

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 113

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 113

Early Liturgies: How They Took Shape and How They
Compare

c. AD 50 – 1900

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 113: Early Liturgies: How They Took Shape and How They Compare

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and thirteenth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. It is an addendum to the volumes of liturgies and church orders (volumes 97 to 101): it does not reprint those liturgies, but sets out what they have in common and where they differ. The first part introduces the subject and lists the liturgies in order of date. The second part follows eleven moments in the making of the Christian service, from the synagogue and the upper room to the fifth century, and sets the Jewish prayers beside the earliest Christian ones. The third part, the largest, takes the 28 parts of the service one by one, from the opening greeting to the dismissal, and quotes the words of each part in each of 25 texts. The last part prints one whole liturgy, that of Saint Basil.

Quotations in the comparison are word for word from the translations printed in this series, and were checked by a script against the texts. The notes that follow them, the marks that say whether a part is in a text or only hinted at, and the summaries were prepared with the help of artificial intelligence and are our judgment; a liturgist may disagree.

The Liturgy of Saint Basil

The Liturgy of Saint Basil is printed in the English of Isabel Hapgood (1906), the later Orthodox text. The Greek of the Barberini manuscript, which the website prints beside it, is not printed in this book. Hapgood's English was read by machine from a scan and has not been proofread against the printed pages, so a misreading may remain.

Dates and authorship

The dates of the liturgies are those of the oldest text that survives and not of the first time the prayers were used, which is often earlier. Many of the liturgies carry the name of an apostle or a Father, Mark, James, Clement, Basil or Chrysostom, who may have had little to do with the form in which they were written down.

PART ONE

The Earliest Liturgies

How the early church worshipped, and the liturgies and church orders in order of date.

The Earliest Liturgies: An Introduction

SERMONINDEX

How the early church worshipped, and the plan of this part of the book.

HOW THE CHURCH WORSHIPPED

The first Christians did not worship from a book. We learn how they prayed from short descriptions (the Didache, Justin Martyr), then from church orders that give model prayers (the Didascalia, the Apostolic Constitutions), and then from the great liturgies that were written down in the fourth century and later. This part puts them all in one line, from the earliest to the latest, so you can see how the same shape of worship (the greeting, the readings, the prayers, the offering, the thanksgiving over the bread and cup, the Lord's Prayer and communion) appears in every rite. Where we have the original Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Ge'ez, Armenian or Latin, it sits in a column beside the English.

The rites

The liturgies in this part are grouped by rite, in the order below. Within each rite the earliest comes first.

Earliest witnesses

Descriptions and model prayers before fixed liturgical books.

Alexandria (Greek and Coptic)

Mark, Serapion, and the Coptic liturgies of Basil, Gregory and Cyril.

Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac)

James, Clement, and the West Syriac anaphoras.

Constantinople (Byzantine)

Basil, Chrysostom, the Presanctified, and the Orthodox service books.

Church of the East (Syriac)

Addai and Mari, Theodore, Nestorius, and the Malabar rite.

Armenian

The liturgy of Gregory the Illuminator and of the Armenian Church.

Ethiopic (Ge'ez)

The Anaphora of the Apostles and the other Ethiopic anaphoras.

The Latin West

Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, Spanish and Celtic rites.

The Liturgies in Order

SERMONINDEX

c. AD 50 – 1900

A list of the early liturgies, church orders and descriptions of worship from the earliest to the latest.

THE LITURGIES AND CHURCH ORDERS IN ORDER OF DATE

Every liturgy, church order and description of worship in the collection, from the earliest to the latest, with the date, the rite and a note.

The Didache (c. AD 50–120, description)

The thanksgivings over the cup and bread (chapters 9–10) and the Sunday gathering (chapter 14). Earliest witnesses. The oldest surviving Christian prayers for the Lord's Supper.

Justin Martyr, First Apology 65–67 (c. AD 155, description)

Baptism and the Sunday Eucharist at Rome, described for the emperor. Earliest witnesses. The first full account of a Sunday service: readings, sermon, prayers, kiss of peace, bread and cup, and the collection for the poor.

The Apostolic Tradition (Hippolytus) (c. AD 215, church order)

Ordination prayers, baptism, and the earliest known eucharistic prayer in full. Earliest witnesses. Burton Scott Easton's English of 1934, a composite of the Latin, Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions (the Greek is lost). Many scholars now doubt that it is one man's work from about 215. Given as public domain in the United States.

The Didascalia Apostolorum (third century, church order)

A Syrian church order: bishops, the assembly, widows, fasting and the Eucharist. Earliest witnesses. Margaret Gibson's English translation from the Syriac (1903).

The Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles (Addai and Mari) (third century onward, liturgy)

The oldest anaphora of the Church of the East, with no words of institution in the oldest manuscripts. Church of the East (Syriac). English now; the Syriac text is planned beside it.

The Euchologion of Serapion of Thmuis (c. AD 350, prayer book)

A bishop's prayer book from Egypt: anaphora, baptism, ordination and blessings. Alexandria (Greek and Coptic). Bishop John Wordsworth's English translation (1899).

Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Catecheses (c. AD 350, description)

Lectures to the newly baptized on baptism, chrism and the Eucharist at Jerusalem. Earliest witnesses. Lectures 19–23 of the Catechetical Lectures describe the Jerusalem rite step by step.

The Liturgy of Clement (Apostolic Constitutions, Book 8) (c. AD 380, liturgy)

A complete Syrian liturgy with the prayers of the faithful, deacon's proclamations and the great thanksgiving. Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac). Book 8 of the Apostolic Constitutions, compiled in Syria about AD 380.

The Divine Liturgy of Saint Clement (Neale) (c. AD 380 text; Neale's version 1859, liturgy)

The Clementine liturgy of Book 8, translated by J. M. Neale. Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac).

Egeria's Pilgrimage (c. AD 384, description)

The daily and Holy Week services at Jerusalem, seen by a Spanish pilgrim. Earliest witnesses. McClure and Feltoe's English translation (1919), with the Latin text on its own page.

Ambrose of Milan, On the Mysteries (c. AD 390, description)

Ambrose explains baptism and the Eucharist to the newly baptized at Milan. The Latin West.

The Divine Liturgy of James (fourth century onward, liturgy)

The ancient liturgy of Jerusalem, still sung in a few places on the feast of James. Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac).

The Divine Liturgy of Saint James (Neale) (same liturgy, Neale's version 1859, liturgy)

Neale's translation of the Greek liturgy of James. Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac).

The Divine Liturgy of Mark (fourth to fifth century, liturgy)

The ancient liturgy of Alexandria. Alexandria (Greek and Coptic).

The Divine Liturgy of Saint Mark (Neale) (same liturgy, Neale's version 1859, liturgy)

Neale's translation of the liturgy of Alexandria in its Coptic form. Alexandria (Greek and Coptic).

The Liturgy of Basil the Great (fourth century onward; Greek text c. AD 800, liturgy)

The longer liturgy of Constantinople, in the oldest Greek text (the Barberini manuscript) beside Hapgood's English. Constantinople (Byzantine). The English is the later Orthodox text of Basil, so it agrees in substance but not always word for word with the ninth-century Greek.

The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom (Neale) (late fourth to fifth century, liturgy)

The usual Sunday liturgy of the Orthodox Church. Constantinople (Byzantine).

The Coptic Liturgy of Saint Mark (Cyril) (fifth century onward, liturgy)

The ordinary liturgy of the Coptic Church with the anaphora of Saint Cyril, in Brightman's English; the Basil and Gregory anaphoras have no free English yet. Alexandria (Greek and Coptic).

The Testament of Our Lord (fifth century, church order)

A Syrian church order with the fullest early account of the prayers, the building and the offices. Earliest witnesses. Cooper and Maclean's English translation from the Syriac (1902).

The Liturgy of Nestorius (fifth century (attributed to Nestorius), liturgy)

The second anaphora of the Church of the East, in Badger's English. Church of the East (Syriac). The anaphora of Theodore is not in a free English translation online yet.

The Leonine (Verona) Sacramentary (fifth to seventh century, sacramentary)

The oldest Roman collection of Mass prayers. The Latin West. Feltoe's Latin text (1896). The manuscript begins in April and breaks off in December. No English translation is free online.

Pseudo-Dionysius, The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and The Liturgy (c. AD 500, description)

A mystical reading of the Eucharist and baptism. Constantinople (Byzantine).

Narsai, Liturgical Homilies (c. AD 500, description)

Homilies on the mysteries of the Church of the East. Church of the East (Syriac).

The Syriac Liturgy of Saint James (fifth to seventh century, liturgy)

The Jacobite order with the anaphora of Mar James, in Brightman's English. Jerusalem and Antioch (Greek and Syriac).

The Liturgy of Malabar (Neale) (sixth to seventh century, liturgy)

The liturgy used by the Thomas Christians of south India. Church of the East (Syriac).

Nestorian Baptism, Marriage, Burial and Ordination (East Syriac rites, rite)

The other rites of the Church of the East, in Badger's English (1852). Church of the East (Syriac).

The East Syrian Daily Offices (East Syriac rites, service book)

Evening, night and morning services, Compline and the fasts, in Maclean's English (1894). Church of the East (Syriac).

The Gelasian Sacramentary (seventh century, sacramentary)

The Roman Mass and baptismal prayers as used in Gaul. The Latin West. H. A. Wilson's Latin text (Oxford). Book I (the church year and baptism), Book II (saints' days) and Book III (Sundays and the daily prayers).

The Missale Gothicum (Gallican Mass-book) (c. AD 700, sacramentary)

A Gallican Mass-book with its prefaces, blessings and baptismal rite. The Latin West. Bannister's Latin text (1917). The Bobbio Missal is not online yet: the free scan of the Henry Bradshaw Society volume is only a facsimile of the manuscript, and its printed text is in a separate volume.

The Armenian Liturgy (seventh to eighth century, liturgy)

The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church, in three English versions. Armenian.

The Ethiopic Liturgy (seventh to eighth century, liturgy)

The Ethiopic order with the Anaphora of the Apostles, in Brightman's English and in Mercer's. Ethiopic (Ge'ez). Mercer translates only the Anaphora of the Apostles in full. The other Ethiopic anaphoras (Mary, John, and the rest) have no free English translation online yet.

The Ambrosian Liturgy (fourth to eighth century, liturgy)

The ordinary and canon of the Mass of Milan. The Latin West. Atchley's English translation (1909).

The Gregorian Sacramentary (eighth century, sacramentary)

The Roman Mass as sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne. The Latin West. H. A. Wilson's Latin text (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915), with the supplement and the additional prefaces and blessings.

The Orthodox Service Book (Hapgood), part 1 (later forms, service book)

The liturgies of Chrysostom, Basil and the Presanctified, vespers and matins, in English. Constantinople (Byzantine).

The Orthodox Service Book (Hapgood), part 2 (later forms, service book)

The sacraments and the offices. Constantinople (Byzantine).

The Office of the Prothesis (Neale) (later forms, service book)

The preparation of the bread and cup before the Byzantine liturgy. Constantinople (Byzantine).

P A R T T W O

How the Liturgy Took Shape

Eleven moments from the synagogue and the upper room to the fifth-century liturgies, and the Jewish roots of the service.

How the Liturgy Took Shape

SERMONINDEX

c. AD 30 – 500

Eleven moments from the synagogue and the upper room to the fifth-century liturgies, showing each part of the service as it first appears in the sources.

ELEVEN MOMENTS IN THE MAKING OF THE LITURGY

How did the Christian service take shape? This part follows eleven moments from the synagogue and the table of Jewish worship, through the Last Supper and the earliest church orders, to the great liturgies of the fifth century, and shows which of the 28 parts of the service each one has. The chart is built from the same checked quotations as the comparison page.

A caution

A blank mark means that the source does not speak of that part, not that it was not done. The sources are of different kinds: some are prayers, some are descriptions, and some are rules, so a part can seem to appear when only the first source that mentions it does.

THREE LAYERS

Taken over from the synagogue and the table

Scripture read, standing prayers, a thanksgiving over the cup and the bread, and the people's Amen. These are in the Jewish column, and the later sources that speak of them keep them. Parts of the service in this layer: Scripture readings; Prayers or litany of the faithful; Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence; Final doxology and Amen.

Handed on from the Last Supper

The kiss of peace, the words and actions of the Supper, the remembrance “this do in remembrance of me”, the breaking of the bread and the sharing of it. The two complete liturgies at the end of the tables, St James and the

Byzantine, have all five. Parts of the service in this layer: Kiss of peace; Institution narrative and words of Christ; Anamnesis (remembrance); Fraction (breaking of the bread); Communion and words of distribution.

In full only from the third and fourth centuries

In the sources shown, these are written out in full only from the third or fourth century: the opening dialogue and the prayer for the Spirit (Apostolic Tradition), the Sanctus and the prayer for the departed (Serapion), the saints, the Lord's Prayer and "Holy things for the holy" (Cyril), and last of all the creed (St James). Earlier texts hint at some of them: the Mishnah has a call to bless, and 1 Clement the angels' "holy, holy, holy". What survives is thin, so a late first appearance may be an accident of the sources. Parts of the service in this layer: Opening dialogue (*Sursum corda*); Epiclesis on the gifts; Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy); Commemoration of the departed; Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints; The Lord's Prayer; "Holy things for the holy"; Creed.

THE ELEVEN MOMENTS

Synagogue, Temple and table (first century and earlier (the texts were written down later))

Jewish worship already had the frame: Scripture read and expounded in the synagogue, the Eighteen Benedictions, a blessing over the cup and the bread at table, and the people's Amen. The Jewish texts quoted here were written down later (the Mishnah about AD 200), and how much of them goes back to this time is discussed on the Jewish-roots page.

Scripture readings (first appearance)

"being read in the synagogues every sabbath day" — Acts 15:21 (King James)

Sermon or homily (first appearance)

"if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on" — Acts 13:15 (King James)

Prayers or litany of the faithful (first appearance)

"Man must daily say the eighteen benedictions." — Mishnah, Berakoth 4:3

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands (first appearance)

"the hands must be washed first" — Mishnah, Berakoth 8:2

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda) (first appearance)

“Let us bless Him of whose gifts we have eaten.” — Mishnah, Berakoth 7:3

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence (first appearance)

“who feedest the whole world with thy goodness” — Singer, Grace after Meals, p. 280

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy) (first appearance)

“Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts” — Singer, Yotzer blessing, p. 39

Final doxology and Amen (first appearance)

“must be made when an Israelite pronounces a blessing” — Mishnah, Berakoth 8:8

The Lord’s Supper and the first churches (about AD 30–65)

Jesus took bread and the cup at supper and told his disciples to do it in his memory. Paul hands this on to Corinth, the church at Troas meets on the first day of the week to break bread, and Paul can speak of the people’s Amen at the giving of thanks. No prayer text survives, only the actions and a few words.

Scripture readings

“when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans” — Colossians 4:16 (King James)

Sermon or homily

“Paul preached unto them” — Acts 20:7 (King James)

Prayers or litany of the faithful (hinted)

“in breaking of bread, and in prayers” — Acts 2:42 (King James)

Kiss of peace (first appearance)

“Salute one another with an holy kiss.” — Romans 16:16 (King James)

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence (hinted)

“say Amen at thy giving of thanks” — 1 Corinthians 14:16 (King James)

Institution narrative and words of Christ (first appearance)

“took bread: ... Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you” — 1 Corinthians 11:23–25 (King James)

Anamnesis (remembrance) (first appearance)

“this do in remembrance of me” — 1 Corinthians 11:24 (King James)

Final doxology and Amen (hinted)

“say Amen at thy giving of thanks” — 1 Corinthians 14:16 (King James)

Fraction (breaking of the bread) (first appearance)

“came together to break bread” — Acts 20:7 (King James)

Communion and words of distribution (first appearance)

“The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?” — 1 Corinthians 10:16 (King James)

The Didache (about AD 50–120)

The oldest Christian eucharistic prayers outside the New Testament: a short thanksgiving over the cup, one over the broken bread, and a longer one after the meal, each ending “to thee be glory for ever”. It has no words of the Last Supper, no Sanctus and no opening dialogue.

Dismissal of the catechumens (first appearance)

“But let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptised in the Lord’s Name.” — Didache, row s9-5

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for thy Name’s sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee” — Didache, row s10-3

Oblation (we offer) (first appearance)

“come together, break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure” — Didache, row s14-1

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion) (first appearance)

“so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom” — Didache, row s9-4

Intercessions inside the anaphora (first appearance)

“Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it together in its holiness from the four winds to thy kingdom” — Didache, row s10-5

Final doxology and Amen

“for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever” — Didache, row s9-4

The Lord's Prayer (first appearance)

"pray thus: Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name" — Didache, row s8-2

Fraction (breaking of the bread) (hinted)

"And concerning the broken Bread: We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child." — Didache, row s9-3

"Holy things for the holy" (first appearance)

"If any man be holy, let him come! if any man be not, let him repent: Maranatha, Amen." — Didache, row s10-6

Communion and words of distribution (hinted)

"let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptised in the Lord's Name" — Didache, row s9-5

Thanksgiving after communion (first appearance)

"But after you are satisfied with food, thus give thanks:" — Didache, row s10-1

1 Clement (about AD 96)

The long prayer that ends the letter from the church at Rome to Corinth is not a eucharistic prayer. Many scholars read it as an example of the kind of prayer used in worship at Rome, though the letter does not say so. It asks for the afflicted, the sick, the prisoners and the rulers and ends with praise through Jesus Christ the high priest. Earlier in the letter the angels cry "holy, holy, holy".

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy) (hinted)

"they cried holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory" — 1 Clement

Intercessions inside the anaphora

"heal the sick, turn again the wanderers of thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners" — 1 Clement

Final doxology and Amen

"through jesus christ, the high priest and guardian of our souls, through whom be glory and majesty to thee" — 1 Clement

Justin Martyr (about AD 155)

The first description of the whole Sunday service: readings from the memoirs of the apostles or the prophets, the president's address, standing prayers, the kiss, the bread and the cup brought up, a thanksgiving "according to his ability", the people's Amen, and the distribution, with a portion sent to those who are absent.

Scripture readings

"the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-67-a

Sermon or homily

"the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-67-a

Prayers or litany of the faithful

"Then we all rise together and pray" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-67-a

Dismissal of the catechumens (hinted)

"of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-66-1

Kiss of peace

"Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss." — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

"There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence (hinted)

"offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

Institution narrative and words of Christ

"Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, ... This do ye in remembrance of Me, this is My body; ... having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, ... This is My blood;" — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-66-1

Epiclesis on the gifts (first appearance)

“the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word” — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-66-1

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized ... and for all others in every place” — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

Final doxology and Amen (hinted)

“he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost” — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

Communion and words of distribution

“those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced” — Justin, 1 Apology, row s1-65-1

The Apostolic Tradition (about AD 215 (disputed))

The first eucharistic prayer written out in full: the dialogue, thanks for Christ, the words of the Last Supper, the remembrance and offering, the Spirit asked on the offering, and a doxology. It has no Sanctus and no intercessions, and the bishop is told he need not use these exact words.

Prayers or litany of the faithful (hinted)

“they shall join in prayer with all the people” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-7

Dismissal of the catechumens (hinted)

“the catechumens shall pray by themselves, apart from the believers” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-3

Kiss of peace

“at the close of their prayer they shall give the kiss of peace” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-7

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

“the offering is immediately brought by the deacons to the bishop” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-8

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

“The Lord be with you. And all shall say And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks to the Lord. It is meet and right.” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“We give thee thanks, O God, through thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ ... Who is thy Word, inseparable from thee; through whom thou didst make all things” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Post-Sanctus: thanksgiving for redemption (first appearance)

“Whom thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who, dwelling within her, was made flesh, and was manifested as thy Son” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Institution narrative and words of Christ

“taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: ... Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you.” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Anamnesis (remembrance)

“Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Oblation (we offer)

“we offer to thee the bread and the cup, yielding thee thanks, because thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Epiclesis on the gifts

“send thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of thy holy church” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion)

“grant to all thy saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit, that their faith may be confirmed in truth” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Final doxology and Amen

“Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.” — Apostolic Tradition, row s2-3

Fraction (breaking of the bread)

“when he breaks the bread and distributes the fragments he shall say” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-8

Communion and words of distribution

“The heavenly bread in Christ Jesus ... the recipient shall say, Amen” — Apostolic Tradition, row s3-8

Serapion of Thmuis (about AD 340)

An Egyptian bishop’s prayer book has a full anaphora with the Sanctus and an epiclesis that asks God’s Word, not the Spirit, to come on the gifts, followed by intercessions for the living and the dead and separate prayers for the fraction, the blessing and thanks after communion.

