming man for our salvation, granted unto us to join the heavenly ones in spiritual choirs.

The Priest, aloud:

And, singing the song of the holy, to make melodies in concord with the seraphim and the cherubim, and, boldly crying out, to shout with them and to say:

[(*On festival days some say this:*

The Deacon:

[*The Hymn of the Preface*]

And we offer unto thee, O Christ, the Thanksgiving of true salvation at all times and in all places, whereby the hosts praise thy marvellous resurrection, the seraphim tremble, the cherubim shudder and the principalities of heavenly powers sing in choirs with sweet voice and say:)]¹¹

11. Not said by Armenian Catholics.

[b. *THE ANAMNESIS*]*The Clerks:*[*The Sanctus*]

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts;
 Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.
 Blessing in the highest.

Blessed art thou that didst come and art to come in the name
 of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

While they sing, the Priest shall say with open arms, in secret:

[*The Anamnesis*]

Holy, holy, holy art thou truly and all-holy, and who is he that will presume to contain in words the overflowing of thine infinite loving-kindness unto us? O thou, who even from the very beginning didst care for and comfort in divers manners him who had fallen in sin, by the prophets, by the giving of the law, by the priesthood and by the prefigurative offering of the kine.

But at the end of these days, tearing up the sentence of condemnation for all our debts, didst give us thine only-begotten Son, both debtor and debt, immolation and anointed, lamb and bread of heaven high priest and sacrifice: for he is distributor and he himself is distributed in our midst always, without ever being consumed.

For having become man truly and without phantasm and having become incarnate in unity without confusion from the Mother-of-God and holy virgin Mary, he journeyed through all the passions of our human life without sin; and coming willingly to the worldsaving cross, which was the occasion of our redemption.

Taking the bread in his holy, divine, immortal, spotless and creative hands, he blessed it, gave thanks, brake it and gave it to his chosen, holy and seated disciples, saying:

The Priest, aloud.

Take, eat, this is my body which is distributed for you and for many for propitiation and for remission of sins.

The Clerks: Amen.

In secret:

Likewise taking the cup, he blessed it, gave thanks, drank and gave it to his chosen, holy and seated disciples, saying:

In secret:

And thine only-begotten beneficent Son gave us the commandment that we should always do this in remembrance of him.

And descending into the nether regions of death in the body which he took of our kinship, and mightily breaking asunder the bolts of hell, made thee known unto us as the only true God, the God of the quick and the dead.

The Priest, aloud.

Drink ye all of this ; this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for you and for many for propitiation and for remission of sins.

(The Clerks:

Amen.

[Hymn to the Father]

Heavenly Father, who didst give thy Son unto death for us, debtor for our debts, by the shedding of his blood, we beseech thee, have mercy upon thy reasonable flock.)

And he shall take the Gifts in his hands and shall say, in secret.

We therefore, O Lord, in accordance with this commandment, bringing forth the saving mystery of the body and blood of thine Only-begotten, are mindful of his redemptive sufferings for us, of his life-giving crucifixion, his burial of three days, his blessed resurrection, his divine ascension and his session at thy right hand, O Father; his awful and glorious second coming we confess and bless.

The Priest then slightly raising the Gifts, shall offer them unto the Father, and then he shall place them on the holy Table, saying, aloud:

And thine of thine own unto thee we offer from all and for all.
The Clerks:

[The Hymn of Blessing]

In all things blessed art thou, O Lord.

We bless thee, we praise thee,

We give thanks to thee,

We pray unto thee, O Lord our God.

And while they sing, the Priest shall say, with open arms, in secret:

[The Prayer of Humble Access]

We do verily praise thee and give thanks to thee at all times, O Lord our God, who, having passed over our unworthiness, hast made us ministers of this awful and ineffable mystery. Not by reason of any good works of our own, whereof we are always altogether bereft and at all times find ourselves void, but ever taking

refuge in thine overflowing forbearance, we make bold to approach the ministry of the body and blood of thine Only-begotten, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[c. THE EPICLESIS]

The Priest, aloud.

‡Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

The Deacon:

Let us bow down unto God.

The Clerks:

Before thee, O Lord.

[Hymn to the Son]

Son of God, who art sacrificed to the Father for reconciliation, bread of life distributed amongst us, by the shedding of thy holy blood, we beseech thee, have mercy on thy flock saved by thy blood.

And while they sing, the Priest shall humble himself and bow to the Altar and say:

[The Prayer of the Epiclesis]

We bow down and beseech and ask thee, beneficent God, send upon us and upon these gifts set forth, thy co-eternal and consubstantial Holy Spirit.

And the Deacon, standing by the Priest with great fear and trembling shall say in a low voice:

Amen. Bless, lord.

And the Priest shall make the sign of the cross over the Gifts saying, in secret:

Whereby blessing this bread, ‡ make it truly the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He shall repeat this thrice.

And blessing this cup, ‡ make it verily the blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He shall repeat this thrice.

Whereby blessing this bread and this wine, ‡ make them truly the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit.

He shall repeat this thrice.

Then the Priest shall say, aloud:

So that this may be to us all, who draw near thereunto, for acquittal, for propitiation and for remission of sins.

[d. *THE DIPTYCHS*]

(*The Clerks:*

[*Hymn to the Holy Spirit*]

Spirit of God, who descending from heaven dost perform through us the mystery of him that is glorified with thee, by the shedding of his blood, we beseech thee, grant rest to the souls of those of us that are fallen asleep.)

Henceforth the Priest, spreading out his hands not higher than the Gifts, but holding them low and keeping his eyes on the Gifts, shall pray, in secret:

[*The General Intercessions*]

[a] Through this grant love, stability and the desirable peace to the whole world, to the holy Church and to all orthodox bishops, priests, deacons, to the kings of the world, to princes of peoples, to travellers, to seafarers, to prisoners, to them that are in danger, to the weary and to them that are at war with barbarians.

Through this grant also seasonableness to the weather and fertility to the fields and a speedy recovery to them that are afflicted with divers diseases.

Through this give rest to all who aforetime have fallen asleep in Christ to the [forefathers, to the patriarchs, to the prophets, apostles martyrs].¹² bishops, Presbyters, deacons and the whole clergy of thine holy Church and to all the laity, men and women, who have died in the faith.

The Priest, aloud.

With whom visit us also, beneficent God, we beseech thee.

The Clerks:

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

The Priest:

Of the Mother-of-God the holy virgin Mary and of John the Baptist, of the protomartyr Stephen and of all the saints, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks:

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

The Deacon, standing at the right side of the Table, with joined hands, shall say:

12. Is omitted by Armenian Catholics.

[*The Litany of General Intercessions*]

Of the holy apostles, the Prophets, doctors, martyrs and of all holy patriarchs, apostolic bishops, presbyters, orthodox deacons and all the saints to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks:

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

And while they sing these litanies, the Priest shall say this prayer in secret, so that they shall end together.

[b] Be mindful Lord and have mercy and bless thy holy, catholic and apostolic Church, which thou hast saved by the precious blood of thine Only begotten, and hast made her free by his holy cross. Grant her unshaken peace.

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy and bless all the orthodox bishops who abridge the word of truth in right teaching among us.

(The Deacon shall say this on Sundays of Resurrection:

The blessed, praised, glorified, marvellous and divine resurrection of Christ we worship.

The Clerks:

Glory to thy resurrection, O Lord.

Say this on a Saints' day:

The Deacon:

Of the holy and God-pleasing prophet (or patriarch or apostle or martyr N. N.) whose commemoration we have made this day, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.)

Of our leaders and first enlighteners, the holy apostles Thaddous and Bartholomew, and of Gregory the Enlightener, of Aristakes, Verthanes, Youssic, Gregoris, Nerses, Sahak and Khad, of Mesrop the doctor and of Gregory of Narek, Nerses of Cla, [John of Orot-ni, Gregory and Moses of Tathev]¹³ and of the Gregorisians and the Nersesians and of all the pastors and chief-pastors of Armenia, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

—Of the holy anchorites, the virtuous and God-instructed monks Paul, Anthony, Paulus, Macarius, Onophrius, the abbot. Mark, Serapion, Nilus, Arsenius, Evagrius, [Barsumas]¹⁴ of the Johannesians

13. Is omitted by Armenian Catholics.

14. Is omitted by Armenian Catholics.

and the Simeonians, of the Oskians and the Suchiasians and of all the holy fathers and of their disciples throughout the world, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

—Of the Christian kings, the saints Abgarius, Constantine, Tiridates and of Theodosius and of all holy and pious kings and God-fearing princes, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

—Of all the faithful everywhere, of men and women, old and young and all of every age who in faith and holiness have fallen asleep in Christ, to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy.

The Priest, aloud:

And especially grant us to have our chief bishop and venerable Patriarch of all Armenians the Lord (N.) for length of days in orthodox doctrine.

The Deacon shall return to his place [at the left side of the holy Table] and shall proclaim aloud:

[The Litany of Special Intercessions]

Thanksgiving and glory we offer unto thee, O Lord our God, for this holy and immortal sacrifice which is on this holy table, that thou wilt vouchsafe it to be for holiness of life unto us. Through this grant love, stability and the desirable peace to the whole world, to the holy Church and to all orthodox bishops and to our chief bishop and venerable Patriarch of all Armenians lord (N.) and to the priest who offereth this sacrifice.

Let us pray for the armies and for the victory of Christian kings and pious princes.

Let us also beseech and entreat the Lord for the souls of them that are at rest, and moreover for our prelates that are at rest and for the founders of this holy church and for them that are at rest under the shadow thereof.

Let us ask deliverance for those of our brethren that are captive, and grace upon the congregation here present, and rest for them that have died in Christ with faith and holiness. Of these to be mindful in this holy sacrifice we beseech the Lord.

The Clerks:

From all and for all.

While they say the litany, the Priest shall say this prayer, in secret:

[*The Special Intercessions*]

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy and bless thy people here standing before thee and them that have offered these oblations and grant unto them whatsoever is necessary and profitable. Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy and bless them that have made vows and them that have brought gifts to thine holy Church and them that mercifully are mindful of the poor, and render what is due unto them, according to thy natural bounty, a hundredfold here and in the world to come.

Be mindful, Lord, and have mercy and compassion on the souls of them that are at rest. Give them rest and enlighten them and reckon them among thy saints in the kingdom of heaven and make them worthy of thy mercy.

Be mindful Lord also of the soul of thy servant (*N.*) and have mercy on him (*or her*) according to thy great mercy and by the visitation give him (*or her*) rest in the light of thy countenance.

Deliver him (*or her*) from all the snares of soul and body.

Be mindful, O Lord, also of them that have commended themselves to us for remembrance in our prayers, of them that are living and of them that are at rest, and direct their will in their petitions as well as our will to what is right and is abounding in salvation, and reward them all with thy blessed bounties that pass not away.