Prayers or litany of the faithful (hinted)

“We pray thee on behalf of all this people, be reconciled to all, make thyself known ... We pray for all Rulers, may they have a peaceable life. (We pray) for the rest of the Catholic Church.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s27-2

Dismissal of the catechumens (hinted)

“we thank thee on behalf the Catechumens, because thou hast called them through the only-begotten” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s21-1

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-1

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)

“with whom receive also our cry of “holy” as we say: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of thy glory.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-2

Institution narrative and words of Christ

“the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples saying ... Take ye and eat, this is my body which is being broken for you for remission of sins ... taking a cup after supper ... said to his own disciples ... Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-3

Anamnesis (remembrance) (hinted)

“Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread”
— Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-3

Oblation (we offer)

“to thee have we offered this living sacrifice ... this bloodless oblation ... To thee we have offered this bread the likeness of the body of the only-begotten.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-3

Epiclesis on the gifts

“O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-4

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion)

“make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness ... not for condemnation, O God of truth” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-4

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“Let this people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-5

Commemoration of the departed (first appearance)

“We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making. ... Sanctify these souls: for thou knowest all.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-6

Final doxology and Amen

“through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in holy Spirit; as it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.”
— Serapion of Thmuis, row s1-7

Prayer of inclination or blessing (first appearance)

“I stretch out the hand upon this people and pray that the hand of the truth may be stretched out and blessing given to this people” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s3-1

Fraction (breaking of the bread)

“Count us worthy of this communion also, O God of truth, and make our bodies to contain purity and our souls prudence and knowledge.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s2-1

Communion and words of distribution (hinted)

“We give thanks to thee, that thou hast given us communion of (the) body and blood. Bless us, bless this people, make us to have a part with the body and the blood” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s4-1

Thanksgiving after communion

“We thank thee, Master, that thou hast called those who have erred, and hast taken to thy self those who have sinned” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s4-1

Blessing and dismissal (first appearance)

“let the communion of the body and the blood go along with this people. Let their bodies be living bodies, and their souls be clean souls.” — Serapion of Thmuis, row s6-1

Cyril of Jerusalem (about AD 350 (the last lectures may be a little later))

Lectures to the newly baptised explain the Jerusalem liturgy step by step: the washing of the priest’s hands, the kiss of peace, the dialogue, the Sanctus, the epiclesis, the intercessions and the Lord’s Prayer. He gives the words of the Last Supper in the lecture before, on the body and blood (lecture 22), and does not repeat them when he describes the prayer.

Kiss of peace

“the Deacon cries aloud ... Receive ye one another; and let us kiss one another” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-2

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

“the Deacon who gives to the Priest water to wash ... to the Presbyters who stand round God’s altar” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-1

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

“the Priest cries aloud ... Lift up your hearts ... Then ye answer ... We lift them up unto the Lord” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-3

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“we make mention of heaven ... and earth, and sea ... of sun and moon; of stars and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-4

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)

“crying Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-4

Oblation (we offer) (hinted)

“over that sacrifice of propitiation we entreat God for the common peace of the Churches ... we all pray and offer this sacrifice” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-5

Epiclesis on the gifts

“we beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ ... for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is surely sanctified and changed” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-5

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“we entreat God for the common peace of the Churches, for the welfare of the world ... for kings; for soldiers and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-5

Commemoration of the departed

“on behalf also of the Holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and in a word of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-5

Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints (first appearance)

“we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intercessions God would receive our petition” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-5

The Lord's Prayer

“Then, after these things, we say that Prayer which the Saviour delivered to His own disciples” — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-6

"Holy things for the holy"

"the Priest says ... Holy things to holy men ... One is Holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ" — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-10

Communion and words of distribution

"make thy left hand a throne ... as for that which is to receive a King ... receive the Body of Christ, saying over it, Amen" — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-11

Thanksgiving after communion

"Then wait for the prayer, and give thanks unto God, who hath accounted thee worthy of so great mysteries" — Cyril of Jerusalem, row s23-12

Apostolic Constitutions, book 8 (about AD 380)

A Syrian church order lays out the entire service in order: the lessons and the sermon, the dismissal of the catechumens and the long deacon's litany, the kiss, the thanksgiving with the Sanctus, the institution and the epiclesis, then communion and the final prayers.

Opening greeting and blessing (first appearance)

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all; and let them all answer, and with Thy Spirit" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-17

Scripture readings

"after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-17

Sermon or homily

"let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he has ended his word of doctrine" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-17

Prayers or litany of the faithful

"Let us pray for the peace and happy settlement of the" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-26

Dismissal of the catechumens

"Go out, ye catechumens, in peace" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-20

Kiss of peace

"Salute ye one another with the holy kiss" — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-30

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

“let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-32

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

“We lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people: It is meet and right so to do” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-33

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“It is very meet and right before all things to sing an hymn to Thee, who art the true God, who art before all beings” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-33

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)

“Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be Thou blessed for ever” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-41

Post-Sanctus: thanksgiving for redemption

“For Thou art truly holy, and most holy, the highest and most highly exalted for ever. Holy also is Thy only begotten Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-41

Institution narrative and words of Christ

“For in the same night that He was betrayed, He took bread” in His holy and undefiled hands ... This is my body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-44

Anamnesis (remembrance)

“Being mindful, therefore, of His passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second appearing” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-44

Oblation (we offer)

“we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His constitution, this bread and this cup” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-44

Epiclesis on the gifts

“send down upon this sacrifice Thine Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus' sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Thy Christ” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-45

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion)

“that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-45

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“We further pray unto Thee, O Lord, for thy holy Church spread from one end of the world to another” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-45

Commemoration of the departed (hinted)

“Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-48

Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints

“We further offer to Thee also for all those holy persons who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world—patriarch, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-46

Final doxology and Amen

“for to Thee belongs all glory and worship, and thanksgiving, honour and adoration, the Father, with the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and always” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-47

Prayer of inclination or blessing

“Bow down to God through His Christ, and receive the blessing” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-53

“Holy things for the holy”

“Holy things for holy persons. And let the people answer: There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, one Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-49

Communion and words of distribution

“let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics ... And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, The body of Christ” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-49

Thanksgiving after communion

“Now we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who has thought us worthy to partake of these His holy mysteries” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-51

Blessing and dismissal

“And the deacon shall say, Depart in peace” — Apostolic Const. 8, row s1-54

The Liturgy of St James (fourth century on (the written text is later))

The liturgy of the Jerusalem and Antioch family is complete: the litany, the creed before the anaphora, the dialogue, the Sanctus with the Benedictus, the institution, the anamnesis, the epiclesis, the intercessions and the Lord’s Prayer.

Opening greeting and blessing

“The Priest: Peace be to all. The People: And to thy spirit” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-8

Scripture readings

“Then there are read in order the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and of the prophets” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-8

Sermon or homily (hinted)

“After the reading and instruction the Deacon says” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-8

Prayers or litany of the faithful

“The Deacon makes the Universal Litany: In peace let us pray to the Lord” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-16

Dismissal of the catechumens

“Let none remain of the catechumens, none of the unbaptized, none of those who are unable to join with us in prayer” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-11

Kiss of peace

“The Deacon: Let us salute one another with an holy kiss” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-15

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

“The Priest, bringing in the holy gifts, says this prayer: O God, our God, who didst send forth the heavenly bread” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-13

Creed (first appearance)

“I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: and the rest of the Creed” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-14

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

“The People: And with thy spirit. The Priest: Let us lift up our minds and our hearts. The People: It is becoming and right” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-26

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“Verily it is becoming and right, proper and due to praise Thee, to sing of Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-26

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)

“Holy, holy, holy, O Lord of Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-27

Post-Sanctus: thanksgiving for redemption

“Holy art Thou, King of eternity, and Lord and giver of all holiness; holy also Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-27

Institution narrative and words of Christ

“Having taken the bread in His holy and pure and blameless and immortal hands ... Take, eat: this is my body, broken for you, and given for remission of sins” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-28

Anamnesis (remembrance)

“Remembering, therefore, His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross, His death and His burial, and resurrection from the dead on the third day” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-29

Oblation (we offer)

“even we, sinful men, offer unto Thee, O Lord, this dread and bloodless sacrifice” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-29

Epiclesis on the gifts

“Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send forth on us, and on these offered gifts, Thy all-holy Spirit” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-30

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion)

“That they may be to all that partake of them for remission of sins, and for life everlasting, for the sanctification of souls and of bodies” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-31

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“Remember also, O Lord, our holy fathers and brethren in it, and the bishops in all the world, who rightly divide the word of Thy truth” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-32

Commemoration of the departed

“Remember, O Lord God, the spirits and all flesh, of whom we have made mention, and of whom we have not made mention, who are of the true faith, from righteous Abel unto this day: unto them do Thou give rest” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-34

Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints

“Hail, Mary, highly favoured: the Lord is with Thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-34

Final doxology and Amen

“Through the grace and compassion and love of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed and glorified, together with the all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-35

The Lord's Prayer

“Our Father, which art in heaven: hallowed be Thy name; and so on to the doxology” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-37

Prayer of inclination or blessing

“The Deacon: Let us bow our heads to the Lord. The People: To Thee, O Lord. The Priest prays, speaking thus: To Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our heads before Thy holy altar” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-38

Fraction (breaking of the bread)

“Then the Priest breaks the bread, and holds the half in his right hand, and the half in his left, and dips that in his right hand in the chalice” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-40

“Holy things for the holy”

“He takes up the gifts and saith aloud: The holy things unto holy. The People: One only is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-39

Communion and words of distribution

“Then he distributes to the clergy; and when the deacons take the disks and the chalices for distribution to the people” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-42

Thanksgiving after communion

“We render thanks to Thee, Christ our God, that Thou hast made us worthy to partake of Thy body and blood, for the remission of sins, and for life everlasting” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-44

Blessing and dismissal

“In the peace of Christ let us go on: The People: In the name of the Lord” — Liturgy of St James, row s1-47

The Byzantine liturgy of Constantinople (fifth century on (this English is a 1906 translation))

The liturgy of Constantinople keeps the same bones, with the creed before the anaphora, the Sanctus, the institution and epiclesis, the intercessions after the epiclesis, the Lord’s Prayer and “Holy things for the holy”. The English is Hapgood’s 1906 translation of the service books now in use, so the wording is later than the fifth century; what the tables shows is the shape.

Opening greeting and blessing

“Blessed is the kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages” — Basil, row s5-38

Scripture readings

“The Lesson from the Epistle of the holy Apostle” — Basil, row s5-61

Prayers or litany of the faithful

“In peace let us pray to the Lord. Choir. Lord, have mercy. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord” — Basil, row s5-39

Dismissal of the catechumens

“Depart, all ye Catechumens, depart. Depart, all ye Catechumens: let no Catechumen remain” — Basil, row s5-75

Kiss of peace

“Let us love one another, that with one accord we may confess” — Basil, row s5-94

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands

“the Great Entrance, with the Holy Gifts, is made” — Basil, row s5-80

Creed

“I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible” — Basil, row s5-96

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all ... And with thy spirit. Priest (pointing upward). Lift up your hearts” — Basil, row s5-98

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence

“O thou who in verity existest, Master, Lord God, Father Almighty adorable: Meet is it, in truth, and just and befitting the majesty of thy holiness, that we should magnify thee, praise thee, bless thee, adore thee” — Basil, row s5-100

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)

“Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest” — Basil, row s5-102

Post-Sanctus: thanksgiving for redemption

“Holy art thou, of a truth, and all-holy, and there are no bounds to the majesty of thy holiness, and just art thou in all thy works” — Basil, row s5-103

Institution narrative and words of Christ

“he took bread in his holy and stainless hands, and when he had shown it unto thee, his God and Father, he gave thanks, blessing it, sanctifying it, and breaking it, he gave it to his holy disciples and apostles” — Basil, row s5-108

Anamnesis (remembrance)

“Wherefore, we also, O Master, having in remembrance his redeeming Passion and life-giving Cross, his three days’ Burial, and his Resurrection from the dead, his Ascension into Heaven, and his Sitting on the right hand of thee, the God and Father, and his glorious and terrible Coming-again” — Basil, row s5-111

Oblation (we offer)

“Thine own, of thine own, we offer unto thee, in behalf of all, and for all ... presenting unto thee the holy emblems of the sacred Body and Blood of thy Christ” — Basil, row s5-112

Epiclesis on the gifts

“that thy Holy Spirit may descend upon us, and upon these Gifts here spread forth before thee, and bless them, and sanctify and manifest them” — Basil, row s5-112

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion)

“And unite all us who partake of the one Bread and the one Cup, one to another in the communion of the Holy Spirit; and grant that no one of us may partake of that holy Body and Blood of thy Christ unto judgment or unto condemnation” — Basil, row s5-117

Intercessions inside the anaphora

“Have in remembrance, also, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is from end to end of the Universe; and give peace unto Her whom thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of thy Christ” — Basil, row s5-119

Commemoration of the departed

“call to remembrance all those who have fallen asleep in the hope of Resurrection unto life eternal” — Basil, row s5-117

Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints

“Especially our most holy, all-undefiled, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Birth-giver of God and ever-virgin Mary: And Saint John, the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist; the holy, glorious and all-laudable Apostles” — Basil, row s5-117

Final doxology and Amen

“And grant that with one mouth and one heart we may glorify and praise thine all-honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Choir. Amen” — Basil, row s5-126

The Lord's Prayer

“And vouchsafe, O Lord, that boldly and without condemnation we may call upon thee, God the heavenly Father, and say ... Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name” — Basil, row s5-130

Prayer of inclination or blessing

“O Master, Lord, the Father of bounties, and the God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, guard, strengthen, fortify those who have bowed their heads unto thee” — Basil, row s5-131

Fraction (breaking of the bread)

“Broken and divided is the Lamb of God, which is broken, yet not dis-united ; which is ever eaten, yet never consumed, but sanctifieth those who partake thereof” — Basil, row s5-133

"Holy things for the holy"

“Holy things unto the Holy. Choir. One only is holy, one only is the Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father” — Basil, row s5-133

Communion and words of distribution

“The servant of God, N., partaketh of the precious and holy Body and Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ, unto the remission of his (or her) sins, and unto life everlasting” — Basil, row s5-146

Thanksgiving after communion

“in thy holy, pure, immortal and heavenly Mysteries, which thou hast given unto us for the welfare and sanctification and healing of our souls and bodies” — Basil, row s5-145

Blessing and dismissal

“The blessing of the Lord, through his grace and love towards mankind, be upon you always, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages” — Basil, rows 5-153

The Jewish Roots of the Liturgy

SERMONINDEX

c. 100 BC – AD 500

Jewish prayers and rules of worship from the Mishnah and the prayer book set beside the Didache, First Clement, Justin, the Apostolic Tradition and the later liturgies.

SYNAGOGUE, TABLE AND TEMPLE

How much of the church's service came from the synagogue and the table of the Jewish home is one of the great questions of liturgical history. This part puts the Jewish texts and the earliest Christian texts side by side and lets you read both. The Christian passages are quoted from the pages of this site and the Jewish ones from public-domain books; each can be checked at the link beside it.

A caution

A caution before you read. The Jewish prayers are quoted from Singer's prayer book of 1890, and the Mishnah was written down about AD 200. The oldest Christian prayers here are earlier than any Jewish prayer book. Where a parallel is shown, it points to a shared pattern of worship, not to a Christian text copied from a Jewish one. Wherever scholars disagree, we say so.

What is new in the church's service

Not everything in the church's service has a Jewish source. The words of institution over the bread and cup, the Sunday assembly (Justin's "day called Sunday"), the baptismal rite, the epiclesis, the Christian creeds and the kiss of peace as a rite are all new. What the Jewish background supplies is the frame: the blessing over the table, the reading and teaching of Scripture, the fixed hours of prayer and the people's Amen.

THE JEWISH SERVICE IN OUTLINE

The Shema and its blessings

Two blessings before the Shema and one after it in the morning (the Qe-dushah comes in the first of them in the later rite). Mishnah, Berakoth 1:4: "two benedictions before it and one after it in the morning".

The Tefillah (Amidah)

The Eighteen Benedictions said standing, three times a day. Mishnah, Berakoth 4:3: "the eighteen benedictions are to be said daily".

The reading of the Law

Called-up readers read in turn from the scroll, with a blessing before and after; the number varied from three to seven. Mishnah, Megillah 4:1-2: "three, four, five, six or seven readers, depending on the day". Luke 4:16-17: "Jesus stood up to read".

The Prophets

A passage from the Prophets, on the Sabbath and festivals, chosen to match the Law. Mishnah, Megillah 4:2: "a section from the Prophets is read on those days". Acts 13:15: "the rulers send to Paul after the reading of the Law and the Prophets".

The interpreter

A translator rendered the Hebrew into Aramaic, verse by verse. Mishnah, Megillah 4:4: "the Law is read to the interpreter one verse at a time".

The word of exhortation

A sermon by a member of the congregation or a visitor. Acts 13:15: "Paul is invited to give a word of exhortation". Luke 4:20-21: "Jesus sat down and spoke".

The priests' blessing

Where priests were present, they raised their hands in the blessing of Numbers 6. The Mishnah requires ten men for the full service. Mishnah, Megillah 4:3: "with fewer than ten present the Shema is not repeated, no one leads the prayers, the priests do not raise their hands and the Law and Prophets are not read".

THE SOURCES

Josephus and Philo (first century AD)

Say that the Law was read and taught in synagogues every Sabbath, and describe the Temple's daily service. Eyewitness or near it, but they say little about the wording of prayers.

The New Testament (about AD 50–100)

Jesus and Paul read and preach in synagogues (Luke 4; Acts 13); Jews pray at the hour of prayer in the Temple (Acts 3:1). Contemporary; gives the shape of the service, not its prayers.

The Didache and 1 Clement (about AD 50–120)

Christian prayers whose shape matches the Jewish grace and the Amidah. The earliest Christian texts of prayers; no Hebrew side-by-side from the same period.

The Mishnah (written down about AD 200)

Rules for blessings, readings and prayers, with debates of the houses of Hillel and Shammai from before AD 70. The oldest Jewish source with the rules of the service; it gives few of the words.

Prayer books (complete prayer books from about the ninth century; Singer's edition is 1890)

The full wording of the benedictions, the Qedushah and the grace after meals. Late. The structure is old, but the words have grown and changed.

Singer, Daily Prayer Book

The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, with a new translation by the Rev. S. Singer (7th ed., London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904). Orthodox rite as printed in 1904; the translation is Singer's of 1890.

Mishnah (De Sola and Raphall)

Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna, translated by D. A. de Sola and M. J. Raphall (London, 1843). Mishnah compiled about AD 200; it records debates of the first-century schools of Hillel and Shammai.

Union Haggadah

The Union Haggadah: Home Service for the Passover (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1923). 1923.

Edersheim, The Temple

Alfred Edersheim, *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as They Were at the Time of Jesus Christ* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1874; Edersheim died 1889). 1874.

Oesterley, Jewish Background

W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925). 1925.

King James Version

The Holy Bible, King James Version (1769 text, as on SermonIndex). 1611.

THE PARALLELS

A short blessing over the cup, and one over the bread (Same pattern)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 6:1 (the form of blessing for each food): “who createst the fruit of the vine ... who bringest forth bread from the earth” Jewish text, Singer, Kiddush for Sabbath evening, p. 174: “Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.” Christian text, Didache 9:2, the cup first: “First concerning the cup, we give thanks to thee, our father, for the holy vine of David thy child, which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child; to thee be glory for ever.” Christian text, Didache 9:3, then the bread: “And concerning the broken bread: we give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child. To thee be glory for ever.” At a Jewish meal each food has its own short blessing, and on the Sabbath and festivals the cup is blessed first. The Didache keeps the pattern, a separate thanksgiving for the cup and the bread, but fills it with new content: the vine of David and the life made known through Jesus. Each ends with the doxology “to thee be glory for ever”. The debate: Luke 22:17–19 also puts a cup before the bread. Whether the Didache’s meal is the eucharist, an agape, or both is argued.

Thanks for creation and food: “who givest food to all flesh” (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Singer, Grace after Meals, first blessing, p. 280: “Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who feedest the whole world with thy goodness, with grace, with lovingkindness and tender mercy; thou givest food to all flesh, for thy lovingkindness endureth for ever.” Christian text, Didache 10:3: “Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for thy name’s

sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee, but us hast thou blessed with spiritual food and drink” Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 7, a prayer at dinner: “Thou art blessed, O Lord, who nourishest me from my youth, who givest food to all flesh.” The first blessing of the Jewish grace after meals thanks God as the one who feeds the whole world. The Didache’s third thanksgiving does the same in its own words, then adds spiritual food and drink for the church. The prayer for dinner in the Apostolic Constitutions (fourth century) even keeps the Jewish phrase “who givest food to all flesh”. The debate: Louis Finkelstein (1928) and J.-P. Audet (1958) argued that Didache 10 follows the three blessings of the Jewish grace; others think the likeness is of pattern only. The Jewish wording in Singer is much later than the Didache, so the match is of order and ideas, not of copied sentences.