And having cleansed our thoughts, make us temples fit for the reception of the body and blood of thine Only-begotten and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with whom unto thee, O Father almighty, together with the life-giving and liberating Holy Spirit, is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now, and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.—

The Priest shall turn round and make the sign of the cross [over the people] and shall say, aloud:

—And the mercy of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all.

° The Clerks:

Amen.—And with thy spirit.

[e. *THE LORD'S PRAYER*]

The Deacon:

[*The Litany before the Lord's Prayer*]

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—By all the saints whom we have commemorated, again let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—By the holy, divine and immortal sacrifice that hath been offered on this holy altar, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

While the Deacon is saying the litany, the Priest shall say, in secret:

[*The Prayer of the Paternal Name*]

O God of truth and Father of mercies we thank thee, who hast exalted our nature, condemned as we were, above that of the blessed patriarchs; for thou wast called God unto them, whereas in pity thou hast been pleased to be named Father unto us.

And now, O Lord, we beseech thee, make the grace of so new and precious a naming of thyself shine forth and flourish day by day in thine holy Church.—

—That the Lord our God, who hath accepted it at his holy, heavenly and intelligible altar, may in return send down upon us the grace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Receive, save and have mercy and keep us, O Lord, by thy grace.

The Clerks: Save, O Lord, and have mercy.

—Making mention of the all-holy Mother-of-God and ever-virgin Mary together with all the saints, let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Again in one accord by our true and holy faith let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

—Let us commit ourselves and one another unto the Lord God almighty.

The Clerks: Let us, O Lord, be committed unto thee.

—Have mercy upon us, O Lord our God, according to thy great mercy.—Let us all say with one accord.

The Clerks:

Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Lord, have mercy.

The Priest, aloud:

And grant us to open our mouths with a cry of bold voice, to call upon thee, O heavenly Father, to sing and say.

And the Clerks shall sing with open arms:

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done, as in heaven also on earth; give us this day our perpetual bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

While they sing, the Priest shall say, in secret:

[*The Embolis*]

Lord of lords, God of gods, king eternal, creator of all creatures, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, yield us not unto temptation, but deliver us from evil and save us from temptation.—

The Priest, aloud:

—For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory unto the ages. Amen.

[f. *THE INCLINATION AND ELEVATION*]

‡ Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

The Deacon:

Let us bow down unto God.

And the people shall fall to their knees.

The Clerks:

Before thee, O Lord.

The Deacon:

Bless, lord.

And the Priest shall bow down and shall pray, in secret:

[*The Prayer of Inclination*]

O Holy Spirit, who art the fountain of life and the source of mercy, have mercy upon these people, who bow down and worship thy Godhead. Keep them whole and stamp upon their soul the form signified by their bodily posture so that they may inherit and enter into the possession of the good things to come.—

The Priest, aloud:

Through Christ Jesus, our Lord, with whom unto thee, O Holy Spirit, and unto the Father almighty is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Deacon shall call aloud:

Proschoumen.

And the Priest shall elevate it in the sight of the whole congregation and shall say, aloud:

Unto holiness to the holy.

The Clerks, in a loud voice:

[*The Song of Elevation*]

One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

And the Priest shall take the holy Bread in his hand.

While they sing this, the Priest shall bow down and pray, in secret:

[*The Prayer of the Elevation*]

Look down from heaven, from thine holiness and from the glorious throne of thy kingdom, O Jesus Christ our Lord; come to sanctify and to save us, O thou who sittest with the Father and art here sacrificed. Do thou deign to give unto us of thine undefiled body and precious blood and through us to all the people.

[g. *THE DOXOLOGY*]

The Priest:

[*The Blessing to the Holy Trinity*]

Blessed art thou, holy Father, very God.

The Clerks. Amen.

Blessed art thou, holy Son, very God.

The Clerks. Amen.

Blessed art thou, Holy Spirit, very God.

The Clerks. Amen.

Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

The Clerks: Amen.

[*The Hymn of the Doxology*]

The Father holy, the Son holy, the Spirit holy.

Blessing to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[3. THE INTINCTION AND FRACTION]

A. INTINCTION]

Having said this, he shall bow down and kiss the Table. And thereupon taking the holy Body he shall dip it whole into the incorruptible Blood and shall say, in secret:

[The Prayer of Intinction]

O Lord our God, who hast called us Christians after the name of thine only-begotten Son, and hast granted unto us baptism through the spiritual font unto forgiveness of sins, and hast made us worthy to partake of the holy body and blood of thine Only-begotten, we do now beseech the, O Lord, make us worthy to receive this holy mystery for the remission of our sins, and giving thee thanks, to glorify thee together with the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Priest shall raise it in the sight of the people and shall say aloud:

[The Exhortation for Communion]

In holiness let us taste of the holy, holy and precious body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, having come down from heaven, is distributed amongst us.

This is life, hope of resurrection, propitiation and remission of sins.

Sing psalms unto the Lord our God, sing psalms unto our heavenly king, the immortal, who rideth in cherubic chariots.

[B. FRACTION]

[And all shall stand.]

The Deacon shall call :

[The Bidding for Psalmody]

Sing psalms unto the Lord our God, ye clerks, and spiritual hymns in a sweet voice, for unto him are befitting psalms and praises, alleluias and spiritual ye ministers, sing psalms together with hymns and praise the Lord in heaven.

While they sing, the Priest shall take the Body in his hand and shall kiss it tearfully, saying:

[The Prayer of Fraction]

What blessing and what thanksgiving shall we render over this bread and this cup! Yet, O Jesus, we only bless thee with the

Father and with the all-holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Again he shall say:

I confess and believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, who didst take away the sins of the world.

And breaking it he shall put it into the chalice of the Blood, saying:

[The Fulfilment]

The fulfilment of the Holy Spirit.

[And they shall draw the curtain.]

[4. THE COMMUNION]

a. THE PRAYERS BEFORE COMMUNION]

And the Clerks shall sing:

[The Hymn of Praise]

Christ is sacrificed and shared amongst us. Alleluia.

His body he gives us for food and the bedews us with his holy blood. Alleluia.

Draw near to the Lord and take the light. Alleluia.

O taste ye and see how sweet is the Lord. Alleluia.

Praise the Lord in the heavens. Alleluia.

Praise him in the heights. Alleluia.

Praise ye him, all his angels. Alleluia.

Praise ye him, all ye his hosts. Alleluia.

(And the Clerks shall sing mystical odes according to the proper of the day.)

[For odes proper to various feast days, see the Variables.]

Then taking a fraction of it in his hand he shall say tearfully and with thanksgiving to the Father and to the Son, in secret:

[The Prayers before Communion]

[a] Holy Father, who hast called us by the name of thine Only-begotten and hast enlightened us through the baptism of the spiritual font, make us worthy to receive this holy mystery for the remission of our sins. Impress upon us the graces of thy Holy Spirit, as thou didst upon the holy apostles, who tasted thereof and became the cleansers of the whole world.

And now, O Lord, Father beneficent, make this communion part of the supper of the disciples by dispelling the darkness of sins.

Look not upon mine unworthiness and withhold not from me the graces of the Holy Spirit, but according to thine infinite love of man grant that this communion be for the expiation of our sins and the loosing of our transgressions, as our Lord Jesus Christ promised and said that whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood shall live forever.

Therefore make this to be unto us for the expiation of our sins so that they who shall eat and drink of this may give praise and glory unto the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

‡Peace unto all.

[b] I thank thee, O Christ the king, who hast made me, unworthy as I am, worthy to partake of thine holy body and blood. And now I beseech thee, let this be unto me not for condemnation but for the remission and forgiveness of sins, for health of soul and body and for the performance of all deeds of virtue; so that this may purify my breath and my soul and my body and make me a temple and a habitation of the all-holy Trinity; so that I may be worthy together with thy saints to glorify thee with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

A Prayer said by John Chrysostom

[c] I thank and magnify and glorify thee, O Lord my God, for thou hast made me, unworthy as I am, worthy to partake this day of thy divine and awful mystery, of thine undefied body and precious blood.

Wherefore, having these for intercessors, I beseech thee, keep me with thine holiness every day and at all times of my life, so that bearing in mind thy tender-mercies, I may also be living with thee, who didst suffer and die and rise again for our sake.

By sealing my soul with thy precious blood, my Lord and God, let not the destroyer come near to me. Do thou, almighty, cleanse me with these from all my dead works, O thou, who alone art without sin.

Protect my life, O Lord, from all temptation and turn my adversary back from me ashamed and confounded so often as he riseth against me. Protect the goings of my mind and of my tongue and all the ways of my body. Be thou with me always according to thine unfailing promise that whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him. Thou didst say so, O thou that lovest man; stablish the words of thy divine and irrevocable commandments.

For thou art the God of mercy and of compassion and of love toward men and the giver of all good things, and unto thee, together

with the Father and the all-holy Spirit, is fitting glory, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[b. *THE TASTING*]

And then he shall sign himself with the sign of the Lord and shall make to the true God the various petitions for himself, for the people and for the world. And he shall ask forgiveness for his enemies and for them that hate him. And then with fear and trembling he shall taste of the Body and drink of the Cup, saying:

[*The Prayer of the Tasting*]

In faith do I believe in the all-holy Trinity, in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit.

In faith do I taste of thine holy and life-giving and saving Body, O Christ my God, Jesus, for the remission of my sins.

In faith do I drink thy sanctifying and cleansing Blood, O Christ my God, Jesus, for the remission of my sins.

Let thine incorruptible Body be unto me for life and thine holy Blood for propitiation and remission of my sins.

The Deacon also shall communicate.

[*And they shall withdraw the curtain.*]

And the Deacon, after communicating, shall call to the people saying, aloud:

[*The Bidding to Communicants*]

With fear and with faith draw near and communicate in holiness.

The Clerks, in a loud voice:

Our God and our Lord hath appeared unto us.

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

And then the newly ordained shall communicate, but the sacrament shall be put in his palm and not into his mouth. And all who are worthy shall communicate.

(And while they are communicating, the Clerks shall sing appropriate odes.)

[*Or this hymn of Communion.*]

O thou, who hast prepared the table of mystery,

And didst give thine holy apostles to drink of the cup of immortality this day in the upper room.

We beseech thee, O Saviour, have mercy upon us.

Cleanse our minds and our thoughts,

That we also in holiness may partake with thine holy apostles this day in the holy upper room.

We beseech thee, O Saviour, have mercy upon us.]¹⁵

And after communicating them the Priest shall make the sign of the cross over the people with the Gifts and shall say:

[Blessing after Communion]

Save thy people, O Lord, and bless thine inheritance; feed them and lift them up from henceforth for ever more.