“We thank thee”: the second blessing and what replaces it (Same pattern)

Jewish text, Singer, Grace after Meals, second blessing, p. 280: “We thank thee, O Lord our God, because thou didst give as an heritage unto our fathers a desirable, good and ample land, and because thou didst bring us forth, O Lord our God, from the land of Egypt” Christian text, Didache 10:2: “We give thanks to thee, O holy Father, for thy holy name which thou didst make to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child.” Both prayers open with “We thank thee” and name what God has given. In the Jewish grace those gifts are the land, the exodus, the covenant and the Law; in the Didache they are the name of God dwelling in the heart, knowledge, faith and immortality made known through Jesus. The slot is the same; the content is Christian. The debate: Scholars who see the Jewish grace behind Didache 10 treat this as the clearest case of a Christian prayer built on a Jewish frame. Others note that “we thank thee” is the ordinary way to begin any Greek or Hebrew prayer of thanks.

“Have mercy on Jerusalem” becomes “Remember thy church” (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Singer, Grace after Meals, third blessing, p. 281: “Have mercy, O Lord our God, upon Israel thy people, upon Jerusalem thy city, upon Zion the abiding place of thy glory” Jewish text, Singer, the Amidah, tenth benediction, p. 48: “lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of the earth” Christian text, Didache 10:5: “Remember, Lord,

thy church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it together in its holiness from the four winds to thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it.” The third Jewish blessing prays for Jerusalem and Zion; the Amidah asks God to gather the exiles from the four corners of the earth. The Didache prays for the church in the same breath: deliver her, make her perfect, gather her from the four winds into the kingdom. Jerusalem is replaced by the church and the ingathering of Israel by the gathering of the elect. The debate: The “four winds” also come from Matthew 24:31. Whether the Didache borrowed the Jewish blessing or both drew on the same biblical language is open.

The leader’s invitation and the people’s answer (Same pattern)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 7:3 (the invitation to the thanksgiving after meals): “If three [form the party] he [who says grace] says, “Let us bless Him of whose gifts we have eaten.”” Jewish text, Singer, Grace after Meals, pp. 279–280: “Let us say grace. The others respond: — Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and for ever.” Christian text, Apostolic Tradition 4, the bishop’s thanksgiving: “The Lord be with you. And all shall say And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks to the Lord. It is meet and right.” Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 8: “we lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people: It is meet and right so to do” Before the grace after meals the one who leads calls the others to bless God, and they answer. Before the great thanksgiving the Christian bishop does the same: “Let us give thanks to the Lord”, answered by the people. “Lift up your hearts” has no Jewish counterpart. The debate: Some liturgical scholars have traced the opening dialogue to the Jewish call to grace; others, such as Paul Bradshaw, caution that a shared habit of calling a company to prayer does not prove descent.

“Holy, holy, holy”: the Qedushah and the Sanctus (Shared text, debated link)

Jewish text, Singer, Morning Service, the Yotzer blessing, p. 39: “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts : the whole earth is full of his glory.” Jewish text, Singer, Morning Service, the Yotzer blessing, p. 39: “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place” Jewish text, Oesterley, 1925, p. 146: “it is well known that all the great Liturgies from the fifth century onwards contain it” Christian text, 1 Clement 34:6 (about AD 96): “ten thousand times ten

thousand stood by him, and thousand thousands ministered to him, and they cried holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory.” Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 8: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of his glory: be thou blessed for ever” Christian text, Liturgy of St James: “Holy, holy, holy, O Lord of Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The synagogue’s Qedushah joins the angels’ song of Isaiah 6:3 to the response “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place”, and it comes in the blessing before the Shema and in the Amidah. The Christian Sanctus has the same verse, and 1 Clement already tells of the angels crying it. Nearly every full anaphora after the Apostolic Tradition has it. The debate: This is the best-known and most disputed parallel. Some hold that the Sanctus entered the eucharist from the synagogue’s Qedushah; others that it came straight from Isaiah and Revelation 4:8. The Qedushah’s own wording in the first century is uncertain, and the Apostolic Tradition has no Sanctus at all.

The Eighteen Benedictions and the long prayer of Clement (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Singer, Morning Service, Amidah, first benedictions, p. 45: “Thou sustainest the living with lovingkindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, loosest the bound” Jewish text, Singer, Morning Service, Amidah, p. 47: “Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed ... save us and we shall be saved” Jewish text, Singer, Morning Service, the last benediction of the Amidah: “Grant peace, welfare, blessing, grace, lovingkindness and mercy unto us and unto all Israel, thy people.” Christian text, 1 Clement 59:4 (about AD 96): “save those of us who are in affliction, have mercy on the lowly, raise the fallen, show thyself to those in need, heal the sick, turn again the wanderers of thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, raise up the weak, comfort the faint-hearted” Christian text, 1 Clement 60:4: “give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as thou didst give to our fathers who called on thee in holiness with faith and truth” The Amidah, prayed standing three times a day, runs through God’s power to raise the fallen and heal the sick, then asks for healing, for the ingathering, and for peace. The long prayer at the end of 1 Clement (about AD 96, from Rome) has petitions in a very similar order: raise the fallen, heal the sick, feed the hungry, ransom the prisoners, give concord and peace. The intercessions of the later liturgies keep the same

kinds of petition. The debate: No one thinks Clement copied a written Amidah; the Eighteen Benedictions were still being shaped. The likeness is taken as evidence of common synagogue prayer that a Roman Christian knew.

The reading of the Law and the Prophets, and the sermon (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Megillah 4:1: "He who commences the reading of the Holy Law, shall say the [first] blessing before reading it, and he who concludes the reading, shall say the last blessing to be said after reading it." Jewish text, Mishnah, Megillah 4:2: "and seven on the Sabbath ... a section from the Prophets must be read on those days" Jewish text, Mishnah, Megillah 4:4: "One verse only of the law may at one time be read to the meturgeman, or interpreter" Scripture, Luke 4:16, 17, 20: "he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. ... And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down." Scripture, Acts 13:15: "And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." Christian text, Justin, First Apology 67 (about AD 155): "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 8: "after the reading of the law and the prophets, and our epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels" Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 2 (psalms between the lessons): "let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses" This is the closest match of all. The synagogue read from the Law and the Prophets, with a blessing before and after, an interpreter, and a word of exhortation (Luke 4; Acts 13). Justin's Sunday service about AD 155 does the same with the prophets and the apostles' memoirs, then the president's address; later church orders add the epistles and Gospels and keep the psalm between the lessons. The debate: The Mishnah was written down about AD 200; the first-century evidence for the synagogue reading is in Luke 4, Acts 13 and Acts 15:21. Whether the Christian lectionary followed a Jewish yearly cycle is much argued.

Prayer three times a day (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 4:1: “The morning prayer [may be said] until noon.” Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 4:3: “Man must daily say the eighteen benedictions.” Scripture, Acts 3:1: “Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour.” Christian text, Didache 8:3: “pray thus three times a day.” Christian text, Apostolic Tradition 36: “If at the third hour thou art at home, pray then and give thanks to God” Christian text, Apostolic Constitutions 7: “pray thus thrice in a day” Jews prayed at fixed hours, which the rabbis tied to the daily offerings in the Temple, and the Mishnah calls for the Eighteen Benedictions each day. The Didache tells Christians to say the Lord’s Prayer three times a day; Hippolytus’s hours (third, sixth and ninth, with the night watches) give each hour a Christian meaning. The debate: Acts 3:1 shows the apostles keeping the Temple hour of prayer. Whether the Christian hours came straight from the Jewish ones or developed separately is still open.

Lighting the lamp at the evening meal (Shared practice)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 8:5 (a dispute of the houses of Shammai and Hillel): “According to Beth Shammai, the form of blessing on the light is ... who created the light of fire” Christian text, Apostolic Tradition (a later addition), the lamp: “An evening service, that included bringing in the lamp, is widespread in early Christianity and is eventually derived from Judaism” The Mishnah records a dispute between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, both before AD 70, about the blessing over the light at the evening meal. The Apostolic Tradition’s evening thanksgiving with the lamp, in the Ethiopic version, is a Christian counterpart, and Easton’s own note says that this kind of lamp service goes back to Judaism. The debate: The text is among the later additions to the Apostolic Tradition and may not be Hippolytus’s. A lamp-lighting service is also described by the pilgrim Egeria in Jerusalem about AD 384, and it became the evening office of the East.

Washing the hands before the blessing (Shared practice)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 8:2: “Beth Shammai say, the hands must be washed first, and the goblet [for the blessing] be filled afterwards.” Jewish text, Singer, Grace before meals, p. 278: “who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and hast given us command concerning the washing of the hands.” Christian text, Cyril of Jerusalem, Lecture 23 (about AD 350): “the

deacon who gives to the priest water to wash ... to the presbyters who stand round God's altar" Washing the hands before the blessing at a meal is a Jewish custom that the Mishnah discusses in a dispute between the houses of Hillel and Shammai. In Jerusalem about AD 350 the deacon brings water to the priest and the presbyters before the eucharistic prayer. Cyril explains that this is a sign of a clean heart, not of bodily cleanness. The debate: Cyril's own reading is moral rather than ritual, and the gesture may have come into the liturgy from ordinary custom as much as from Jewish practice.

The Passover meal and the Last Supper (Shared practice)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Pesachim 10:1 (the Passover night): "a person shall not have less than four cups of wine" Jewish text, Mishnah, Pesachim 10:7: "A third cup of wine is then poured out, and the grace after meals is said." Jewish text, Union Haggadah (1923), Introduction: "the third follows the grace after the meal" Scripture, Luke 22:15, 20: "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: ... Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." Scripture, 1 Corinthians 10:16: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Christian text, Apostolic Tradition 4, the thanksgiving: "taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: ... Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you." In the Synoptic Gospels the Last Supper is a Passover meal, and Luke places the cup "after supper", which is where the Mishnah puts the third cup, after the grace. Paul calls the eucharistic cup "the cup of blessing", the Jewish name for the cup over which grace was said. The church's eucharistic prayer grew from this table blessing. The debate: John's Gospel puts the supper before the Passover. Scholars still dispute whether Jesus held a Passover meal or a similar fellowship meal, and the Mishnah's Passover rules are later than the first century.

The people's Amen (Close parallel)

Jewish text, Mishnah, Berakoth 8:8: "must be made when an Israelite pronounces a blessing" Christian text, Justin, First Apology 67: "the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen" In the synagogue and at the table the listener answered every blessing with "Amen". Justin says the same of the Christi-

an people after the president's thanksgiving, and the prayers of the Apostolic Tradition end with it. The word is Hebrew and was never translated. The debate: The practice is so widespread in Judaism and early Christianity that nobody doubts the link; the dispute is only over how much of the structure around it came with it.

PART THREE

The Liturgies Compared

*Twenty-five liturgies and church orders compared part by part,
with the words of each part quoted.*

The Liturgies Compared

SERMONINDEX

c. AD 50 – 1900

Twenty-five early liturgies and church orders compared part by part, with the words of each part quoted.

WHAT THE COMPARISON SHOWS

One skeleton in every rite

Fourteen of the 15 fully prepared texts in the tables have readings, prayers for the church, the kiss of peace, the offering of the gifts, a preface of thanksgiving, an anamnesis (“remembering therefore...”), intercessions, communion and a thanksgiving after it. The fifteenth, the Apostolic Tradition, gives only the offering, the thanksgiving and the communion, so it has none of the readings, intercessions or closing thanks. Fourteen of the 15 print the words of Christ over the bread and cup (all but Addai and Mari), and 14 print the opening dialogue (“Lift up your hearts”) in full. The shape of the Lord’s Supper that Justin describes about AD 155 is still the shape of every liturgy here.

The earliest full prayer already has the core

If the Apostolic Tradition is as early as it is usually dated, the heart of the later liturgies was there by about AD 215: the opening dialogue, a thanksgiving for Christ, the words over the bread and cup, the remembrance, the offering, the prayer for the Spirit and a Trinitarian doxology with the people’s Amen. What it lacks is what the East added in the next two centuries: the Sanctus, the intercessions, the Lord’s Prayer and the creed. Its column in the tables shows exactly this.

Where the intercessions fall marks the family

There are four arrangements. Before the Sanctus, inside the preface: Mark, the Coptic liturgy of Cyril, the Ethiopic anaphora, and the Gallican Missale Gothicum. After the epiclesis : Apostolic Constitutions 8, James, the Syriac

James, Basil, Chrysostom, the Armenian liturgy and Serapion. After the institution but before the epiclesis : Addai and Mari, Nestorius and the Malabar liturgy. Between the Sanctus and the institution : the Roman Canon (Gelasian, Gregorian) and the Ambrosian liturgy of Milan. The Apostolic Tradition has no intercessions inside its prayer at all.

The epiclesis moves, and asks for different things

In most Eastern texts a prayer asking for the Holy Spirit on the bread and cup comes after the institution. Mark and the Coptic liturgy have two: “Fill this sacrifice with thy blessing” before the institution and a Spirit-epiclesis after the anamnesis. Serapion asks that God’s “holy Word” come upon the bread and cup. In the Roman Canon the nearest thing, “*Quam oblationem*”, comes before the institution and asks that the offering become the body and blood, without naming the Spirit. The Testament of Our Lord prays for the Spirit only for the communicants, not for the gifts. The earliest full prayer, in the Apostolic Tradition, asks the Spirit on the offerings after the oblation, in the same sentence as the prayer that the communicants be filled with the Spirit.

The institution narrative is not everywhere

Addai and Mari, the oldest East Syriac anaphora, has none in its oldest form; Brightman prints it only in square brackets as an optional insertion. Cyril of Jerusalem gives no narrative in his lecture on the Eucharist (he takes it from Paul in the lecture before). Justin explains Christ’s words as the church’s teaching, not as part of the prayer. In the *Missale Gothicum* only the opening words (“*ipse enim pridie quam pateretur*”) survive, because the manuscript omits the canon. The *Didache* has none at all, and its prayers are thanksgivings over the cup and the bread.

The Sanctus is nearly universal

Every anaphora with a full text has it except the Apostolic Tradition (about AD 215) and the Testament of Our Lord, a fifth-century church order that reworks it. James and the East Syriac anaphoras add “Blessed is he that cometh”; Apostolic Constitutions 8 has the Sanctus alone. Some of the texts the tables reaches only through a cue (“saying, Holy, holy, holy...”), as the Coptic page and the Gallican and Gregorian books do.

The kiss of peace and the Creed travel

In every Eastern liturgy here the kiss of peace comes before the anaphora, as in Justin and the Apostolic Tradition. In the Roman books it comes after the Lord's Prayer, and the Ambrosian rite has it both before the canon and after the fraction. The Creed is missing from the oldest witnesses (Justin, the Apostolic Tradition, Serapion, Apostolic Constitutions 8, the Roman Canon books) but stands before the anaphora in the Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Alexandrian and Ambrosian texts.

The families show up in the numbers

When the tables is turned into a score for how alike each pair is, the closest pairs are the ones scholars group together: Basil and Chrysostom (100, they share most of their text); the Armenian liturgy with the Byzantine pair (96, which fits its borrowing from Constantinople); Gelasian and Gregorian (94); Addai and Mari, Nestorius and Malabar (89–91); and the Alexandrian trio of Mark, the Coptic Cyril and the Ethiopic (86–87). It is a rough measure, but it is computed from the quotations you can read above it.

What the chart cannot show

Short sacramentaries print only the priest's prayers, and some books print rubrics instead of the sermon, so "not covered" is not the same as "not done". The texts we have are medieval copies of older liturgies, in translations of different dates. The Apostolic Tradition is a special case: its Greek is lost, Easton's English is a composite of the Latin, Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions, and scholars dispute whether it is one man's work from about 215, so a single clause in it is less sure than the same clause in a later liturgy. The Strasbourg papyrus and other fragments are not yet in the tables; when their pages go online they will be added.

HOW THE COMPARISON WAS MADE

Each of the 25 texts was read on its own page in this series and each of the 28 parts of the service was marked one of four ways: in the text, only hinted or optional, not in the text (the text is complete enough that the part would show, and it was searched for), or not covered by that source (a description by an observer, a book of presidential prayers, an anaphora without the service around it). Where a part is in the text, the words are quoted and a script checked, word for word, that the quotation really occurs in the cited row of the page.

The marks were prepared with the help of artificial intelligence, under our direction, and the quotations were then checked by machine. The judgement of what counts as “hinted” or as the equivalent of an epiclesis is a judgement, and a liturgist may well disagree; if you do, please tell us and we will correct the tables. The columns in Where they differ and the resemblance table are computed from the order lists and the marks, with no further judgement. The resemblance score is half the share of comparable parts on which two texts agree and half the share of their shared parts that come in the same order.

The English on the pages is by different translators (Neale, Brightman, Hapgood, Wordsworth, Gibson, Cooper and Maclean, Atchley and others); the Latin pages carry our own plain glosses. Greek and other original-language columns are OCR and are not quoted here; they are not printed here.

THE TWENTY-FIVE TEXTS

The texts compared, from the earliest to the latest. “Complete” means that the text gives the whole service; “partial” means a description or a single prayer.

The Didache (chs. 9–10, 14)

Earliest witnesses. c. AD 50–120. Completeness: partial. English: Lake 1912 (with a modern English version); Greek: Lake edition

Justin Martyr, First Apology (chs. 65–67)

Earliest witnesses. c. AD 155. Completeness: description. English: Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1 (1885); Greek: Rauschen edition, 1911

The Apostolic Tradition (Hippolytus, §§4, 21–23)

Earliest witnesses. c. AD 215. Completeness: full. English: Burton Scott Easton, 1934 (composite from Latin, Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic); no original-language text on the page

East Syriac liturgy of Addai and Mari (Brightman's full order)

Church of the East. Church of the East; text as in Brightman (Liturgies Eastern and Western, 1896). Completeness: full. English: Brightman's translation of the Church of the East order (Urmi/Malabar-type text), as on this page

Anaphora of Addai and Mari

Church of the East. Attributed to the 3rd century or earlier; present text later. Completeness: partial. English: older public-domain translation of the East Syriac rite, as on this page

Serapion of Thmuis, Prayer-Book (Anaphora and Sunday prayers)

Alexandria. c. AD 340–350. Completeness: partial. English: John Wordsworth, 1899 (older translation, OCR text); no Greek on the page

Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Catecheses (Lecture 23, with 22)

Earliest witnesses. c. AD 350 (date debated). Completeness: description. English: older public-domain translation (Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers); no Greek on the page

Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, Book 8 (Clementine)

Jerusalem and Antioch. c. AD 375–380 (Syria). Completeness: full. English: older public-domain translation (Ante-Nicene Fathers); Greek: Brightman 1896, OCR, not proofread

Ambrose of Milan, On the Mysteries (chs. 8–9, Eucharist)

The Latin West. c. AD 390. Completeness: description. English: older public-domain translation; no Latin on the page

The Divine Liturgy of St James (Jerusalem)

Jerusalem and Antioch. c. AD 400 (Jerusalem; Greek text 4th–5th c. core). Completeness: full. English: older public-domain translation (Ante-Nicene Fathers); Greek: Brightman 1896, OCR, not proofread; the two columns follow different recensions

The Divine Liturgy of St Mark (Alexandria)

Alexandria. c. AD 400–450 (Alexandria; later Greek text). Completeness: full. English: older public-domain translation (Ante-Nicene Fathers); Greek: Brightman 1896, OCR, not proofread; the two columns follow different recensions

Divine Liturgy of St Basil (Hapgood, Orthodox use)

Constantinople. 4th c. (modern Orthodox text of Basil). Completeness: full. This is the modern Orthodox text of the Liturgy of St Basil in Isabel Hapgood's 1906 English (Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church); it differs in small ways from the 4th–9th century text. Basil's own

prayers are taken where Hapgood gives them as alternatives to Chrysostom; common text elsewhere.

Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (Neale)

Constantinople. 4th–9th c. (Byzantine text c. AD 800). Completeness: full. English: J. M. Neale, *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil* (1859); Greek text on the same page

Coptic Liturgy of St Cyril / St Mark (Brightman)

Alexandria. Alexandrian anaphora, 4th–5th c.; Coptic text of the Middle Ages. Completeness: full. English: F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1 (1896), the Coptic Liturgy of St Cyril (St Mark)

The Testament of Our Lord (Book I, Church Order and Anaphora)

Earliest witnesses. 5th century (Syria). Completeness: full. English: Cooper and Maclean, 1902 (older translation, OCR text); no Greek on the page

East Syriac Liturgy of Nestorius (Badger)

Church of the East. Named for Nestorius (d. c. AD 451); Syriac text of the 5th–6th century, later redacted. Completeness: full. English: G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (1852), from the Syriac

Leonine (Verona) Sacramentary

The Latin West. 6th century. Completeness: partial. Latin text: C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 1896 (OCR)

West Syriac (Jacobite) Liturgy of St James (Brightman)

Jerusalem and Antioch. West Syriac; anaphora of the 4th–5th century, text 1182 and later. Completeness: full. English: F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (1896), compiled from the Syriac text of 1572, Malabar manuscripts and BM MS of 1182

The Liturgy of Malabar (Neale)

Church of the East. East Syriac rite of the Thomas Christians (text translated 1859). Completeness: full. English: J. M. Neale, *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and the Church of Malabar* (1859)

Roman Canon in the Gelasian Sacramentary

The Latin West. 7th century. Completeness: partial. Latin text: H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 1894 (OCR)

Armenian Liturgy (Brightman)

Armenian. 5th c. core, Byzantine borrowings 11th–13th c.. Completeness: full. English: F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1 (1896), *The Armenian Liturgy*

Gallican Mass (Missale Gothicum)

The Latin West. c. AD 690–700 (Frankish Gaul). Completeness: partial. Latin: H. M. Bannister, *Missale Gothicum* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1917), OCR text

The Ethiopic Liturgy: Anaphora of the Apostles (Brightman)

Ethiopic. Medieval translation of an ancient (Egyptian) rite. Completeness: full. English: F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1 (1896), from a manuscript of 1670–75

The Ambrosian Mass of Milan: Ordinary and Canon (Atchley)

The Latin West. 4th century onward (Milan). Completeness: full. English: E. G. C. F. Atchley, 1909

Roman Canon in the Gregorian Sacramentary (Hadrianum)

The Latin West. late 8th century. Completeness: partial. Latin text: H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, 1915 (OCR)

THE PARTS OF THE SERVICE, ONE BY ONE

Each of the 28 parts of the service is taken in turn, as it comes in the liturgy, with where it is found and the words of each text that has it. A text that does not speak of a part is listed at the end of the entry.

Opening greeting and blessing (Service of the Word)

The liturgy opens with a blessing or greeting ("Blessed be God", "Peace be with you all", "The Lord be with you"). Present in 15 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 8. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): "First the priest begins In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, for ever. Glory to God in the highest"

Addai & Mari: "First: Glory to God in the highest, etc. Our Father which art in heaven."

Apostolic Const. 8: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all; and let

them all answer, and with Thy Spirit” Opening salutation after the readings; repeated before the anaphora and as “the peace of god be with you all”.

Liturgy of St James: “The Priest: Peace be to all. The People: And to thy spirit” “Peace be to all” recurs many times; the anaphora opens with the Trinitarian greeting.

Liturgy of St Mark: “I. The Priest: Peace be to all. The People: And to thy spirit” “Peace be to all” opens the service and recurs before each prayer; the anaphora opens “the lord be with all”.

Basil: “Blessed is the kingdom of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages”

Chrysostom: “Blessed be the kingdom of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages”

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): “Blessed be God the Father almighty: amen ... Blessed be his only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord: amen ... Blessed be the Holy Ghost the Comforter: amen” Triple blessing opens the preparation (prothesis); the text prints no dialogue greeting at the start of the liturgy itself.

Testament of Our Lord: “Our Lord [be] with you. And let the people say: And with thy spirit” Opening of the anaphora dialogue.

Nestorius: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. Our FATHER, which art in heaven”

Syriac James: “First the priest praises and says Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost”

Malabar: “The Priest advances with the Deacon to the Altar. Priest. Glory to God in the highest. Deacon. Amen.”

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): “Iterum dicis Dominus vobiscum. Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda” Only in the chrism-blessing preface (Maundy Thursday); the Canon’s own dialogue begins directly with Sursum corda.

Armenian: “Blessed be the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost now and ever and world without end. Amen” Opens the public service after the long preparation (vesting, prothesis).

Ethiopic (Apostles): “Peace be unto you all” Recurs before every litany and reading; the response is ‘with thy spirit’.

Ambrosian (Milan): "The Lord be with you. To which shall always be made answer: R. And with thy spirit" Opens the lessons; the same greeting recurs throughout the Mass.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): "Dominus uobiscum Et cum spiritu tuo" Given just before *Sursum corda*; the Ordo does not print a greeting at the start of the Mass.

Not covered by: Didache; Justin, 1 Apology; Apostolic Tradition; Serapion of Thmuis; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*; Leonine (Verona); *Missale Gothicum*.

Scripture readings (Service of the Word)

Lessons from the Law, Prophets, Epistles and Gospel are read, with psalms between. Present in 16 of the 25 texts, hinted in 3, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 6. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits"

Addai & Mari (full): "And they read the Lections" Old Testament, Acts, Epistle and Gospel (Luke) cited by reference

Addai & Mari (hinted): "Descending, he shall salute the Gospel, saying this prayer before the altar" The lessons and gospel are only indicated by rubrics ('at the lessons'); no readings are given.

Apostolic Const. 8: "after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels" Four-fold reading: Law and Prophets, Epistles, Acts, Gospels. Context here is the Sunday ordination of a bishop.

Liturgy of St James: "Then there are read in order the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and of the prophets" Rubric says the incarnation, passion and resurrection are "set forth" in the reading; the translation names Old Testament and prophets, no gospel is named.

Liturgy of St Mark: "The Deacon: Stand and let us hear the holy Gospel" Apostle and Alleluia verse, then the Gospel. Old Testament readings are not mentioned.

Basil: "The Lesson from the Epistle of the holy Apostle" Epistle with *prokimenon* and alleluia, then the Gospel (ss-65: 'the lesson from the holy gospel according to n.'). No Old Testament lesson.

Chrysostom: "The Apostle is read ... O LORD and lover of men, cause the pure light of Thy Divine knowledge to shine forth in our hearts" Apostle (epistle) with *prokimenon* and Alleluia, then the Gospel; Old Testament lessons are not read at the Liturgy.

Coptic (Cyril): "may we be accounted worthy to hear and to do thine holy gospels through the prayers of thy saints" Readings from Paul, a Catholic epistle, Acts and the Gospel, each with its own prayer; the Psalm precedes the Gospel.

Testament of Our Lord: "let the reader then read the Prophets and the rest; let the presbyter or deacon read the Gospel" This sits in the account of the dawn service; the book does not tie it to the eucharist in so many words.

Nestorius: "The lessons ended, the *προκείμενον* shall follow ... The epistle ended the deacon shall say : Glory be to CHRIST our LORD" Epistle and Gospel are read; the Gospel begins 'Peace be with you'

Syriac James: "If there be lessons for that day from the books of the Old Testament the people shall say ... Then the lessons shall be read" Old Testament, Praxis, Epistle and Gospel (s8-1 to s8-20)

Malabar: "Paul the Apostle: the Epistle to the my brethren: bless, my LORD. Priest. CHRIST bless thee. [The Epistle is read.]" The Gospel follows

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): "Ista oratione expleta vadis retro altare et legitur lectio. Deinde sequitur responsorium" Only Good Friday and similar days print rubrics for readings; ordinary Masses give prayers alone.

Armenian: "Then the Prophet is read ... Then the Apostle is read" Prophet, apostle and Gospel are read, with psalm verses between; a last Gospel (John 1) ends the service.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): "Collectio Post Prophetia Ortus es nobis uerus sol iustitiae iesu christe Uenisti de caelo" Only the prayer after the Prophetic reading appears; the lessons themselves are not given.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "then he shall read the Epistle of Paul" Four readings in turn: Pauline epistle, Catholic epistle, Acts, Gospel, each with prayers, incense and trisagion.

Ambrosian (Milan): "a reader, vested in a surplice, takes the book of the lessons in both hands, and carrying it before his breast goes to the ambo" Prophetic lesson, epistle, then Gospel (Epiphany examples at s3-2, s3-3, s4-2).

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “Postmodum dicitur oratio. deinde sequitur apostolus. Item gradalis seu alleluia. Postmodum legitur euangelium” Also lists introit, Kyrie, Gloria; lessons are named but their text is not given.

Not covered by: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Serapion of Thmuis; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Sermon or homily (Service of the Word)

The bishop or presbyter preaches. Present in 4 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 9, and not covered by 10. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: “the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things”

Apostolic Const. 8: “let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he has ended his word of doctrine”

Liturgy of St James (hinted): “After the reading and instruction the Deacon says” Only a passing mention of “instruction”; no sermon text or rubric.

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): “Then shall follow the Sermon and the necessary notices shall be given” Only a rubric; the sermon falls after the Gospel litany and before the prayers.

Testament of Our Lord: “then let the bishop or presbyter teach those things which are convenient and profitable” Followed in ch. 28 by the ‘teaching of the mysteries’ to the faithful.

Ambrosian (Milan): “If there is to be a sermon, it shall follow here, after the gospel” Optional.

Not in the text of: Addai & Mari (full); Liturgy of St Mark; Basil; Chrysostom; Nestorius; Syriac James; Malabar; Armenian; Ethiopic (Apostles). Not covered by: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Addai & Mari; Serapion of Thmuis; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona); Gelasian (Roman Canon); Missale Gothicum; Gregorian (Rom. Canon).

Prayers or litany of the faithful (Service of the Word)

The deacon’s litany or the people’s intercessions before the offering (the ‘prayer of the faithful’, ektene, synapte). Present in 15 of the 25 texts, hinted in 5, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 5. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: “Then we all rise together and pray” Common prayer after the sermon and before the bread and wine are brought.

Apostolic Tradition (hinted): “they shall join in prayer with all the people” On baptism night, the newly baptized join the people’s prayer before the kiss and the offering. No litany is given.

Addai & Mari (full): “The Prayers The deacon says the *cārūzūtha* Let us all stand up as is right with joy and rejoicing” The deacon’s litany (*karozutha*) with response ‘O our Lord, have mercy upon us’

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): “We pray thee on behalf of all this people, be reconciled to all, make thyself known ... We pray for all Rulers, may they have a peaceable life. (We pray) for the rest of the Catholic Church.” Prayer 27 is a general litany of intercession placed apart from the anaphora; the book does not say where it falls. Left out of the order.

Apostolic Const. 8: “Let us pray for the peace and happy settlement of the” Long deacon’s bidding prayer for the faithful, answered by the bishop’s collect; a second litany follows the anaphora.

Liturgy of St James: “The Deacon makes the Universal Litany: In peace let us pray to the Lord” A first litany follows the readings (s1-8 to s1-10); this “universal litany” comes after the creed and kiss.

Liturgy of St Mark: “reads the Gospel, and the Priest says the prayer of the Collect. Look down in mercy and compassion, O Lord, and heal the sick among Thy people” A series of litanies and collects (for the king, the bishop, the sick, the waters of the Nile) fill s1-1 to s1-8; this “collect” is the intercessory prayer after the Gospel.

Basil: “In peace let us pray to the Lord. Choir. Lord, have mercy. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord” Great litany at the start; the litany of fervent supplication follows the Gospel, and further litanies follow the dismissal of catechumens.

Chrysostom: “In peace let us make our supplications to the LORD ... For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls” Great litany at the start; the ectene (s1-14 to s1-17) follows the Gospel; short litanies follow the catechumens’ dismissal and the Great Entrance.

Coptic (Cyril): “For peace Again let us pray God almighty the Father of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. We pray and beseech thy goodness, o lover of man: remember, o Lord, the peace of thy one only holy catholic and apostolic church” The ‘three great prayers’ (peace, the pope, the congregations; s5-5 to s5-7) open the anaphora proper; a long litany after the Gospel also exists.

Testament of Our Lord: “For the peace which is from heaven let us beseech, that the Lord in His mercy may give us peace. For our faith let us beseech” The deacon’s litany (chs. 35.2 to 35.6), with the people kneeling and the bishop completing the prayer.

Nestorius: “Here followeth the ectene, which whilst the deacon is reciting the priest shall take the paten and chalice from the prothesis”

Syriac James: “The Prayers — And he sets the sedro of the Entrance Let us pray all of us : ask we mercy and grace from the Lord. O merciful Lord have mercy on us and help us” The sedro and prumion (litany) of the entrance after the Gospel

Malabar: “Let us pray and beseech the LORD, the GOD of all, that He may hear the voice of our prayers, and listen to our supplications, and have mercy upon us. Let us pray also for the holy Catholic Church” The deacon’s long litany (s1-3 to s1-10)

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): “dicit: Oremus. Et annuntiat diaconus: Flectamus genua. Et post paululum dicit: Levate. Et dat Orationem” The Good Friday solemn collects follow this pattern; no litany of the faithful at ordinary Masses.

Armenian: “For the peace of the whole world and for the stability of the holy church let us beseech the Lord For all the holy and orthodox bishops let us beseech the Lord” Litany at the opening and a second litany of prayers after the Creed.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “Collectio Post Praecem. Exaudi domine familiam tibi decatam” Only the prayer closing the preces (litany) is given.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “let us beseech the almighty Lord the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ” Series of deacon-led litanies (peace of the church, pope, congregation) after the Gospel.

Ambrosian (Milan): “For thy holy catholic Church, here and scattered throughout the whole world, we beseech Thee. R. Lord, have mercy” Deacon’s preces with Kyrie response after the Gloria (Sundays in Advent and Lent shown).

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “deinde kyrie eleison” Only the Kyrie; the rubric adds that on litany days the Gloria and alleluia are omitted (‘lactania agitur’). No prayer of the faithful.

Not covered by: Didache; Addai & Mari; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Dismissal of the catechumens (Service of the Word)

Catechumens (and often penitents and unbelievers) are sent out before the Eucharist proper. Present in 10 of the 25 texts, hinted in 7, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 6. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Didache (hinted): "But let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptised in the Lord's Name." Not a dismissal; the unbaptised are barred from the eucharist.

Justin, 1 Apology (hinted): "of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed" Communion is restricted to the baptised; no dismissal rite is described.

Apostolic Tradition (hinted): "the catechumens shall pray by themselves, apart from the believers" The catechumens pray apart and give no kiss; the supper rule adds that no catechumen sits at the Lord's Supper. There is no formal dismissal.

Addai & Mari (full): "Let him that hath not received baptism depart Let him that doth not receive the sign of life depart ... Go, ye hearers, and watch the doors."

Addai & Mari (hinted): "And the Deacons ascend to the altar, and say:- He who has not received baptism, etc." Only the opening words of the proclamation are given.

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): "we thank thee on behalf the Catechumens, because thou hast called them through the only-begotten" Prayers 21 and 28 are for the catechumens; no dismissal is described, and their place in the service is not stated.

Apostolic Const. 8: "Go out, ye catechumens, in peace" Separate bidding prayers, bows and dismissals for catechumens, energumens, competent (illumandi) and penitents (s1-18 to s1-25); unbelievers and heterodox are excluded again at s1-32.

Liturgy of St James: "Let none remain of the catechumens, none of the unbaptized, none of those who are unable to join with us in prayer" One dismissal only, with the doors; no separate dismissals of energumens or penitents as in AC 8.

Liturgy of St Mark (hinted): "The Deacon: Take care that none of the catechumens" The English text breaks off after "catechumens"; only a warning

to catechumens survives, no dismissal formula or separate dismissals as in AC 8.

Basil: "Depart, all ye Catechumens, depart. Depart, all ye Catechumens: let no Catechumen remain" Preceded by the litany and prayer for the catechumens (s5-71 to s5-73; Basil's own prayer given as alternative).

Chrysostom: "Let all the Catechumens depart; Catechumens depart; let all the Catechumens, depart" Preceded by a litany and prayer for the catechumens.

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): "Remember, o Lord, catechumens thy servants: have mercy on them, stablish them in the faith in thee" Catechumens are only prayed for in the Gospel litany; no formula of dismissal is printed.

Testament of Our Lord: "Let the catechumens depart. See [that] no one polluted, no one slothful [remain]" Deacon's admonition; ch. 23 also says the bishop dismisses the catechumens before teaching the faithful and offering.

Nestorius: "Let every one who is unbaptized depart. Whosoever has not received the sign of life, let him depart. And whosoever is unwilling to receive the same, let him depart. Go, ye hearers, and watch the doors."

Malabar: "[Expulsion of the Catechumens.] Deacon, Amen. He that hath not received baptism let him depart. ... Go, auditors, and see the doors."

Armenian: "Let none of the catechumens, none of little faith, none of the penitents nor of the unclean draw nigh to this divine mystery" A warning rather than a command to depart; it comes at the Great Entrance, after the Creed.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Go forth, ye catechumens."

Not in the text of: Syriac James; Ambrosian (Milan). Not covered by: Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*; Leonine (Verona); Gelasian (Roman Canon); Missale Gothicum; Gregorian (Rom. Canon).

Kiss of peace (Offering)

The exchange of the peace. Its place varies: before the offering, before the anaphora, or after the anaphora. Present in 21 of the 25 texts, hinted in 0, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 4. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: "Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss." The kiss follows the prayers and precedes the offering of the gifts.

Apostolic Tradition: “at the close of their prayer they shall give the kiss of peace” The kiss follows the prayer and comes before the offering. A bishop is also greeted with the kiss at his ordination.

Addai & Mari (full): “The deacon says Give the Peace one to another in the love of Christ They give the peace one to another” Comes after the creed and diptychs, immediately before the anaphora (with the procession of peace)

Addai & Mari: “Peace be with you: They respond:- With thee and with thy spirit. And they give the (kiss of) peace to each other” Placed before the anaphora and after the creed.

Cyril of Jerusalem: “the Deacon cries aloud ... Receive ye one another; and let us kiss one another” The kiss comes before the anaphora and is read as reconciliation, after Matthew 5:23-24.

Apostolic Const. 8: “Salute ye one another with the holy kiss” Placed after the prayers of the faithful and before the offering/anaphora; men with men, women with women.

Liturgy of St James: “The Deacon: Let us salute one another with an holy kiss” Before the anaphora and after the creed; same placing as AC 8, which has no creed.

Liturgy of St Mark: “that with a pure heart and a good conscience we may salute one another with an holy kiss” Placed before the creed and the anaphora, after the cherubic hymn and entrance (like AC 8 and James: before the anaphora).

Basil: “Let us love one another, that with one accord we may confess” Kiss of peace (clergy kiss the gifts and one another, ‘Christ is in the midst of us’, s5-97/98) falls before the Creed and anaphora.

Chrysostom: “Let us love one another, that we may with one mind confess” Falls after the Great Entrance and before the Creed and anaphora; the clergy kiss the gifts and each other (‘Christ is among us’).

Coptic (Cyril): “greet one another with an holy kiss” Falls after the Creed and before the anaphora proper, as the prayer of the kiss of peace.

Testament of Our Lord: “Before the bishop or presbyter offereth, let the people give the Peace to one another” The kiss comes after the offertory, before the anaphora; a ‘great silence’ follows.

Nestorius: "Peace be with you all. R. With thee, and with thy spirit. Deacon. Salute one another in the love of CHRIST." After the creed and before the anaphora

Syriac James: "The Kiss of Peace — First the prayer before the Peace ... we may greet one another with a kiss holy and divine, being united with the bond of love and peace" Followed by 'Give we the peace'; placed after the creed and before the anaphora

Malabar: "Priest. Peace be with all. Deacon. With thee and with thy spirit. Priest. Give the peace to each other." Placed after the creed and before the anaphora

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum. Resp. Et cum Spiritu tuo" Only a verbal Pax; no exchange of the kiss is described. On Maundy Thursday it is omitted.

Armenian: "Greet ye one another with an holy kiss and those among you that are not able to partake of this divine mystery go without the doors and pray" Kiss of peace falls after the Great Entrance and before the anaphora proper, as in Byzantine usage; the clerks sing 'Christ hath been manifested amongst us'.

Missale Gothicum: "Collectio Ad Pacem DA nobis quaesumus domine" The prayer 'ad pacem' recurs in every Mass; it asks God to send 'angelum pacis qui oscula nostra ... conectat'.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Pray for perfect peace and love Salute one another with an holy kiss" Before the anaphora, after the Creed and washing of hands; the 'prayer of the kiss' of Basil.

Ambrosian (Milan): "Have ye peace! R. To Thee, O Lord" Peace announced before the prayer over the sindon (the Milanese position). A second, optional peace is given after the fraction.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): "Pax domini sit semper uobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo" Verbal Pax only, after the Lord's Prayer and embolism; no kiss is described.

Not covered by: Didache; Serapion of Thmuis; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Offering of the gifts / washing of hands (Offering)

Bread and wine are brought or set on the table; the celebrant washes his hands; gifts are covered or censed. Present in 19 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4,

searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: "There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water" Ch. 67 adds water: 'bread and wine and water are brought'.