[Thereupon the curtain shall be drawn again.]

[c. THE THANKSGIVING]

The Clerks shall sing:

[The Hymn of Glory]

We are filled with thy good things, Lord, by tasting of thy Body and Blood.

Glory in the highest to thee that hast fed us.

Thou who continually dost feed us, send down upon us thy spiritual blessing.

Glory in the highest to thee that hast fed us.

The Deacon:

Again in peace let us beseech the Lord.

The Clerks: Lord, have mercy.

The Deacon:

[The Bidding for Thanksgiving]

—Having received in faith of the divine, holy, heavenly, immortal, pure and undefiled mystery, again give thanks unto the Lord.

The Clerks:

[The Hymn of Thanksgiving]

We give thanks to thee, O Lord, who hast fed us at thy table of immortality.

Distributing thy body and blood for the salvation of the world, and for life unto our souls.

(Here the Clerks shall sing mystical odes until the Priest has finished the order of the prayers.

And thereupon the curtain shall be withdrawn.)

The Priest shall say, in secret:

15. Is not sung by Armenian Catholics.

[*The Prayers of Thanksgiving*]

[a] We thank thee, O Father almighty, who didst prepare for us the holy Church for a haven, a temple of holiness, wherein the name of the holy Trinity is glorified. Alleluia.

We thank thee, O Christ the king, who didst grant unto us life through thy life-giving and holy Body and Blood; vouchsafe unto us forgiveness and thy great mercy. Alleluia.

We thank thee, O Spirit of Truth, who hast renewed the holy Church. Keep her without blemish through the faith in the Trinity, from henceforth for evermore. Alleluia.

Again the Priest shall say, in secret:

[b] We give thanks to thee, O Christ our God, who hast granted unto us this tasting of thy goodness for holiness of life. Keep us thereby holy and without blemish, dwelling in and about us by thy divine providence. Be thou our shepherd in the field of thine holy and benevolent will, whereby being fortified against every opposition of the Slanderer, we may be made worthy to hear thy voice alone and to follow thee, the only good and victorious and true shepherd, and to receive from thee the place prepared for us in the kingdom of heaven, our God and our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, who art blessed with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

‡ Peace unto all.

[c] To thine unsearchable, inscrutable, trine selfhood, O creator, container, and indivisible and consubstantial holy Trinity, is fitting glory, dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[*The Priest shall wash his hands and the chalice and he shall put on his sandals and his crown.*]

[D. THE LAST BLESSING AND DISMISSAL]

[I. *THE PRAYER AMID THE CHURCH*]

And the Priest shall take the holy Gospel in his hands and bowing down three times, shall kiss the holy Table and, [together with the Deacons], coming down into the middle, of the Church, he shall say this prayer, aloud:

[*The Prayer of St. Chrysostom*]

O Lord, that blessest them that bless thee and hallowest them that put their trust in thee.

(The Clerks: Blessed is God.)

Save thy people and bless thine inheritance. Guard the fulness of thy Church.

(The Clerks: Amen.)

Sanctify them that have greeted in love the beauty of thine house. Do thou glorify us with thy divine power and forsake not them that set their trust in thee.

(The Clerks: Amen.)

Grant peace to the whole world, to the churches, to the priests, to Christian kings and to their men under arms and to all thy people.

(The Clerks: Amen.)

For every good gift and every perfect bounty cometh down from above, from thee, who art the Father of light and to thee is fitting glory dominion and honour, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the Clerks shall say three times:

[Psalm of Blessing]

Blessed be the Lord's name from this time forth for evermore.

And the Priest shall turn to the people and say, aloud:

Thou art the fulness of the law and of the prophets, O Christ God our Saviour, who didst fulfil all the economies willed of thy Father; fill us also with thine Holy Spirit.

[2. THE LAST GOSPEL]

The Deacon:

Orthi.

The Priest:

Peace unto all.

The Clerks:

And with thy spirit.

The Deacon:

Hearken ye in fear.

The Priest:

To the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ according to John.

The Clerks:

Glory to thee, O Lord our God.

The Deacon:

Proschoumen.

The Clerks:

God doth speak.

The Priest:

From the Father of Light:

In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God.

All things were made through him and without him was nothing that was made.

Through him was life and the life was the light of men and the light shineth in the darkness and darkness apprehended it not.

There came a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for witness that he might bear witness to the light that all might believe through him.

He was not the light but that he might bear witness to the light.

There was the true light, which lighteth everyman that is to come into the world. He was in the world and the world was made through him and the world knew him not.

He came unto his own and they that were his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them he gave the power to become the children of God, even to them that shall believe in his name; who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, and of the will of man, but of God.

And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld his glory, the glory of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.

(The Clerks:

Glory to thee, O Lord our God.)¹⁶

[3. THE BLESSING AND DISMISSAL]

The Deacon:

[Litany of the Cross]

By the holy cross let us beseech the Lord, that he may thereby deliver us from our sins and may save us by the grace of his mercy.

Almighty Lord our God, save and have mercy.

16. Is no more said by Armenian Catholics.

The Priest:

[The Prayer of the Cross]

Guard us, O Christ our God, under the shadow of thine holy and precious cross in peace. Deliver us from enemies visible and invisible. Make us worthy to give thanks to thee and to glorify thee with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

The Deacon:

I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall at all times be in my mouth.

And the Priest shall make the sign of the cross over the people and shall say, aloud:

[The Blessing of Dismissal]

Be ye blessed by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Depart in peace and the Lord be with you all. Amen.

[And the Clerks shall say:

[Psalm of Dismissal]

Psalm 34.

My soul shall make her boast in the Lord, the meek shall hear thereof and be glad.

Magnify the Lord with me; and let us exalt his name together.

I sought the Lord and he heard me; he delivered me of all my troubles.

Draw nigh unto the Lord and receive the light; and your faces shall not be ashamed.

This poor man cried unto the Lord; and the Lord heard him and saved him of all his troubles.

The hosts of the angels of the Lord are round about them that fear him; and they guard them.

O taste and see how gracious the Lord is; blessed is the man that trusteth in him.

O fear the Lord all ye that are his saints; for they that fear him lack nothing.

The rich have become poor and suffered hunger; but they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.

Come ye children and hearken unto me; and I will teach you the fear of the Lord.

What man is he that desireth to live; and loveth to see his days in goodness?

Keep thy tongue from evil; and thy lips that they speak no guile.

Eschew evil and do good; seek peace and ensue it.

The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous; and his ears are open unto their prayers.

The countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil; to root out the remembrance of them from the earth.

The righteous cried unto the Lord and the Lord heard them; and delivered them out of all their troubles.

The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart; and will save such as be of a humble spirit.

Many are the troubles of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth them, out of all.

He keepeth all their bones; so that not one of them is broken.

The death of the ungodly is evil; and he that hateth the righteous shall be desolate.

The Lord delivereth the soul of his servants; and all they that put their trust in him shall not be desolate.

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit,
Now and for ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.]¹⁷

And while the Clerks sing the psalm, neshkhar (antidoron) shall be distributed.

When the Psalm is ended, the Priest shall turn toward the east and shall bow thrice before the holy Table and say:

Lord Jesus God, have mercy upon me.

And going into the vestry he shall take off his vestments and shall depart in peace.

17. Can be omitted by Armenian Catholics,

APPENDIX

I

The Malankara Liturgy And The Bible

by

Ninan Tharakan Anniyil

Wholly Semitic in its language and culture, the Malankara Church has always drunk deep from the fountain of the Bible, venerating the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament as well as the Apostles in the New Testament as its Fathers in the faith.

It is an irony of history that this flourishing Church of India, so replete with Biblical traditions, should have been cut off from the Catholic faith in the sixteenth century owing to the Portuguese attempt at latinizing its rites.

This separated Church which accepted the authority of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and the Antiochene liturgy or the West Syrian liturgy after its break with Rome was brought back to the Catholic communion when Mar Ivanios, a Jacobite Metropolitan, along with a representative body of clergy and laity was reunited with the Catholic Church in 1930.¹

The reunited Catholics of the Antiochene Rite or Malankara Rite today number 300 thousand and celebrated the Golden Jubilee of their reunion with Rome last December. Cardinal Wodslaw Rubin, Prefect of the Oriental Congregation at the Vatican attended the functions as the bearer of the Pope's message.

The original rite of the Church in India was the Chaldean Rite or the Malabar Rite which, in the early centuries, was under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia and from there it received bishops. This Syrian Church of the Malabar Rite, numbering 3 million, continues to profess allegiance to the Pope. The Syrian Christians of Kerala

1. *T. Anniyil*, Reunion with Rome; The Sunday Standard (December 28, 1980)
12.

(also called Thomas Christians as they trace their faith to St. Thomas who landed on the Malabar Coast in 52 A. D.) of both the Malabar Church and the Malankara Church form fifty percent of a total of six million Catholics in India. This means out of every ten Catholics in India, five are Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast in the deep south of India.

The East Syrian Church of Edessa and West Syrian Church of Antioch from where the Malabar Church and the Malankara Church of India take their origin respectively, separated themselves from the true fold in the fifth and sixth centuries over the question of the relation between the divine and human natures in Christ.

Thanks to the Hound of Heaven ceaselessly trailing those of His flock who left the true fold, like the Malankara Catholics in India, the Chaldeans and the Antiochenes of the Middle East have returned to the Catholic communion with their rich inheritance of Biblical spirituality, liturgy and doctrine, which remains one of the great treasures of Christian tradition.

The Malankara Catholics set great store by the divine Liturgy (holy Mass) known as *Qurbano*, meaning offering or sacrifice. What highlights it most is its Biblical background. Unfolding itself like an epic poem upon the vast canvas of the Bible, the Malankara Liturgy harmonizes the two Testaments, the Old and the New, in a mutually enriching manner. Springing from both the Old and the New Testament, its prayers celebrate the Biblical mysteries of the faith expressed in a poetry, at once profoundly theological and astonishingly original.

Tradition has it that the Antiochene rite of the Malankara Liturgy was the original and the first rite which St. James celebrated in the Church of Jerusalem following the example of Our Lord at the Last Supper. At first, this rite was only 'Breaking of Bread' (Acts 11:42-46) set off by a common meal as at the Last Supper and was based on the service of the Jewish Synagogue which the Apostles were accustomed to attend. It consisted of reading from the Scriptures, together with the Psalms and prayers and a sermon. The early Church took this service over, gradually adding the Christian Scriptures of the New Testament to the Jewish Scriptures of the Old Testament.