Apostolic Tradition: "the offering is immediately brought by the deacons to the bishop" The deacons bring the offering to the bishop, who lays his hand on it with the presbytery.

Addai & Mari (full): "these glorious and holy and lifegiving and divine mysteries are placed and ordered on the propitiatory altar" The gifts are placed on the altar and veiled; the priest later washes his hands

Addai & Mari: "the Sacristan and Deacon place the disk and the chalice upon the altar ... Laid are the renowned holy and life-giving mysteries upon the altar of the mighty Lord"

Cyril of Jerusalem: "the Deacon who gives to the Priest water to wash ... to the Presbyters who stand round God's altar" Washing of hands interpreted as a symbol of purity from sin; the bringing of the gifts is not described.

Apostolic Const. 8: "let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar" Hands are washed first (sl-31: water to wash the hands of the priests, a symbol of purity); deacons fan the cups.

Ambrose, *On the Mysteries* (hinted): "it hastens to approach that heavenly feast. It comes, and seeing the holy altar arranged" The newly baptised go to the altar; the bringing or preparation of the gifts is not described.

Liturgy of St James: "The Priest, bringing in the holy gifts, says this prayer: O God, our God, who didst send forth the heavenly bread" Great entrance with incense and cherubic hymn; no washing of hands in this text.

Liturgy of St Mark: "The holy things are carried to the altar, and the Priest prays thus:- O holy, highest, awe-inspiring God, who dwellest among the saints" Entrance with incense and cherubic hymn; prayer of oblation over bread and chalices follows the creed. No washing of hands.

Basil: "the Great Entrance, with the Holy Gifts, is made" Cherubimic hymn; gifts brought in and set on the altar. At a pontifical service the bishop washes his hands.

Chrysostom: "the Priest sets down the chalice on the holy Table, and taking the holy dish from the head of the Deacon, he places it there also" The

Great Entrance with the prothesis gifts; the gifts are then covered with the veil and censed; the 'prayer of oblation' follows.

Coptic (Cyril): "make thy face to shine upon this bread ... and upon this cup, which we have set upon this thy priestly table" The prothesis: bread and mixed cup are set on the altar at the opening and veiled; the lamb is prepared and the priest washes his hands.

Testament of Our Lord: "Let him offer on Saturday three loaves for a complete symbol of the Trinity; but on the first day of the week let him offer four loaves for a complete symbol of the Gospel" The bishop lays his hand on the loaves set on the altar, with the presbyters.

Nestorius: "let these adorable, holy, life-giving, and divine sacraments, be placed and ordered upon the sin-forgiving altar until the second coming of our LORD from heaven" The gifts are carried in, laid on the altar and covered

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): "Altaribus tuis Dñe munera terrena gratanter offerimus ut caelestia consequamur, damus temporalia ut sumamus aeterna" Only the prayer over the gifts (secret), typical of every Mass here; no offertory rite is described.

Syriac James: "takes the paten in his right hand and the chalice in his left crosswise" Great Entrance of the gifts; the priest later washes his fingers

Malabar: "He puts the Holy Gifts on the Altar. Let these exceeding glorious, holy, and life-giving mysteries be constituted and ordained upon the holy Altar of CHRIST" The chalice is mixed with wine and water at s1-12

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): "Secreta. Haec munera, quaesumus, Domine, quae oculis tuae maiestatis offerimus, salutaria nobis esse concede" Only the Secret prayer over the gifts; no handwashing or offertory rite is printed.

Armenian: "And the priest burns incense. And he washes his hands saying I will wash my hands in innocency, o Lord, and so will I go to thine altar" The Great Entrance brings the covered gifts to the altar; the prothesis proper took place earlier with a wafer of unleavened bread and wine poured into the chalice.

Missale Gothicum: "Collectio Post Nomina Grata tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festiuitatis oblatio" The names of the offerers are read, then this prayer is said over the gifts.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “And then the priest shall wash” Gifts are prepared earlier (chs. 4-5) with many prayers; hands washed after the Creed.

Ambrosian (Milan): “Receive, O most merciful Father, this holy bread; that it may become the Body of thine Only-begotten One” Also the procession of old men bringing bread and wine on a sindon in Milan cathedral.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “Deinde offertorium et dicitur oratio super oblatam” Offertory chant and Secret only; no handwashing or presentation rite.

Not covered by: Didache; Serapion of Thmuis.

Creed (Offering)

The Nicene (or other) Creed is recited within the liturgy. Present in 11 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 3, and not covered by 7. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): “We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible” Nicene Creed, recited by the priest before the anaphora

Addai & Mari (hinted): “The Creed.” Named by a rubric only; the text is not printed.

Liturgy of St James: “I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: and the rest of the Creed” Creed sits between the gifts and the kiss, before the anaphora; absent from AC 8.

Liturgy of St Mark: “making the sign of the cross over the disks and chalices, says in a loud voice (the Nicene Creed):-I believe in one God, etc.” Creed is said over the gifts before the anaphora; the sign of the cross is made at “and was crucified”. Absent from AC 8.

Basil: “I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible” Sung by the people after the kiss of peace and before the anaphora (a later addition to Basil’s original text).

Chrysostom: “I believe in one GOD” Only the opening words are printed in English; the Greek in the same row gives the full Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

Coptic (Cyril): “We believe in one God” The Nicene Creed, recited by the deacons and the people before the kiss and the anaphora.

Testament of Our Lord (hinted): “As we believe, we confess Him who is our Light, Salvation, Saviour, Protector, Helper” Not a creed in the service; the mystagogy before the offering opens with a confession of faith in prose.

Nestorius: “Then he shall stand in front of the altar with uplifted hands and shall say in a loud voice the Nicene Creed” The text of the creed is not printed

Syriac James: “each of the faithful shall say I believe and the priest shall say We believe] I believe [in one God the Father almighty maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible” Nicene Creed after the cry ‘Sophia and proschomen’, before the kiss of peace

Malabar (hinted): “The Nicene Creed is recited as at page 12.” Only a rubric; the text of the creed is not given here

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): “Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem factorem” The Creed is handed over (with Greek and Latin text) to catechumens at the scrutinies; it is not part of the Mass.

Armenian: “We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible” Nicene Creed in full, said by the deacon straight after the Gospel and before the Great Entrance: earlier than in the Byzantine rite, where it follows the kiss.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “We believe in one God the Lord the Father almighty, maker of the heavens and the earth”

Ambrosian (Milan): “The priest then intones the creed of Constantinople: I believe in one God” Sung after the offertory, before the prayer over the offerings.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition; Apostolic Const. 8; Gregorian (Rom. Canon). Not covered by: Didache; Justin, 1 Apology; Serapion of Thmuis; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona); Missale Gothicum.

Opening dialogue (Sursum corda) (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

“The Lord be with you... Lift up your hearts... Let us give thanks to the Lord.” Present in 18 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 1, and not covered by 5. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Apostolic Tradition: “The Lord be with you. And all shall say And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give

thanks to the Lord. It is meet and right.” The earliest known text of the opening dialogue, in the form that every later rite keeps.

Addai & Mari (full): “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all” Followed by ‘Lift up your minds’ and ‘It is fit and right’

Addai & Mari: “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with us all ... Lift up your minds: They respond:-They are towards Thee, O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel ... The oblation is offered to God, the Lord of all.They respond:-It is meet and right.”

Cyril of Jerusalem: “the Priest cries aloud ... Lift up your hearts ... Then ye answer ... We lift them up unto the Lord” Cyril gives the full dialogue: ‘Lift up your hearts’ / ‘We lift them up unto the Lord’, ‘Let us give thanks unto the Lord’ / ‘It is meet and right’. The ‘Lord be with you’ is not mentioned.

Apostolic Const. 8: “We lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people: It is meet and right so to do” Begins in s1-32: “the high priest: lift up your mind”. The opening greeting here is “the grace of almighty god ... be with you all”.

Liturgy of St James: “The People: And with thy spirit. The Priest: Let us lift up our minds and our hearts. The People: It is becoming and right” Opens with “the love of the lord and father, the grace of the lord and son, and the fellowship ... of the holy spirit”. Greek brackets the people’s replies.

Liturgy of St Mark: “The Lord be with all. The People: And with thy spirit. The Priest: Let us lift up our hearts. The People: We lift them up to the Lord. The Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. The People: It is meet and right” Dialogue comes after the kiss, creed and oblation prayer, as in other liturgies, but the intercessions come in the preface, before the Sanctus.

Basil: “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all ... And with thy spirit. Priest (pointing upward). Lift up your hearts” Dialogue continues in s5-99: ‘we lift them up unto the lord ... let us give thanks unto the lord’.

Chrysostom: “The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the love of GOD the FATHER, and the fellowship of the HOLY GHOST, be with you all. Choir. And with thy spirit. Priest. Lift we up our hearts. Choir. We lift them up unto the LORD. Priest. Let us give thanks to the LORD. Choir. It

is meet and right to worship the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST”

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): “it is meet and right and it is holy and becoming and expedient for our souls and bodies and spirits” The call-and-response itself (‘Lift up your hearts’) is not printed; only the priest’s preface that answers it.

Testament of Our Lord: “Let the bishop say: [Lift] up your hearts. Let the people say: They are [lifted up] unto the Lord. Let the bishop say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And let all the people say: It is meet and right.”

Nestorius: “The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the love of GOD, and the fellowship of the HOLY GHOST, be with us all ... thither lift up your hearts ... Unto Thee, O GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the King of glory” The response ‘It is meet and right’ is in the next row

Syriac James: “The minds and hearts of all of us be on high” Preceded by ‘The love of God the Father and the grace of the only-begotten Son and the fellowship and descent of the Holy Ghost’ and followed by ‘Let us give thanks ... It is meet and right’

Malabar: “The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the love of GOD the FATHER, and the communication of the HOLY GHOST, be with us all, now and for ever. ... Priest. Lift up your hearts. Choir. To Thee, GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel ... The oblation is offered to the LORD, the GOD of all. Choir. It is meet and right.”

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “*Sursum corda. Resp. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Resp. Dignum et iustum est*” Opens the section headed ‘*incipit canon actionis*’.

Armenian: “We lift them up unto thee, o Lord almighty” Dialogue spread over s11-2 to s11-6: ‘the grace, the love ... be with you and with all ... lift up your minds ... and give thanks unto the lord with the whole heart’.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “Lift up your hearts” Full dialogue s12-1 to s12-6: ‘the lord be with you all’ ... ‘it is right, it is meet’.

Ambrosian (Milan): “V. The Lord be with you. R. And with thy spirit. V. Lift up your hearts. R. We lift them up unto the Lord. V. Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. R. It is meet and right so to do”

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “*Dominus vobiscum Et cum spiritu tuo Sursum corda Habemus ad dominum Gratias agamus domino deo nostro Dignum et iustum est*” Priest says ‘*per omnia saecula saeculorum*’ aloud first.

Not in the text of: Didache. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Serapion of Thmuis; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona); Missale Gothicum.

Preface: thanksgiving for creation and providence (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The thanksgiving to the Father for creation, angels, the world, and the gifts of God, leading up to the Sanctus. Present in 23 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 1. The earliest text that has it is Didache (c. AD 50–120).

Didache: “Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for thy Name’s sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee” Thanksgiving for creation and food; the cup and bread thanksgivings are shorter, for the vine of David and for life and knowledge.

Justin, 1 Apology (hinted): “offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands” Justin does not give the content of the thanksgiving; ch. 67 says ‘according to his ability’.

Apostolic Tradition: “We give thee thanks, O God, through thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ ... Who is thy Word, inseparable from thee; through whom thou didst make all things” The thanksgiving is for Christ the Servant and Word, with creation named only through him.

Addai & Mari (full): “Worthy of praise from every mouth ... and of confession from every tongue ... who didst create the world by thy grace and its inhabitants by thy mercifulness”

Addai & Mari: “Worthy of glory from every mouth, and of thanksgiving from all tongues ... who created the world through His grace, and its inhabitants through His clemency, who saved men through His mercy”

Serapion of Thmuis: “It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ.” The preface praises the Father as unknown except through the Son; it is not a thanksgiving for creation. The opening dialogue is not written out.

Cyril of Jerusalem: “we make mention of heaven ... and earth, and sea ... of sun and moon; of stars and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible” Thanksgiving for creation and for calling and reconciling us, then the heavenly hosts.

Apostolic Const. 8: “It is very meet and right before all things to sing an hymn to Thee, who art the true God, who art before all beings” Very long

preface (s1-33 to s1-40): God, the Son as creator, cosmos, angels, man, Fall, Old Testament history; Sanctus comes only after the angels.

Liturgy of St James: “Verily it is becoming and right, proper and due to praise Thee, to sing of Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee” Short preface naming creation and the heavenly choirs, far briefer than the AC 8 survey of creation and Old Testament history.

Liturgy of St Mark: “truly it is meet and right, holy and becoming, and good for our souls, to praise, bless, and thank Thee” Thanksgiving for creation, man and the Fall (s3-1 to s3-2) is abruptly followed by the intercessions, a feature peculiar to Alexandria.

Basil: “O thou who in verity existest, Master, Lord God, Father Almighty adorable: Meet is it, in truth, and just and befitting the majesty of thy holiness, that we should magnify thee, praise thee, bless thee, adore thee” Basil’s long preface (continued in s5-101) on God, the Son and the Spirit, leading to the angels; Chrysostom’s short preface is in s5-99.

Chrysostom: “For Thou art GOD, ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, the same from everlasting to everlasting ... For Thou broughtest us forth to being from nothing, and when we had fallen didst raise us up again”

Coptic (Cyril): “Thou art he that hath made the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and all things therein, the seas, the rivers, the fountains, the lakes” Thanksgiving for creation; ends with the offering of the ‘reasonable sacrifice and unbloody service’ of Malachi 1:11. The intercessions of s9 follow it.

Testament of Our Lord: “We render thanks to Thee, O God, the Holy One, Confirmer of our souls, and Giver of our life” Thanksgiving for the Saviour sent ‘in the latter times’ and for the gifts of the Spirit.

Nestorius: “Unto Thee, O LORD, the mighty GOD, whose essence is eternal, the FATHER Almighty ... it is meet and right that we should ever and at all times offer praise, worship, honour, and glory”

Leonine (Verona): “Vere dign. tibi enim festa sollemnitas agitur, tibi dies sacrata celebratur” Hundreds of proper prefaces (abbreviated ‘vere dign.’), each tied to a feast; thanksgiving for the saint or mystery of the day, not a general creation preface.

Syriac James: “It is very meet right fitting and our bounden duty to praise thee, to bless thee, to celebrate thee, to worship thee, to give thanks to thee the creator of every creature visible and invisible”

Malabar: “By the mouth of all be it glorified, by the tongue of all be it praised, by all creatures be it worshipped and exalted, the adorable and exceeding glorious Name of the most illustrious TRINITY”

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “VD. et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum” Generic preface; the book prints hundreds of proper prefaces (VD) for particular days, e.g. s3-2.

Armenian: “It is very meet and right with earnest diligence always to adore and glorify thee, Father almighty, who by thine immaterial and fellow-creator Word didst remove the hindrance of the curse” Preface speaks of the incarnation rather than creation; it is said privately while the clerks sing.

Missale Gothicum: “Immolatio Missae. Dignum et iustum est uere dignum et iustum est nos tibi gratias agere domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus” The Gallican preface (also called contestatio, e.g. s3-5) is variable; an invitation ‘praefatio missae’ to the people precedes it.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “We give thee thanks, o Lord, in thy beloved Son the Lord Jesus, whom in the last days thou didst send unto us” Short preface in the manner of Hippolytus; leads straight into the intercessions.

Ambrosian (Milan): “For it is truly meet and right, proper and healthful, that we should alway give thanks unto thee, here and everywhere, O holy Lord, Father almighty, everlasting God” Variable preface for each feast (many examples, ch. 8-9).

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “VERE dignum et iustum est equum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere. domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus per christum dominum nostrum” Common preface of the Ordo; proper prefaces appear later in the Masses of the year.

Not covered by: Ambrose, On the Mysteries.

Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy) (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The angels’ hymn of Isaiah 6:3, sometimes with the Benedictus (“Blessed is he that cometh”). Present in 16 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 3, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): “Holy holy holy Lord God of hosts heaven and earth are full of his praises ... Hosanna in the highest and Hosanna to the Son of David blessed is he that came and cometh in the name of the Lord”

Addai & Mari: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; full are the heavens and the earth of His glory.” Without Benedictus; followed by a secret threefold ‘Holy art thou’ to Father, Son and Spirit

Serapion of Thmuis: “with whom receive also our cry of “holy” as we say: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of thy glory.”

Cyril of Jerusalem: “crying Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth” Cyril gives the Sanctus as the seraphim’s cry; the Benedictus is not mentioned.

Apostolic Const. 8: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be Thou blessed for ever” The people say it with the angels. No Benedictus here.

Liturgy of St James: “Holy, holy, holy, O Lord of Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest” Sanctus with Hosanna and Benedictus; AC 8 has the Sanctus alone, with a separate Hosanna at communion.

Liturgy of St Mark: “singing aloud the triumphal and thrice-holy hymn to Thy great glory:- Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory” Sanctus without Benedictus or Hosanna, introduced AFTER the intercessions; the people repeat it.

Basil: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest” With Benedictus.

Chrysostom: “Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest: blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the LORD: Hosanna in the highest” With the Benedictus.

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): “But with all them that hallow thee, receive our hallowing, o Lord, at our hands also, praising thee with them and saying” The words ‘Holy, holy, holy’ are not printed; the text goes directly to ‘heaven and earth are full of thine holy glory’.

Nestorius: “Holy, holy, holy, LORD GOD of hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the LORD.”

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): “et ideo cum angelis &c.” Only the incipit that leads into the Sanctus ('cum angelis &c.'), repeated at the end of many prefaces; the hymn itself is not printed.

Syriac James: “Holy holy holy Lord God of Sabaoth of the glory and honour of whose majesty heaven and earth are full Hosanna in the highest Blessed is he that came and cometh in the name of the Lord Hosanna in the highest”

Malabar: “Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD, mighty GOD: [1. full are the heavens and the earth of His songs” The Sanctus is expanded with Isaiah 6 ('woe is me'); the Benedictus is not given

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Osanna in excelsis” Includes the Benedictus.

Armenian: “Holy holy holy Lord God of hosts heaven and earth are full of thy glory Blessing in the highest Blessed art thou that didst come and comest in the name of the Lord Hosanna in the highest” With the Benedictus in the Armenian form.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “non cessant laudare dicentes SANCTUS SANCTUS SANCTUS” Only the first words are given; the preface ends by cueing the Sanctus.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “Holy holy holy Lord of Sabaoth the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the holiness of thy glory” Preceded by a Christological passage and the angels (s14-3 to s14-7).

Ambrosian (Milan): “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed, is he that cometh, in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.”

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth” Abbreviated in this edition: only the opening words; no Pleni sunt or Benedictus printed.

Not in the text of: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Testament of Our Lord. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries.

Post-Sanctus: thanksgiving for redemption (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The thanksgiving continues after the Sanctus with the history of salvation and the incarnation, leading into the Last Supper. Present in 14 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 6, and not covered by 3. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Apostolic Tradition: “Whom thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who, dwelling within her, was made flesh, and was manifested as thy Son” The thanksgiving for the incarnation and passion runs on without a break into the institution narrative.

Addai & Mari (full): “for that thou hast given us great grace past recompense in that thou didst put on our manhood that thou mightest quicken it by thy godhead”

Addai & Mari: “Thou didst take upon Thee our human nature, that Thou mightest bestow life on us through Thy divinity; Thou didst exalt our low condition”

Apostolic Const. 8: “For Thou art truly holy, and most holy, the highest and most highly exalted for ever. Holy also is Thy only begotten Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ” Post-Sanctus runs through the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension (s1-41 to s1-43).

Liturgy of St James: “Holy art Thou, King of eternity, and Lord and giver of all holiness; holy also Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ” Trinitarian “Holy art thou” leads through creation, Fall and Incarnation (s1-27 to s1-28).

Liturgy of St Mark (hinted): “For truly heaven and earth are full of Thy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ” Only a single linking sentence (“Pleni sunt”) before the first epiclesis and the institution; no narrative of redemption as in AC 8 or James.

Basil: “Holy art thou, of a truth, and all-holy, and there are no bounds to the majesty of thy holiness, and just art thou in all thy works” Basil’s long history of salvation from creation and fall (s5-103 to s5-107) through the incarnation, cross and ascension.

Chrysostom: “Holy art Thou and All-Holy, Thou and Thy Only-Begotten SON, and Thine HOLY GHOST ... Who didst so love Thy world, as to give Thine Only-Begotten SON”

Coptic (Cyril) (hinted): “Truly heaven and earth are full of thine holy glory through thine onlybegotten Son our Lord and our God and our Sa-

viour and the king of us all Jesus Christ” Very short: no narrative of salvation; it runs straight into the epiclesis and the institution.

Testament of Our Lord: “Thou, Lord, didst send Thy Word, who is of Thy counsel and covenant, by whom Thou madest all things, being well pleased with Him, into a virgin womb” Long narrative of incarnation and passion leading to the institution.

Nestorius: “Holy art Thou in truth, and praised art Thou in very deed, because Thou hast made Thy earthly worshippers fit to be likened unto those who worship Thee in heaven”

Syriac James: “Even as in truth thou art holy, king of the worlds and giver of all holiness ... and last of all didst send thine onlybegotten Son into the world that he might renew thine image”

Malabar: “Thou didst exalt our humanity, and set up our fall, and forgive our sins, and justify us by wiping out our offences”

Armenian: “Holy holy holy art thou truly and allholy: and who is he that will presume to compass in words thine infinite outflowings of lovingkindness towards us?” Salvation history from the prophets and the law through the incarnation and the cross; leads straight into the institution.

Missale Gothicum: “Collectio Post Sanctus Vere sanctus vere benedictus dominus noster iesus christus filius tuus manens in caelis manifestatus in terris” Variable prayer that picks up ‘sanctus’ and ‘benedictus’ and leads into ‘ipse enim pridie quam pateretur’.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “He came and was born of the virgin, that he might fulfil thy will and make a people for thee” Narrates the incarnation, passion and resurrection, running into the institution.

Not in the text of: Didache; Serapion of Thmuis; Cyril of Jerusalem; Gelasian (Roman Canon); Ambrosian (Milan); Gregorian (Rom. Canon). Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Institution narrative and words of Christ (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The account of the Last Supper with Christ’s words over the bread and the cup. Present in 18 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 1. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Justin, 1 Apology: “Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, ... This do ye in remembrance of Me, this is My body; ... having taken the cup

and given thanks, He said, ... This is My blood;” Justin’s own explanation of the rite from the Gospel ‘memoirs’; he does not say it was recited in the prayer.

Apostolic Tradition: “taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: ... Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you.” The words are short and sit inside the thanksgiving, with the command ‘perform my memorial’.

Addai & Mari (full) (hinted): “Our Lord Jesus the same night in which he was delivered up took bread and blessed and brake it and said take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you” Printed only in square brackets as an optional insertion; the oldest Addai and Mari text has no institution narrative.

Addai & Mari (hinted): “Here follow the words of institution” Only a rubric; the narrative itself is not printed in this text.

Serapion of Thmuis: “the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples saying ... Take ye and eat, this is my body which is being broken for you for remission of sins ... taking a cup after supper ... said to his own disciples ... Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins.” Both bread and cup words are given, each followed by an offering of the ‘likeness’.

Apostolic Const. 8: “For in the same night that He was betrayed, He took bread” in His holy and undefiled hands ... This is my body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins” Cup mixed of wine and water; then 1 Cor. 11:26 added (“ye do show forth my death until i come”).

Ambrose, On the Mysteries (hinted): “The Lord Jesus Himself proclaims ... This is My Body ... Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the Body is signified” Words of Christ over bread (and ‘his blood’) are cited; the narrative of the Last Supper is not given.

Liturgy of St James: “Having taken the bread in His holy and pure and blameless and immortal hands ... Take, eat: this is my body, broken for you, and given for remission of sins” Deacons and people interject; the cup follows in s1-29 with “this is my blood of the new testament”.

Liturgy of St Mark: “took bread in His holy, pure, and immaculate hands ... For this is my body, which is broken for you, and divided for the remission

of sins” Cup in s3-13 with “this is my blood of the new testament”; “this do ye in remembrance of me” follows.

Basil: “he took bread in his holy and stainless hands, and when he had shown it unto thee, his God and Father, he gave thanks, blessing it, sanctifying it, and breaking it, he gave it to his holy disciples and apostles” Words over bread in s5-109 (‘take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you, for the remission of sins’); cup in s5-109 and s5-111 (‘drink ye all of this: for this is my blood of the new testament’).

Chrysostom: “took bread in His holy and pure and spotless hands, and gave thanks, and blessed, and hallowed, and brake, and gave to His holy Disciples and Apostles, saying, (aloud,) Take, eat: this is My Body which is broken for you for the remission of sins” Cup words in s1-33: ‘drink ye all of this: this is my blood of the new testament’.

Coptic (Cyril): “take, eat ye all of it: for this is my body which shall be broken for you and for many and be given for the remission of sins: do this in commemoration of me” Narrative begins in s10-2; cup words in s10-5 (‘take, drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the new testament’).

Testament of Our Lord: “taking bread, gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins ... Also the cup of wine which He mixed He gave for a type of the Blood which he shed for us.” Words over the bread are given; the cup is narrated without direct words.

Nestorius: “He took bread in His holy, immaculate, and pure hands, and blessed, and brake, and ate, and gave it to His disciples, saying: Take, eat ye all of this. This is My body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins.”

Syriac James: “took bread on his holy spotless and unpolluted hands and showed it to thee, God and Father, and when he had given thanks he blessed hallowed brake and gave to his disciples and holy apostles saying take, eat of it: this is my body which for you and for many is broken and given for the remission of sins” The people answer ‘Amen’ after the words; cup in s14-15

Malabar: “Our LORD JESUS CHRIST in the same night wherein He was betrayed, took the holy bread into His pure and loving hands ... and blessed and brake, and gave to His Disciples and said,— Take and eat of this bread all of you: for this is My Body.”

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas ... Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo, posteaquam coenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem” On Maundy Thursday the rubric substitutes ‘qui hac die antequam traderetur’ for ‘qui pridie’.

Armenian: “Take eat: this is my body which is distributed for you and for many for the expiation and remission of sins” Bread narrative ends at s11-10; cup words in s11-16 (‘drink ye all of this: this is my blood of the new testament’).

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “ipse enim pridie quam pateretur” The post-Sanctus breaks off with these words; the narrative itself and the words over bread and cup are not written out (the canon text is absent).

Ethiopic (Apostles): “he looked up to heaven toward thee his Father benediction, he gave thanks benediction, he blessed benediction, and brake and gave it to his disciples” Cup words at s14-13: ‘this cup: my blood ... which is shed for you for the remission of sin’.

Ambrosian (Milan): “Who, on the day before he suffered for our salvation, and that of all men, ... he took bread, and lifted up his eyes to heav” Bread words at s10-4/10-5 (‘for this is my body’); cup account at s10-5.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas ... hoc est corpus meum simili modo posteaquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem” The words over the cup include ‘mysterium fidei’.

Not in the text of: Didache; Cyril of Jerusalem. Not covered by: Leonine (Verona).

Anamnesis (remembrance) (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

“Remembering therefore his death, resurrection, ascension and second coming...” Present in 19 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 3. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Apostolic Tradition: “Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup” Remembers only the death and resurrection; there is no ascension or second coming.

Addai & Mari (full): “commemorating 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 our Saviour Jesus Christ”

Addai & Mari: “commemorate and celebrate this great, awful, holy, and divine mystery of the passion, death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ”

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): “Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread” No separate memorial prayer; the offering is made ‘making the likeness of the death’.

Apostolic Const. 8: “Being mindful, therefore, of His passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second appearing”

Liturgy of St James: “Remembering, therefore, His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross, His death and His burial, and resurrection from the dead on the third day”

Liturgy of St Mark: “while we show forth the death of Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and acknowledge His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day”

Basil: “Wherefore, we also, O Master, having in remembrance his redeeming Passion and life-giving Cross, his three days’ Burial, and his Resurrection from the dead, his Ascension into Heaven, and his Sitting on the right hand of thee, the God and Father, and his glorious and terrible Coming-again” Basil’s form, which includes ‘this do, in remembrance of me’.

Chrysostom: “We therefore remembering this salutary precept, and all that happened on our behalf, the Cross, the Tomb, the Resurrection on the third day, the Ascension into heaven, the Session on the right hand, the second and glorious coming again”

Coptic (Cyril): “showing the death of thine only begotten Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour and the king of us all Jesus Christ, confessing his holy resurrection and his ascension into the heavens and his session at thy right hand”

Testament of Our Lord: “Remembering therefore Thy death and resurrection”

Nestorius: “in commemorating this which was given for our salvation, and in bringing to mind all those things which have been done for us”

Syriac James: "Commemorating therefore, o Lord, thy death and thy resurrection on the third day from the tomb and thine ascension into heaven and thy session at the right hand of God the Father"

Malabar: "glorify, exalt and venerate this memorial, and sacrifice this Mystery, great, terrible, holy and divine, of the Passion and Death, Sepulture and Resurrection of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST"

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelis gloriosae ascensionis" Does not mention the second coming.

Armenian: "We therefore, o Lord, presenting unto thee according to this commandment this saving mystery of the body and blood of thine onlybegotten, do remember the saving sufferings he endured for us, his lifegiving crucifixion, his burial of three days, his blessed resurrection, his divine ascension"

Missale Gothicum: "Post Mysterium Haec facimus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus commemorantes et celebrantes passionem unici filii tui iesu christi domini nostri" 'Post mysterium' (= post pridie) follows the unseen institution.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Now also, Lord, remembering his death and his resurrection, we confess thee and offer unto thee this bread pointing and this cup" Mandate at s14-15 'make ye memorial of me'; people respond 'we show thy death, lord'.

Ambrosian (Milan): "Wherefore, O Lord, we, thy servants, and also thy holy people, being mindful of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well as of his wondrous Resurrection from hell, and also of his most glorious Ascension into the heavens" Preceded by the command 'as often as ye do these things, ye shall do them for my memorial'.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): "Unde et memores sumus domine nos tui serui, sed et plebs tua sancta christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis" No mention of the second coming.

Not in the text of: Didache; Cyril of Jerusalem. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Oblation (we offer) (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The church offers the bread and cup to the Father ("we offer unto thee... thine own of thine own"). Present in 19 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Didache (hinted): "come together, break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure" The eucharist is called a 'sacrifice' (thysia); there is no prayer of offering in the text.

Apostolic Tradition: "we offer to thee the bread and the cup, yielding thee thanks, because thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee" The offering is joined to the memorial in one sentence.

Addai & Mari (full): "in the commemoration of the body and blood of thy Christ which we offer unto thee on thy pure and holy altar as thou hast taught us"

Addai & Mari: "in the commemoration of the body and blood of Thy Christ, which we offer to Thee upon Thy pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us"

Serapion of Thmuis: "to thee have we offered this living sacrifice ... this bloodless oblation ... To thee we have offered this bread the likeness of the body of the only-begotten." Offering comes before the institution narrative, which is given as the reason for it.

Cyril of Jerusalem (hinted): "over that sacrifice of propitiation we entreat God for the common peace of the Churches ... we all pray and offer this sacrifice" The offering is mentioned only in passing ('spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless service'); no offering prayer is given.

Apostolic Const. 8: "we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His constitution, this bread and this cup"

Liturgy of St James: "even we, sinful men, offer unto Thee, O Lord, this dread and bloodless sacrifice"

Liturgy of St Mark (hinted): "we have placed before Thee what is Thine from Thine own mercies" The offering is only implied here; earlier "we offer this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice" falls in the preface.

Basil: "Thine own, of thine own, we offer unto thee, in behalf of all, and for all ... presenting unto thee the holy emblems of the sacred Body and Blood of thy Christ" The 'thine own of thine own' formula is the common

Byzantine insertion; Basil's own wording is 'presenting unto thee the holy emblems'.

Chrysostom: "in behalf of all, and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own ... Moreover we offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice"

Coptic (Cyril): "Before thine holy glory we have set thine own gift of thine own, o our holy Father"

Testament of Our Lord: "we offer to Thee bread and the cup, giving thanks to Thee who alone art God for ever" A further offering of the thanksgiving to the Trinity follows in s24-8.

Nestorius: "We offer unto Thee this lively, holy, acceptable, glorious, awful, and great and immaculate sacrament, for all men"

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): "unde laetantes inter altaria tua Dñe virtutum hostias tibi laudis offerimus et caetera. Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et Špu ſco regenerare dignatus es" Preface ending leading to the Canon, then a Hanc igitur variant for the newly baptised at Pentecost; the Canon text itself is not printed.

Syriac James: "we offer thee this fearful and unbloody sacrifice that thou deal not with us after our sins"

Malabar: "the remembrance of the Body and Blood of Thy CHRIST, which we shall offer to Thee upon the pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us"

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae" The Supra quae then asks acceptance as of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedech.

Armenian: "And we offer unto thee thine own of thine own in all and for all"

Missale Gothicum: "Haec igitur praecepta seruantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus"

Ethiopic (Apostles): "we confess thee and offer unto thee this bread pointing and this cup, giving thanks unto thee"

Ambrosian (Milan): "offer unto thy excellent majesty of thine own presents and gifts" 'a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, a spotless sacrifice'. Supra quae follows at s10-7.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “offerimus praeclare maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram hostiam sanctam hostiam immaculatam panem sanctum uitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae” Followed by *Supra quae* (Abel, Abraham, Melchisedech).

Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*.

Epiclesis on the gifts (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The prayer asking God to send the Holy Spirit (or his Word, or his power) upon the bread and cup. Present in 17 of the 25 texts, hinted in 6, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 0. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Justin, 1 Apology (hinted): “the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word” Nothing is said of the Spirit. ‘The prayer of his word’ may mean Christ’s words or a prayer containing them; scholars differ.

Apostolic Tradition: “send thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of thy holy church” A Spirit-epiclesis after the oblation, in the oldest full text. Whether it was in Hippolytus’s own text is debated.

Addai & Mari (full): “And may there come, o my Lord, thine Holy Spirit and rest upon this offering of thy servants and bless it and hallow it”

Addai & Mari: “And may Thy Holy Spirit come, O Lord, and rest upon this oblation of Thy servants which they offer, and bless and sanctify it”

Serapion of Thmuis: “O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth” The ‘invocation of the Logos’: the Word, not the Spirit, is asked to come upon the gifts. Mapped to this component. Row 1.3 also asks ‘fill also this sacrifice with thy power’.

Cyril of Jerusalem: “we beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ ... for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is surely sanctified and changed” Comes directly after the Sanctus.

Apostolic Const. 8: “send down upon this sacrifice Thine Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus’ sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Thy Christ” Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit on the gifts with a consecratory “show” (apophene) petition; it comes before the intercessions.

Ambrose, *On the Mysteries* (hinted): “that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by the word of Christ” Consecration is by Christ’s words; no invocation of the Spirit or Word on the gifts is described here (cf. the Holy Spirit and the font, ch. 59).

Liturgy of St James: “Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send forth on us, and on these offered gifts, Thy all-holy Spirit” Prayer continues in s1-31: “that ... he may sanctify this bread, and make it the holy body of thy christ”. Epiclesis follows anamnesis and precedes the intercessions.

Liturgy of St Mark: “Send down upon us also and upon this bread and upon these chalices Thy Holy Spirit, that by His all-powerful and divine influence He may sanctify and consecrate them, and make this bread the body” A first, shorter epiclesis precedes the institution: “fill, o god, this sacrifice with thy blessing, through the inspiration of thy all-holy spirit”. Two epicleses.

Basil: “that thy Holy Spirit may descend upon us, and upon these Gifts here spread forth before thee, and bless them, and sanctify and manifest them” Followed by the blessing of bread and cup (‘for this bread is in very truth the precious body of our lord’, s5-114) and ‘transmuting them by thy holy spirit’.

Chrysostom: “send down Thy HOLY GHOST upon us, and on these proposed gifts” Followed by the deacon’s blessing of bread and cup: ‘and make this bread the precious body of thy christ ... changing them by thy holy ghost’.

Coptic (Cyril): “Fill this also thy sacrifice, o Lord, with the blessing that is from thee, through the descent upon it of thine Holy Spirit, and in blessing bless and in purifying purify these thy precious gifts” Alexandrian double epiclesis: a first one before the institution, and a second after the anamnesis (s11-6: ‘send him down upon us thy servants and upon these thy precious gifts’).

Nestorius: “the grace of the HOLY SPIRIT may descend and abide and rest upon this oblation which we have offered before Thee, bless it, sanctify it, and make this Bread and this Cup the Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. Change Thou them by the operation of the HOLY GHOST”

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): “sed scī Sps operante virtute sacrificium iam nostri corpus et sanguis est ipsius sacerdotis” A secret (Epiphany) attributing

the sacrifice to the Spirit's working; not an epiclesis formula, and the Canon is not printed.

Syriac James: "the Invocation of the Holy Ghost Have mercy upon us, God the Father almighty, and send upon us and upon these gifts set before thee thine Holy Spirit the Lord and the lifegiver"

Malabar: "Send then, my LORD, Thy Holy SPIRIT, and let Him rest upon this oblation of Thy servants and sanctify it" Rubric: the priest 'consecrateth the body and blood of christ'

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): "*Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui*" Consecratory petition before the Supper (*Quam oblationem*); no mention of the Holy Spirit.

Armenian: "send upon us and upon these gifts here set forth thy coeternal and consubstantial Holy Spirit ... thou wilt make it truly the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" The deacon calls for a blessing at each phrase; ends 'changing them by thine holy spirit', repeated thrice.

Missale Gothicum: "obsecrantes ut immiscere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum" The clearest petition for the Spirit over the gifts in the book. Another post-secreta asks God to 'sanctificare' the sacrifice so that it becomes the eucharist.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "We pray thee, Lord, and beseech thee that thou wouldest send the Holy Ghost and power upon this bread pointing, and over this cup pointing" Followed by 'may he make it ... the body and blood of our lord'.

Ambrosian (Milan) (hinted): "to make this oblation, which we offer to thy tender compassion, O thou God in all, ... that it may become to us the bo*dy and blo*od of thy dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord" *Quam oblationem* asks God to make the oblation the body and blood of Christ, before the institution; no mention of the Holy Spirit.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): "*Quam oblationem tu deus in omnibus. quaesumus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui*" Consecratory petition (*Quam oblationem*) before the Supper; no mention of the Holy Spirit.

Not in the text of: Didache; Testament of Our Lord.

Epiclesis on the communicants (fruits of communion) (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The prayer that those who receive may be united, filled with the Spirit, strengthened in faith and not judged. Present in 20 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 4. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Didache (hinted): “so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom” Not a prayer for the fruits of communion; a prayer for the unity of the church, the nearest parallel.

Apostolic Tradition: “grant to all thy saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit, that their faith may be confirmed in truth” The same sentence asks that the communicants be filled with the Spirit and united.

Addai & Mari (full): “that it be to us, o my Lord, for the pardon of offences and the remission of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven”

Addai & Mari: “and may it be unto us, O Lord, for the propitiation of our offences and the forgiveness of our sins, and for a grand hope of resurrection from the dead”

Serapion of Thmuis: “make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness ... not for condemnation, O God of truth”

Apostolic Const. 8: “that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost” Fruits of communion form the purpose clause of the epiclesis itself.

Liturgy of St James: “That they may be to all that partake of them for remission of sins, and for life everlasting, for the sanctification of souls and of bodies”

Liturgy of St Mark: “That to all of us who partake thereof they may tend unto faith, sobriety, healing, temperance, sanctification, the renewal of soul, body, and spirit, participation in the blessedness of eternal life”

Basil: “And unite all us who partake of the one Bread and the one Cup, one to another in the communion of the Holy Spirit; and grant that no one of us may partake of that holy Body and Blood of thy Christ unto judgment or unto condemnation”

Chrysostom: “So that they may be to those that participate, for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the HOLY GHOST, fulfilment of the kingdom of heaven, boldness towards Thee, and not to judgment nor to condemnation”

Coptic (Cyril): “that they may be to us all who shall receive of them unto faith unsearchable, unto love without dissimulation, unto endurance perfected, unto hope established” Continues: ‘unto forgiveness of sins’ and ‘fellowship of blessedness of eternal life’.

Testament of Our Lord: “grant that all those who partake and receive of Thy Holy Things may be made one with Thee, so that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost, for the confirmation of the faith in truth” See also s24-8, ‘not for condemnation’; s24-10, ‘send the grace of the Spirit upon us’.

Nestorius: “that these glorious and holy sacraments may be effectual in all such as shall partake of them unto everlasting life ... and that we may all agree together in one concord, in one bond of love and peace, and become one body and one spirit”

Syriac James: “That they be to all who receive of them the hallowing of souls and bodies, fruitfulness in good works, for the confirmation of thy holy church”

Malabar: “that it may be to us, my LORD, for the payment of our debts and the remission of our sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and a new life in the heavenly kingdom”

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum ... ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur” Supplices te rogamus; fruits of communion without mention of the Spirit.