Father Louis Ligier, therefore, argues that the framework of this Liturgy is basically Jewish, highlighting the significance of the Old Testament in Christian tradition. In recent studies, Father Ligier tried to establish how happily the Eucharistic Liturgy of the Malankara Church could be patterned upon the three parts of the Hebrew Meal Prayer.²

2. L. Ligier, *Anaphores Orientales et Prières Juives: Proche-Orient chrétien* 13 (1963) 99-113.

This Meal Prayer sets off with an invocation to God who creates and nourishes the world in His bounty. The second part commemorates God's great deeds to His Chosen People. Finally the Prayer winds up with an intercession beseeching the mercy of God.

In the same way, the divine Liturgy of the Malankara Church falls into three parts. The first part addresses itself to God the Father, creator and author of the economy of salvation. The second part recalls the new pasch in Christ while the third invokes the Holy Spirit descending from heaven.

To this Biblical basis of the Malankara Liturgy were added a variety of composition, scriptural and theological, by Eastern writers like Mar Ephrem, Jacob of Saroug and Balai. Of these, *the sedro*, from the Aramaic *seder* (order), is a remarkable liturgical composition designating the ritual meal of the Passover.

Its structure is that of the Biblical *Berakah*: praise and thanksgiving with supplications, already prefigures by Melchizedek. An example of this is found in the life of the early Church: the prayers of the apostolic community gathered in the Upper Room after the release of Peter and John (Acts 4: 24-30).

Wrote Mar Gregorios, Archbishop of Trivandrum and Head of the Malankara Hierarchy: "The whole liturgy brings into focus the divine economy of salvation of the Old and the New dispensations. Thus its distinguishing mark is its intimate connection with the Holy Scripture."

"The prayers are replete with echoes and idioms of the Bible. In the Office preceding the liturgy, there are appropriate readings from the Holy Scripture, especially from the Old Testament. In the Liturgy itself, there are many Psalms and two readings from the Epistles, besides the Gospel."³

Dr. M. Moosa refers to the significance of the silent prayers in this Antiochene liturgy of which the two preparatory services, the first according to the order of Melchizedek and the second of Aaron, are deeply Biblical and take on a unique note distinguishing it from other liturgies in Christian tradition.⁴

Fiery Tongues

Analysing the pneumatic theology of the *Pengitho* (canonical prayers of the Malankara Church for Feast days and Sundays),

3. Mar Gregorios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, Foreword: The Order of the Holy Qurbana of the Syro-Malankara Rite, Trivandrum 1964, 11
4. M. Moosa, The History of Saint James Liturgy: Anaphora-The Divine Liturgy of Saint James the First Bishop of Jerusalem, Hackensack, N. J., U.S. A. 1967, 11.

Dr. John Madey of J. A. Mouhler Institute Paderborn, West Germany, highlights the 'charismatic' nature of Malankara spirituality.⁵ The prayers re-enact, in profuse poetic outpourings, the Biblical scene of Christ rising from the dead, ascending to heaven and pouring out His spirit on His disciples.

A student of the Malankara theology has to face the startling fact that, after the words of institution, there is an invocation of the Holy Spirit who is asked to descend and perfect the offering. It is as though the consecration of the species by the words of institution has yet to be completed by the invocation of the Holy Spirit.

To quote those lines of the epiclesis or the invocation to the Holy Spirit: "Have mercy upon us, O God the Father and send forth upon us and upon these offerings Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord and the Life-giver Who shares Thy Throne and Thy Kingdom with Thee and with Thy Son that reigns with Thee, of one Substance and co-eternal, Who spoke in Thy Old and New Testaments; Who descended in the likeness of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and descended in the likeness of fiery tongues upon the Apostles in the Upper Room."

May He (the Holy Spirit) abiding here, make this Bread the life-giving Body, the Redeeming Body, and the true Body of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

"And perfect this Chalice into the Blood of the New Covenant, the Redeeming Blood and the true Blood of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ."⁶

As Christ by His Resurrection turned a life-giving spirit (1Cor. XV, 45), so now through His living body in the Eucharist, He communicates His spirit to His disciples. This emphasis upon the Holy Spirit of the canonical prayers and the divine Liturgy leads to another significant aspect of the Malankara spirituality, deeply rooted in the New Testament, namely the stress on the Resurrection of the Lord.

This explains the custom, in all the Malankara churches, of standing during the holy *Qurbano*: a practice which is not only Jewish and was followed by the early Church from the time of the Apostles, but also the normal attitude of prayer among the Hindus in India. When the congregation assembles in the Church for the holy Mass on Sundays, they are required to say *Sapro*, canonical hours of the morning, alluding constantly to the Resurrection of Our Lord.

5. J. Madey, The Syro-Malankara Church: Christian Orient ½ (1985) 46.

6. Cfr. Anaphora-The Divine Liturgy 41.

A Malankara Church is built always with its sanctuary to the East so that "the people stand facing the East, the place of the rising sun, the symbol at once of the Risen Christ and the place of his expected second coming from heaven." The altar or the throne where God appears seated as in the vision of the prophet has a cross without a figure, the symbol of the Resurrection of Christ bringing hope and peace to all mankind in the good news of the people.

One is struck by the sense of awe and wonder before the divine mysteries in the Malankara prayers. They are dominated by the scene in the vision of the Prophet Isaiah when he saw the Lord on a high and lofty throne in the temple and heard the angels crying, "holy, holy, holy" before him. The sanctuary of the church itself is called the "holy of holies", the place where God himself appears in the New Covenant with his people, and is separated from the nave by a veil representing the veil in the temple of Jerusalem.

It is because in oriental thought God appears in a blazing fire of holiness as he did to Moses upon Mount Sinai that man is called upon to shed all that is base and sinful in him before he approaches Him. Hence the Malankara prayers invite the faithful to arouse in themselves a profound sense of human sin and repentance, a principal theme both in the Old and the New Testaments. The prayers echo the Prophet who was led to cry out: "Woe is me for I am a man of unclean lips and I dwell among a people of unclean lips."

This sense of sin does not close in upon itself but instead offers a way out of the wasteland to see "the third who walks always beside you". It is the golden spiral that takes you to God's infinite love and mercy, as it led the Prodigal Son to return home to his father's love. One could, therefore, notice in the Malankara spirituality "a wonderful balance of dreadful majesty and loving compassion, of abasement and exaltation."

A deeply Biblical and theological devotion to the Virgin Mary grew up in the Syrian Church as a direct consequence of its belief in the Incarnation. Mary is addressed as the "Mother of God." or more literally, as "she who brought forth God."

To quote from the Common Prayers of the Malankara Church: "In your arms you embraced the flames and gave milk to the devouring fire; blessed is He, the Infinite Who was born of you".

As the Mother of God is revered throughout the season, so are the prophets, apostles and martyrs as "those who proclaim and those who died for the sake of the Gospel."

7. *B. Griffiths*, Introduction: The Book of Common Prayer of the Syrian Church. Kurusumala, Kerala 1964, p. X.

Here again this cult of the saints is deeply rooted in a Biblical view of life and springs from the authentic message of the Gospel, explains Father Bede Griffiths. Through the pages of the Malankara prayers goes an endless procession of the saints of the Old Testament, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and the Prophets and in particular Job and Daniel and the three holy men in the furnace of Babylon.

The constant reference to our Father Adam and our Mother Eve takes the mystery of salvation back to the first man and woman and sees Christ descending to *Sheol*, the place of the dead, to proclaim the message of salvation to all the dead and to raise Adam and Eve.

The thought that the dead wait in *Sheol* for the resurrection, recurring in the prayers of the Malankara services, harks back to Jewish Christian theology, enabling us to see how devotion to the departed grew up spontaneously in the early Church.

The Biblical ethos threading through the Malankara liturgy and canonical prayers make them highly relevant to modern times. When the waves of the Charismatic Movement swept across India, the tiny Malankara community upon the Malabar Coast found it nothing new. The pneumatic tradition marks their life-style. For example, on every Sunday afternoon, the parishioners with copies of the Bible in their hands meet in groups at the homes of various families for *prarthana*, the Bible prayer, which is joined to a meal.

Squatting on mats, they start the service by singing a rousing hymn. As they sing, they clap rhythmically to the beat of the song, enumerating the blessings God has showered on their community and, like the Bacchanalian dancers, work themselves to a frenzy of devotion to their faith. They read from the Old and New Testaments, and indulge in spontaneous prayers reflecting upon the passages read. This Bible service, conducted solely by the laity, closes with a common meal, recalling the *agape* of the apostolic Church.

The devotion of the Malankara Catholics to the Bible is the mainstay of their life. Nowhere does a Christian community relive the mysteries of the Bible so closely as the Malankara Catholics of the Malabar Coast.

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CORRIGENDA

Page.	Line.	Instead of	Read
135	6	IT's ORIGIN	ITS ORIGIN
136	33	2,90000 faithful	3,00000 faithful
"	38	2 printing houses	7 printing houses
137	32	cfr.	cfr. Susepo
"	33	Susepo. K'nusiyo	K'nusiyo
139	13	Symbolical imaginery	symbolical imagery
140	23	of the cross on himself and whispers as he moves/to the western door.	of the cross on himself and whispers as he moves along the road towards the Church, saying, "I was glad when they said to me, 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!'", (Ps 122.1)
"	23	to the western door, "I will go near the sanctuary of God- Again looking to the Church	When he reaches the gate of the Church compound, looking towards the Church, he bows and makes the sign of the Cross saying, "I will go near the Sanctuary of God and near God who gladdens my childhood." (Ps 43.4). This is repeated, as he moves to the western door of the Church. Again looking into the Church---
141	36	The word 'remembrance' (dukrono, anamnesis---	The word 'remembrance' (dukrono, Zikkaron [Heb], anamnesis---

143	1	Christ made both whole again by the one-for-all	Christ made both whole again by the once-for-all
144	6	not only the sacrifice	not only the sacrifices
"	11	infront of	in front of
145	13	Militant Church of the Pilgrim Church on earth , in invisible living----	Militant Church or the Pilgrim Church on earth, the invisible living--
146	45	marble slate	marble slab
147	21	incorporal	incorporeal
148	37	bread in known	bread is known in the liturgy
150	34	A ve hangsil	A veil hangs
152	20	a new men	a new man
"	40	the following form	the following forms
154	17	solemn movement	solemn moment
"	25	dinine	divine
155	21	Besides , the word thronos, another Syriac word madbho includes the holy table	Besides the word thronos, there is another Syriac word mad-bho, which includes the holy table--
156	1	one and another	one another
157	13	Hosanna is the	Hosanna in the
"	23	sacrifices	sacrifice
158	14	spmbolically	symbolically
160	33	Qurbo	Qurobo
161	41	Humavity	Humanity
162	18	superosition	supraposition
166	12-	(ancestor Corepiscopa Philippos Remban Cheppad	(ancestor Philippose Remban Cheppad



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