Armenian: “So that this be to us all who draw nigh to it for release from condemnation and for the expiation and remission of sins”

Missale Gothicum: “edentibus nobis uitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum” Fruit for communicants stated within the same prayer as the epiclesis.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “that it be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost and for confirming true faith” Also ‘grant us to be united in thine holy spirit’.

Ambrosian (Milan): “that so many of us as, from this partaking of the altar, ... shall receive the most holy body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be fulfilled” Supplices: heavenly altar and angel; fruits for communicants, ‘all heavenly benediction and grace’.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum ... ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur” Supplices te rogamus; no mention of the Spirit.

Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Intercessions inside the anaphora (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

Prayer for the church, the bishops, rulers, the sick, travellers, the living. Present in 21 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 1, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Didache (c. AD 50–120).

Didache: “Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it together in its holiness from the four winds to thy kingdom” Only the church is prayed for; no bishops, rulers, sick or dead.

Justin, 1 Apology: “we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized ... and for all others in every place” Described in the baptismal Eucharist; the content is for the baptised, the community and all people.

Addai & Mari (full): “accept this offering for all the holy catholic church and for all the just and righteous fathers ... and for all the sick and afflicted” Intercession both in the diptychs (s11) and in the anaphora (s15, after the Sanctus)

Addai & Mari: “accept this oblation for the whole Holy Catholic Church, and for all the pious and righteous fathers ... and for all that mourn, that are in straits, and are sick” Also a prayer for peace and the rulers at s1-17

Serapion of Thmuis: “Let this people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people” A short prayer for the living people; s1-7 prays for those who have offered. Comes after the epiclesis.

Cyril of Jerusalem: “we entreat God for the common peace of the Churches, for the welfare of the world ... for kings; for soldiers and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted”

Apostolic Const. 8: “We further pray unto Thee, O Lord, for thy holy Church spread from one end of the world to another” Intercessions continue through s1-47: church, clergy, king and army, people, city, sick, travellers, enemies, catechumens, penitents, weather and crops.

Liturgy of St James: “Remember also, O Lord, our holy fathers and brethren in it, and the bishops in all the world, who rightly divide the word of Thy truth” Begins in s1-31 with the holy places, Zion and the church, then bishops, cities, travellers, prisoners, sick, weather and crops. Comes AFTER the epiclesis, as in AC 8.

Liturgy of St Mark: “We pray and beseech Thee, O lover of men, O good Lord, remember in Thy good mercy the Holy and only Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the whole world” Long intercessions (s3-2 to s3-10: church, king, sick, travellers, waters, bishops, enemies) come BEFORE the Sanctus and institution; in AC 8 and James they follow the epiclesis.

Basil: “Have in remembrance, also, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is from end to end of the Universe; and give peace unto Her whom thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of thy Christ” Continued in s5-122 (the sick, travellers, all people) and s5-125 (bishops, clergy, seasons and the end of schisms); Basil’s intercessions are much longer than Chrysostom’s.

Chrysostom: “Furthermore we offer to Thee this reasonable service for the whole world: for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ... Chiefly, O LORD, remember our Archbishop N.” Continues in s1-37 with the city, travellers, the sick and prisoners.

Coptic (Cyril): “Remember, o Lord, the peace of thy one only holy catholic and apostolic church, which is from one end of the world to the other” Long Alexandrian intercessions between the preface and the Sanctus: church, sick, travellers, the Nile flood, the king, the patriarch, bishops, the congregation, prisoners.

Testament of Our Lord: “Sustain unto the end those who have gifts of revelations. Confirm those who have a gift of healing ... Visit the widows. Help the orphans.” Intercession is for the church’s gifted ministers and the needy; no bishops or rulers.

Nestorius: “for the holy, apostolic, and Catholic Church throughout the earth, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to keep it from all doubtfulness ... And for all our fathers, the bishops who in every place preach the word of truth”

Syriac James: “we offer unto thee, o Lord, this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for these thine holy places ... and for thine holy church which is in all the world ... Remember also, o Lord, our pious bishops who rightly divide for us the word of truth” Long deacon-priest litany after the epiclesis (s16-1 to s16-28)

Malabar: “let this oblation be received for the whole Catholic Church, and for priests and princes; for the poor also that are oppressed in sorrow and misery” Intercession falls between the institution and the epiclesis

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Te igitur clementissime Pater per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona ... pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro Illo” Te igitur and Memento (the living) come before the Institution; the Hanc igitur follows.

Armenian: “Through this grant love stability and longed-for peace to the whole world, to the holy church and to all orthodox bishops, to priests, deacons, kings of the earth and princes, to peoples, to travellers, to seafarers, to prisoners” Priest’s private intercession, repeated as a deacon’s litany with ‘Remember, O Lord, and have mercy’ (s13-4 to s13-15); the archbishop (Catholikos) is named aloud.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “Auditis nominibus offerentium fratres dilectissimi christum dominum deprecemur” Only the prayer after the reading of the names (diptychs) appears; the long Gallican intercessions are not written out.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “remember thou the catholic apostolic church in peace, which was made by the precious blood of Christ” Intercessions come BEFORE the Sanctus (Alexandrian position); s13-2 names archpopes, bishops, presbyters, deacons.

Ambrosian (Milan): “which, in the first place we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic Church, that thou wouldest be pleased to keep it in peace, to guard, unite, and govern it” Te igitur, with pope, bishop and king; Memento of the living follows.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “TE igitur clementissime pater per iesum christum filium tuum dominum nostrum. supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona haec munera haec sancta sacrificia in-hibata. Inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica quam pacificare custodire adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum beatissimo famulo tuo papa nostro illo” Te igitur plus Memento (the living), then Hanc igitur. Only the pope is named; OCR ‘inhibata’ for ‘illibata’.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition. Not covered by: Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Commemoration of the departed (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

Prayer for those who have fallen asleep. Present in 17 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 3, and not covered by 3. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): “and for all the departed who have been severed and have gone forth from amongst us” Also the long ‘book of the dead’ in the diptychs

Addai & Mari: “and for all the dead that have gone from amongst us”

Serapion of Thmuis: “We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making. ... Sanctify these souls: for thou knowest all.” The names are read out here.

Cyril of Jerusalem: “on behalf also of the Holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and in a word of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us”

Apostolic Const. 8 (hinted): “Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith” Only as one petition in the deacon’s litany AFTER the anaphora; no prayer for the departed inside the anaphora itself.

Liturgy of St James: “Remember, O Lord God, the spirits and all flesh, of whom we have made mention, and of whom we have not made mention, who are of the true faith, from righteous Abel unto this day: unto them do Thou give rest” Follows the commemoration of the saints; the first of the dead are named from the diptychs.

Liturgy of St Mark: “give peace to the souls of our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep in Jesus” Followed by the reading of the record (diptychs) of the dead; the commemoration is part of the intercessions before the Sanctus.

Basil: “call to remembrance all those who have fallen asleep in the hope of Resurrection unto life eternal” Continued in s5-119: ‘and give them rest where the light of thy countenance shall visit them’.

Chrysostom: “And remember all those that are departed in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of Thy countenance shines upon them”

Coptic (Cyril): “vouchsafe to grant rest to all their souls in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob” Preceded by the diptychs and the prayer ‘to our fathers and our brethren who are fallen asleep ... give rest’.

Testament of Our Lord: “Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith”

Nestorius: “Quicken the dead who have slept in Thy hope, and in Thy grace make them to stand at Thy right hand” Also s1-36, ‘all who have departed from this world in the true faith’

Syriac James: “remember, o Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned, who have passed from this life in the orthodox faith. Rest their souls and bodies and spirits”

Malabar: “and for the faithful departed” Also in the litany and the diptychs

Armenian: “Remember, o Lord, and have mercy and have pity on the souls of the departed: give them rest and light and rank them among thy saints in thy kingdom of heaven” Also in s13-1: ‘give rest to all those who aforetime have fallen asleep in christ’.

Missale Gothicum: “Spiritus quoque carorum nostrorum tribue ut mortalibus segregati coetibus litteris mereantur conscribi caelestibus” Part of the collect after the names.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “Rest the souls of our fathers and our brothers and our sisters that have fallen asleep and gained their rest in the faith of Christ”

Ambrosian (Milan): “Remember, also, O Lord, thy servants and hand-maidens who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace”

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “Super dipticia. Memento etiam domine famulorum tuorum illorum qui nos precesserunt et dormiunt in somno pacis” Not in the main Canon of the Ordo (s1-2 to s1-4); Memento etiam appears only in the Mass for a deceased bishop, as an insert.

Not in the text of: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Gelasian (Roman Canon). Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Commemoration of Mary, the apostles and saints (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

The Virgin Mary, patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs are named. Present in 17 of the 25 texts, hinted in 3, searched for and not found in 3, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): "all the purity and holiness of the prophets and the apostles and the martyrs and the confessors and the bishops and the doctors" Fuller list in the diptychs naming Mary, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Addai and Mari

Addai & Mari: "Make remembrance of prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, doctors, priests, deacons" The Virgin Mary is not named in the anaphora itself (only in a priest's private prayer, s1-9)

Cyril of Jerusalem: "we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intercessions God would receive our petition"

Apostolic Const. 8: "We further offer to Thee also for all those holy persons who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world-patriarch, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors" A list of the holy of every order; the Virgin Mary is not named.

Liturgy of St James: "Hail, Mary, highly favoured: the Lord is with Thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb" The Greek in the same row names the Theotokos, John the Baptist, the apostles, Stephen. The "Hail Mary" salutation is a distinctive insertion; list of patriarchs and martyrs also in s1-33.

Liturgy of St Mark: "remembering our forefathers of old, our fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops" Also the local saint: "our holy father mark, the apostle and evangelist". The Virgin Mary is not named in this text.

Basil: "Especially our most holy, all-undefiled, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Birth-giver of God and ever-virgin Mary: And Saint John, the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist; the holy, glorious and all-laudable

Apostles” In Basil the hymn ‘In thee rejoiceth, o thou who art full of grace’ is sung here.

Chrysostom: “Especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of GOD and Ever-Virgin Mary” Preceded by ‘patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs’; then John the Baptist, the apostles and the saint of the day.

Coptic (Cyril): “remembering all saints who have been wellpleasing to thee since the world began: our holy fathers the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles ... and most chiefly her that is holy glorious mother of God and evervirgin, the holy theotokos Mary” Followed by John the Baptist, Stephen, Mark, Severus, Cyril, Antony and the Coptic saints.

Testament of Our Lord (hinted): “grant us an inheritance with Thy saints, and bestow [upon us] the power to please Thee as they also pleased Thee” The saints are mentioned generally, not by name.

Nestorius: “to remember through this oblation the fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, doctors, priests, and deacons” Mary is named earlier at the altar-covering but not in the anaphora

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): “Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes ascensionis in caelum Dñi nostri Ihu Xri sed et memoriam venerantes &c.” Only seasonal Communicantes inserts (Ascension, Pentecost) with the text cut off (‘&c.’); the list of saints is not printed.

Syriac James: “we commemorate her who is to be called blessed and glorified of all generations of the earth, holy and blessed and ever-virgin blessed mother of God Mary: and with her also let us remember the prophets and apostles and evangelists”

Malabar: “all the holiness and purity of Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs and Confessors, Bishops and Doctors, Priests and Deacons” Mary and the saints are named in the litany: ‘the most blessed virgin mary, the mother of christ’

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Communicantes et memoriam venerantes inprimis gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri et Pauli” Second list in Nobis quoque peccatoribus. Seasonal Communicantes inserts (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Maundy Thursday) are rubrics ‘infra actionem’.

Armenian: “We beseech thee that in this holy sacrifice remembrance be made of the mother of God the holy virgin Mary, and of John the baptist, of the protomartyr Stephen and of all the saints” Followed by apostles, Gregory the Illuminator and other Armenian saints (s13-6 to s13-10).

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “Collectio Post Nomina Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui sanctorum uirtute multiplice aeclesiae tuae sacrum corpus exornans primitias martyrum gloriosi leuitae tui stephani sanguinem dedicasti” Saints appear only as the day’s saint in feast Masses; no fixed list of names.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “By the intercession and by the supplication which the lady of us all, thy parent the holy and immaculate Mary, maketh on our behalf” Very long list of angels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs and Egyptian monks; deacon’s list at s13-1.

Ambrosian (Milan): “Joining in communion with, and venerating the memory, first, of the glorious and ever-virgin Mary, who brought forth our God and Lord Jesus Christ” Communicantes: Mary, apostles and martyrs; Nobis quoque at s11-3 repeats the saints.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “Communicantes et memoriam uenerantes. Inprimis gloriosae semper uirginis mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri iesu christi. sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum. petri. pauli. andreae” Second list in Nobis quoque peccatoribus.

Not in the text of: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Serapion of Thmuis. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries.

Final doxology and Amen (Anaphora (the great thanksgiving))

“Through whom and with whom glory and honour be to thee...” and the people’s Amen. Present in 18 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 3. The earliest text that has it is Didache (c. AD 50–120).

Didache: “for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever” Every prayer ends with a doxology: ‘To thee be glory for ever’; the Amen is not given.

Justin, 1 Apology (hinted): “he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost” Trinitarian praise opens the president’s prayer; the people then answer Amen.

Apostolic Tradition: “Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both

now and always and world without end. Amen.” A Trinitarian doxology ‘in the holy church’, ending with the people’s Amen.

Addai & Mari (full): “lifting up praise and honour and confession and worship to thy living and holy and lifegiving name now and ever and world without end” The people answer Amen

Addai & Mari: “Canon: Ascribing praise, honour, thanksgiving, and adoration to Thy holy, loving, and life-giving name, now, always, and for ever. The Priest signs the mysteries with the cross, and they respond:- Amen.”

Serapion of Thmuis: “through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in holy Spirit; as it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.”

Apostolic Const. 8: “for to Thee belongs all glory and worship, and thanksgiving, honour and adoration, the Father, with the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and always” People answer Amen; the bishop then gives the peace (“the peace of god be with you all”).

Liturgy of St James: “Through the grace and compassion and love of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed and glorified, together with the all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever” Closes the intercessions and the people’s prayer for forgiveness; the people answer Amen.

Liturgy of St Mark (hinted): “that Thy most holy, precious, and glorious name may be praised and glorified in this as in all things. The People: As it was and is” No full “through whom and with whom” closing doxology; the anaphora ends with a purpose clause on the glory of God’s name after the epiclesis on the communicants.

Basil: “And grant that with one mouth and one heart we may glorify and praise thine all-honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Choir. Amen” Followed by ‘and may the mercy of the great god ... be with you all’.

Chrysostom: “and grant us with one mouth and one heart to glorify and celebrate Thy glorious and majestic Name, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages” Not the ‘through whom’ form; it is a petition-doxology, followed by ‘the mercies of the great god ... shall be with all of us’ and the people’s Amen.

Coptic (Cyril): “that in this also as in all things thy great holy name, in all things honoured and blessed, may be glorified and blessed and exalted with Jesus Christ thy beloved Son and the Holy Ghost”

Testament of Our Lord: “that they may lift up always a doxology to Thee, and to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom praise and might [be] unto Thee, with Thy Holy Spirit for ever and ever” The people answer Amen.

Nestorius: “to Whom with Thee and the holy, living, and life-giving SPIRIT, we ascribe glory, honour, dominion and power, now and for ever and ever. Amen.”

Syriac James: “that in this as in all things thine all honoured and blessed name may be glorified and extolled with the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and thine Holy Spirit now and ever and world without end” The people answer Amen

Malabar: “we praise and glorify Thee without ceasing in the Church ... we will offer unto Thee a song and honour, land and adoration, to Thy living, holy and quickening Name, now and ever and to ages of ages. Amen.”

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen” Preceded by Per quem haec omnia.

Armenian: “with whom to thee, o Father almighty, with thy lifegiving and liberating Holy Spirit is fitting glory dominion and honour now and ever and world without end. Amen”

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “qui tecum uiuit et regnat cum spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum” Only the ordinary Trinitarian ending of a collect; no canonical doxology of the canon is written out.

Ethiopic (Apostles) (hinted): “that they may hallow and praise thee and thy beloved Son Jesus Christ world without end” Only a brief closing praise within the epiclesis; no formal ‘through whom and with whom’ doxology at the anaphora’s end.

Ambrosian (Milan): “all honour, power, praise, and glory” ‘Per ipsum’ with three signs of the cross over the chalice; people answer Amen.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi deo patri omnipotenti in unitate spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria. per omnia saecula saeculorum. amen” Preceded by Per quem haec omnia.

Not covered by: Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

The Lord's Prayer (Communion)

The Our Father is said before communion. Present in 17 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 4. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Didache (hinted): "pray thus: Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name" Given in ch. 8 as a prayer for three times daily; it is not placed in the eucharist, so it is left out of the order.

Addai & Mari (full): "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven"

Addai & Mari: "and let us all with one accord invoke Thee, and say thus: Our Father, etc."

Cyril of Jerusalem: "Then, after these things, we say that Prayer which the Saviour delivered to His own disciples" The people say the Our Father after the intercessions; lecture 23 explains each petition (s23-6 to s23-10).

Liturgy of St James: "Our Father, which art in heaven: hallowed be Thy name; and so on to the doxology" The priest introduces it in s1-37 and says the embolism ("lead us not into temptation, lord, lord of hosts"); absent from AC 8.

Liturgy of St Mark: "The People: Our Father who art in heaven, etc" The priest prepares in s3-15 ("that with thy holy disciples and apostles we may say this prayer") and adds the embolism "for thine is the kingdom and power".

Basil: "And vouchsafe, O Lord, that boldly and without condemnation we may call upon thee, God the heavenly Father, and say ... Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name"

Chrysostom: "And make us worthy, O LORD, with boldness and without condemnation to dare to call upon Thee, our GOD and FATHER which art in heaven, and to say, People. Our FATHER"

Coptic (Cyril): "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven: give us this day our bread of tomorrow" A prelude and a prayer before it (s13-1, said while dividing the body) precede it; a prayer follows.

Testament of Our Lord (hinted): "with boldness I may call Thee Father, when I call for Thy kingdom and Thy will [to come] to me. May Thy Name be hallowed in me, O Lord" Not the Our Father: the communicant's private prayer echoes it.

Nestorius: "Our FATHER, &c. [Here all join in repeating the Lord's prayer.]"

Syriac James: "Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven" Introduced by a long prayer and followed by an embolism

Malabar: "we may all of us together invoke Thee, and thus say: Our FATHER." The Lord's Prayer is also said at the opening and after communion

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in caelis. Sed libera nos a malo" The text is abbreviated; followed by the embolism 'Libera nos'.

Armenian: "And grant us with bold voice to open our mouth and to call upon thee heavenly Father and to sing and say ... Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name"

Missale Gothicum: "Ante Orationem Dominicam His praecibus te deus pater omnipotens deprecamur quibus nos dominus noster iesus christus filius tuus orare praecepit . dicens Pater noster" The embolism follows (s1-7 'libera nos a malo').

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven" Said by the people after the prayer of the fraction.

Ambrosian (Milan): "Taught by thy saving precepts, and directed by the divine appointment, we are bold to say" The Our Father follows the fraction and confractorium.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti. et diuina institutione formati. audemus dicere" Text of the prayer follows in s1-5 with the embolism 'libera nos'.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition; Apostolic Const. 8. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Serapion of Thmuis; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

Prayer of inclination or blessing (Communion)

The people bow their heads and the priest prays over them before communion. Present in 13 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 5, and not covered by 5. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): “Bow down your heads for the imposition of hands and receive the blessing” Occurs at the end of the Mass of Catechumens; no separate inclination before communion is rubricated

Addai & Mari: “The Deacons say:- Bow your heads. The Priest says this secret prayer in the sanctuary” Before the transfer of the gifts; the text also headed ‘prayer of inclination’ at s1-15 is inside the anaphora

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): “I stretch out the hand upon this people and pray that the hand of the truth may be stretched out and blessing given to this people” A laying-on-of-hands blessing of the people after the clergy receive; no bowing is mentioned. A comparable one is s28-1.

Apostolic Const. 8: “Bow down to God through His Christ, and receive the blessing” Here it comes after communion as a closing blessing; no inclination before communion.

Liturgy of St James: “The Deacon: Let us bow our heads to the Lord. The People: To Thee, O Lord. The Priest prays, speaking thus: To Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our heads before Thy holy altar” After the Lord’s Prayer and before communion.

Liturgy of St Mark: “The Deacon: Bow your heads to Jesus” Followed by the prayer “before thee have we bowed our souls and bodies in token of our bondage”.

Basil: “O Master, Lord, the Father of bounties, and the God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, guard, strengthen, fortify those who have bowed their heads unto thee” Basil’s alternative prayer; the deacon first says ‘let us bow our heads unto the lord’. Followed by ‘give heed from thy holy dwelling-place’.

Chrysostom: “Let us bow our heads to the LORD. Priest. We render thanks unto Thee, O King invisible” Followed by the priest’s prayer for the communicants and, aloud, ‘hear us, o lord jesus christ’.

Coptic (Cyril): “To thee, o Lord, we bow our minds and our bodily necks acknowledging thy sovereignty and confessing our servitude” Prayer of inclination before receiving the mysteries, by John of Bostra.

Nestorius: “Bow your heads for the imposition of hands, and receive the blessing” Said earlier, at the end of the Word, not immediately before communion

Syriac James: “To thee thy servants bow down their heads awaiting the rich mercies which come from thee. Send, o Lord, the rich blessings which

come from thee and sanctify our souls and bodies” Also an inclination before the anaphora and after communion

Malabar: “Thine is the holy Catholic Church, purchased by the wonderful passion of Thy CHRIST ... Do Thou therefore, my LORD, accomplish in us Thy grace, and pour forth by our hands, Thy gifts” The priest’s secret prayer of the imposition of hands, before the dismissal of the catechumens

Armenian: “The priest then bows his head and all the people bow down while the priest prays privately Holy Ghost which art the fountain of life and the spring of mercy, have mercy on this people which bowed down adoreth thy godhead” An inclination prayer to the Holy Spirit; the preceding mercy-blessing is at s14-1.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “Benedictio Populi [a] Deus qui aduentum tuae maiestatis per angelum gabrihelem priusquam discenderis nuntiare iussisti AMEN” The Gallican episcopal blessing in several parts, between the Lord’s prayer and communion; no bidding to bow is written out.

Ethiopic (Apostles): “before thee thy people have bowed down their head and unto thee have subdued the hardness of heart and flesh” Deacon: ‘standing bow down your head’; prayer of penitence follows.

Not in the text of: Didache; Apostolic Tradition; Gelasian (Roman Canon); Ambrosian (Milan); Gregorian (Rom. Canon). Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Testament of Our Lord; Leonine (Verona).

Fraction (breaking of the bread) (Communion)

The bread is broken, with or without a formula or commingling of a particle. Present in 14 of the 25 texts, hinted in 5, searched for and not found in 2, and not covered by 4. The earliest text that has it is Apostolic Tradition (c. AD 215).

Didache (hinted): “And concerning the broken Bread: We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child.” The broken bread is named and its breaking used as an image of gathering, but no breaking rite is described.

Apostolic Tradition: “when he breaks the bread and distributes the fragments he shall say” The bishop breaks the bread at the distribution; no separate prayer or commingling is given.

Addai & Mari (full): “While naming the Trinity he breaks the *büchra* that is in his hands attentively into two halves” Elaborate signing, breaking and commingling in s17

Addai & Mari: “And, naming the Trinity, he breaks the host, which he holds in his hands, into two parts ... Divided, sanctified, completed, perfected, united, and commingled have been these renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries”

Serapion of Thmuis: “Count us worthy of this communion also, O God of truth, and make our bodies to contain purity and our souls prudence and knowledge.” Prayer 2 is headed as the prayer in the fraction; the text asks for worthy communion.

Liturgy of St James: “Then the Priest breaks the bread, and holds the half in his right hand, and the half in his left, and dips that in his right hand in the chalice” Elaborate fraction and commingling with the signing of the cross and “behold the lamb of god”; no breaking is described in AC 8.

Liturgy of St Mark: “The Priest breaks the bread, and saith:- Praise ye God. The Priest divides it among those present”

Basil: “Broken and divided is the Lamb of God, which is broken, yet not disunited ; which is ever eaten, yet never consumed, but sanctifieth those who partake thereof” Followed by the placing of the particle in the chalice and the addition of warm water.

Chrysostom: “The LAMB of GOD is broken and distributed; He That is broken and not divided in sunder; ever eaten and never consumed, but sanctifying the communicants” Includes commingling of a particle in the cup and the pouring of warm water (*zeon*), s1-41 to s1-42.

Coptic (Cyril): “The priest shall say while dividing the holy body” Fraction during the prayer of the Our Father; the host is divided into three parts and a particle is dipped in the blood (s15-1/15-2).

Nestorius: “Whilst naming the Trinity he shall break the bread which is in his hands into two pieces”

Syriac James: “The priest breaks and signs saying Thus truly did the Word of God suffer in the flesh and was sacrificed and broken on the cross”

Malabar: “we break, and in Thy pity we sign the Body and Blood of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST”

Gelasian (Roman Canon) (hinted): “Ipsa expleta confrangis et tegis de sindone altaris munera” Only a rubric for the Maundy Thursday chrism Mass; no fraction formula in the ordinary Canon.

Armenian: “then breaking it he puts it into the chalice of the blood saying The fulness of the Holy Ghost” Only the commingling is described; there is no separate fraction rite. The bread is unleavened (a wafer, s2-1).

Missale Gothicum (hinted): “Post Secreta Credimus domine credimus in hac confraccione corporis et effusione tui sanguinis nos esse redemptus” The Post Secreta prayers (also s2-9 ‘corpus tuum ... confractum’) refer to the breaking; no rubric or formula of fraction.

Ethiopic (Apostles) (hinted): “the prayer of the Fraction And again we beseech the almighty Lord” A prayer is named ‘of the fraction’ but no breaking or commingling rubric appears there.

Ambrosian (Milan): “Then he divides the host through the middle over the chalice, saying: Thy Body is broken, O Christ, thy chalice is blessed” Commingling of a fragment with the chalice; the confractorium anthem follows.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis” Agnus Dei accompanies the fraction, but no breaking or commingling is described.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Const. 8; Testament of Our Lord. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Leonine (Verona).

“Holy things for the holy” (Communion)

The invitation before communion: “Holy things for the holy” with the people’s response. Present in 14 of the 25 texts, hinted in 1, searched for and not found in 4, and not covered by 6. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Didache (hinted): “If any man be holy, let him come! if any man be not, let him repent: Maranatha, Amen.” Not ‘Holy things for the holy’ but a related call that only the holy approach; ‘Let grace come’ is also invitational.

Addai & Mari (full): “The holy thing to the holies is fitting in perfection”

Addai & Mari: “It is becoming that the holy things should be to the holy in perfection. And they say:- One holy Father: one holy Son: one Holy Ghost.”

Cyril of Jerusalem: "the Priest says ... Holy things to holy men ... One is Holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ" The people's response is given.

Apostolic Const. 8: "Holy things for holy persons. And let the people answer: There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, one Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father" Followed by "Glory to God in the highest ... Hosanna to the Son of David".

Liturgy of St James: "He takes up the gifts and saith aloud: The holy things unto holy. The People: One only is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father"

Liturgy of St Mark: "The Priest (aloud): Holy things for the holy. The People: One Father holy, one Son holy, one Spirit holy, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen" Alexandrian response names Father, Son and Spirit; in James and AC 8 it is "one is holy, one lord Jesus Christ".

Basil: "Holy things unto the Holy. Choir. One only is holy, one only is the Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father"

Chrysostom: "Holy things for holy persons. Choir. One Holy, one LORD, JESUS CHRIST, to the glory of GOD the FATHER"

Testament of Our Lord: "let the bishop cry: Holy things in holy [persons]. And let the people call out: In heaven and on earth without ceasing." Unusual place: in the opening dialogue, before the thanksgiving, not before communion.

Nestorius: "Holy things for holy persons. R. The one FATHER is holy, the one SON is holy, the one HOLY SPIRIT is holy."

Syriac James: "The holies to the holies" The people answer: 'The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy'

Malabar: "That which is holy befits the holy, my LORD, to be received. Deacon. One holy FATHER, one holy SON, one HOLY GHOST."

Armenian: "Unto the holiness of the holies The clerks in a loud voice One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ To the glory of God the Father. Amen" The priest elevates the holy bread.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Holiness to the holies The assistant shall say One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the holy Spirit"

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition; Gelasian (Roman Canon); Ambrosian (Milan); Gregorian (Rom. Canon). Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Serapion of Thmuis; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Coptic (Cyril); Leonine (Verona); Missale Gothicum.

Communion and words of distribution (Communion)

Distribution of the bread and cup, with what is said to each communicant ("The body of Christ" / Amen). Present in 20 of the 25 texts, hinted in 2, searched for and not found in 0, and not covered by 3. The earliest text that has it is Justin, 1 Apology (c. AD 155).

Didache (hinted): "let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptised in the Lord's Name" Eating and drinking are mentioned, but no distribution or words are given.

Justin, 1 Apology: "those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced"

Apostolic Tradition: "The heavenly bread in Christ Jesus ... the recipient shall say, Amen" Bread, then water, milk and wine as three cups, each with a threefold question and Amen (In God the Father Almighty; In the Lord Jesus Christ; In the Holy Ghost and the holy church).

Addai & Mari (full): "The gift of the grace of our lifegiver our Lord Jesus Christ be fulfilled in mercy to us all" Blessing before distribution; the people receive during the anthem of the bema

Addai & Mari: "The gift of the grace of our Life-giver and Lord Jesus Christ be completed, in mercies, with all ... Brethren, receive the body of the Son, cries the Church, and drink ye His chalice with faith" No formula of distribution to each person is given

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): "We give thanks to thee, that thou hast given us communion of (the) body and blood. Bless us, bless this people, make us to have a part with the body and the blood" No distribution formula is given; only the prayer after the distribution to the people.

Cyril of Jerusalem: "make thy left hand a throne ... as for that which is to receive a King ... receive the Body of Christ, saying over it, Amen" Cup in s23-12: 'draw near also to the cup of his blood ... saying ... Amen'. A chant, Psalm 34:8, invites to communion.

Apostolic Const. 8: "let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics ... And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, The body of Christ" Cup: "the blood of christ, the cup of life"; Psalm 33 sung during communion.

Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*: “And you say, Amen, that is, It is true” The communicant’s Amen; the blood is mentioned just before (‘he himself speaks of his blood’). No distribution formula.

Liturgy of St James: “Then he distributes to the clergy; and when the deacons take the disks and the chalices for distribution to the people” Psalm 34 is sung (s1-42 “o taste and see”); “a holy portion of christ, full of grace and truth” at the commingling. No words of distribution to the people are given.

Liturgy of St Mark: “When he gives the bread to the clergy, he says:- The holy body. And when he gives the chalice, he says:- The precious blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour”

Basil: “The servant of God, N., partaketh of the precious and holy Body and Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ, unto the remission of his (or her) sins, and unto life everlasting”

Chrysostom: “N. the servant of GOD is made partaker of the pure and holy Body and Blood of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, for the remission of his sins, and life everlasting”

Coptic (Cyril): “When he communicates any one he shall say ... This is in truth the body and blood of Emmanuel our God. Amen” The communicant answers ‘Amen: I believe’; the priest’s own confession ‘I believe, I believe, I believe’ is in s15-2.

Testament of Our Lord: “Let each one when he receiveth the thanksgiving say before he partaketh: Amen” Order of reception is prescribed; the cup is taken with a double Amen.

Nestorius: “The body of our LORD to the pure believer for the forgiveness of sins” Each rank has its own formula; the cup: ‘The precious blood ... for the forgiveness of sins; a spiritual feast unto life everlasting’

Syriac James: “To true believers for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins for ever” The priest communicates with the coal (spoon) and the people receive from the paten and chalice; the people sing ‘My brethren, receive the body of the Son’

Malabar: “The Blood of the propitiation of our LORD JESUS CHRIST nourish my soul and body in this life, and in the life to come” The priest’s own communion words; for the people, ‘receive the body of the son himself, saith the church, and drink his blood’

Gelasian (Roman Canon): “Post haec communicat sacerdos cum ordinibus sacris, cum omni populo” No words of distribution at ordinary Mass;

for a newly baptised person s66-2 gives 'corpus domini nostri iesu christi sit tibi in vitam aeternam'.

Armenian: "The body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be to thee for salvation and for a guide to eternal life" The priest gives the bread steeped in wine from the chalice (intinction).

Ethiopic (Apostles): "This is the body holy true of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which is given for life and for salvation and for remission of sin" Cup at s19-7; people answer Amen.

Ambrosian (Milan): "He drinks the Blood with the fragment ... he communicates any that present themselves for communion" Priest's communion prayers at s13-1; no formula for communicants is given.

Not covered by: Leonine (Verona); Missale Gothicum; Gregorian (Rom. Canon).

Thanksgiving after communion (Communion)

A prayer of thanks after receiving. Present in 22 of the 25 texts, hinted in 0, searched for and not found in 1, and not covered by 2. The earliest text that has it is Didache (c. AD 50–120).

Didache: "But after you are satisfied with food, thus give thanks:" The long prayer of ch. 10 is the thanksgiving after the meal.

Addai & Mari (full): "It is fitting, o my Lord, every day ... and it is right at all times and meet every hour, to confess and worship and praise the fearful name of thy majesty"

Addai & Mari: "Christ, our God, Lord, King, Saviour, and Life-giver, through His grace has made us worthy to receive His body and His precious and all-sanctifying blood"

Serapion of Thmuïs: "We thank thee, Master, that thou hast called those who have erred, and hast taken to thy self those who have sinned"

Cyril of Jerusalem: "Then wait for the prayer, and give thanks unto God, who hath accounted thee worthy of so great mysteries"

Apostolic Const. 8: "Now we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who has thought us worthy to partake of these His holy mysteries" Deacon's bidding followed by the bishop's thanksgiving.

Liturgy of St James: "We render thanks to Thee, Christ our God, that Thou hast made us worthy to partake of Thy body and blood, for the remission of sins, and for life everlasting"

Liturgy of St Mark: "O Sovereign Lord our God, we thank Thee that we have partaken of Thy holy, pure, immortal, and heavenly mysteries"

Basil: "in thy holy, pure, immortal and heavenly Mysteries, which thou hast given unto us for the welfare and sanctification and healing of our souls and bodies" Basil's prayer of thanksgiving after communion, set against Chrysostom's (end of s5-144); then the hymn 'let our mouths be filled with thy praise'.

Chrysostom: "We yield Thee thanks, O LORD and Lover of men, Benefactor of our souls, that Thou hast this day thought us worthy of Thy heavenly and immortal mysteries"

Coptic (Cyril): "We that have received of spiritual incorruption have been healed in the powers of our soul, and unto thee, beneficent God plenteous in thy gifts, we offer songs of thankfulness"

Testament of Our Lord: "After all receive, let them pray, giving and rendering thanks for the reception, the deacon saying: Let us give thanks unto the Lord, receiving His Holy Things"

Nestorius: "give thanks, and praise unto GOD Who gave them. R. Praise be unto Him for His unspeakable gift."

Leonine (Verona): "Sacri corporis et sanguinis pretiosi renovati libamine quaesumus Dñe clementiam tuam ut quod frequenti devotione gerimus certa redemptione capiamus" Postcommunion prayers follow each Mass's secret and preface.

Syriac James: "We give thanks unto thee, o Lord our God, and especially give thanks unto thee for the abundance of thy great and unspeakable mercy and love towards mankind, o Lord, who hast accounted us worthy to partake of thine heavenly table"

Malabar: "Glory be to Him for His unspeakable gift. It is meet, just and right, O LORD, that at all times, and days, and hours, we should laud, adore and glorify the terrible Name of Thy Majesty"

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "Postcommun. Quos caelesti, Domine, alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni nos, quaesumus, adversitate custodi" Each Mass has a postcommunion prayer.

Armenian: "We render thanks unto thee, o Lord, who hast fed us at thine immortal table, distributing thy body and blood for the salvation of the world and for the life of our souls"

Missale Gothicum: “Post Communionem Caelesti cybo putoque roborati omnipotenti deo laudes et gratias fratres karissimi referamus” A second prayer, ‘collectio post eucharistiam’, follows (e.g. s3-11).

Ethiopic (Apostles): “Let us give thanks unto the Lord, after taking of his holy thing”

Ambrosian (Milan): “May we receive with a pure mind, O Lord, what we have taken with the mouth” Followed by a variable postcommunion prayer.

Gregorian (Rom. Canon): “Ad complendum. Da nobis quaesumus domine deus noster” Each Mass has an ‘ad complendum’ prayer; the Ordo itself ends before it.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition. Not covered by: Justin, 1 Apology; Ambrose, On the Mysteries.

Blessing and dismissal (Communion)

The final blessing and dismissal of the people. Present in 15 of the 25 texts, hinted in 4, searched for and not found in 1, and not covered by 5. The earliest text that has it is Addai & Mari (full) (Church of the East).

Addai & Mari (full): “He who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Jesus Christ our Lord ... And with the living sign of the cross of our Lord be ye sealed and guarded from all harm”

Addai & Mari: “May our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom we have ministered, and whom we have seen and honoured in His renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries, Himself render us worthy of the splendid glory of His kingdom”

Serapion of Thmuis (hinted): “let the communion of the body and the blood go along with this people. Let their bodies be living bodies, and their souls be clean souls.” Prayer 6 is a benediction headed as following the blessing of oil and water offered; it has a dismissal tone but the book does not call it one.

Apostolic Const. 8: “And the deacon shall say, Depart in peace”

Liturgy of St James: “In the peace of Christ let us go on: The People: In the name of the Lord” Followed by a dismissal prayer and a prayer said in the sacristy.

Liturgy of St Mark: “The Deacon: Depart in peace: The People: In the name of the Lord” Preceded by a blessing and followed by a prayer in the sacristy and the apostolic benediction.

Basil: "The blessing of the Lord, through his grace and love towards mankind, be upon you always, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages" Preceded by 'let us depart in peace', the prayer before the tribune and Psalm 34.

Chrysostom: "Let us make our supplication to the LORD. Priest. The blessing of the LORD upon you" Preceded by 'let us go on in peace' and the prayer behind the ambon; then the antidoron is given and the dismissal prayer of St Chrysostom.

Coptic (Cyril): "he shall bless them and give them the dismissal and shall end with reading the blessing" Preceded by the prayer of imposition of hands naming Mark, Severus and the Coptic saints.

Nestorius: "O Thou Who hast blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places through CHRIST JESUS our LORD ... and be ye sealed and kept through the sign of the vivifying and glorious cross from all evil seen and unseen"

Leonine (Verona) (hinted): "tui famuli famulaeque sunt Dñe tibi que subiecti. benedictiones tuas iugiter adsequantur quas suppliciter et indesinenter expectant" A blessing-type prayer over the people at the close of a Mass; no dismissal formula is printed.

Syriac James: "Depart in peace, brethren and beloved, whilst we commend you to the grace and mercy of" Preceded by the blessing prayer

Malabar: "The Priest turneth to the people, and blesseth them, saying, He Who blesseth us with all benediction in heaven"

Gelasian (Roman Canon): "Item Benedictiones super Populum post Communionem . Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, de abundantia misericordiarum tuarum famulos et famulas tuas praesta locupletes" Blessing prayers over the people; no 'Ite missa est' in the text.

Armenian: "Keep us in peace, o Christ our God, under the protection of thine holy and venerable cross: save us from enemies visible and invisible" The dismissal is signalled with '<the dismissal>'; before it, the prayer 'O Lord, who blessest them that bless thee' and the Last Gospel (John 1) in s20-13.

Missale Gothicum (hinted): "Consummatio Missae Cratias agimus tibi domine multiplicatis circa nos miserationibus tuis" The final prayer; no dismissal formula ('Ite') is written out.

Ethiopic (Apostles): "Depart in peace" Preceded by a blessing, 'the lord bless and make his face to shine upon thee'.

Ambrosian (Milan): “May God bless you, and hearken unto you. R. Amen. Then the deacon says: Let us go forth with peace. R. In the name of Christ.”

Gregorian (Rom. Canon) (hinted): “Super populum. Inclinales se domine maiestati tuæ propitiatus intende” A prayer over the people closes the Mass; no ‘Ite missa est’ is printed.

Not in the text of: Apostolic Tradition. Not covered by: Didache; Justin, 1 Apology; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ambrose, On the Mysteries; Testament of Our Lord.

PART FOUR

A Liturgy of the East

*The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, in Hapgood's
English.*

The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great

TRANSLATED BY ISABEL F. HAPGOOD

c. AD 370 – 800 (the Barberini manuscript)

The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, as the Orthodox Church uses it, in Isabel Hapgood's English. Tradition gives the rite to Basil of Caesarea (died 379). The anaphora, the great thanksgiving prayer, is its oldest layer, and the shorter Egyptian form of the Basil anaphora differs from the longer Byzantine form given here, while the other prayers took shape later.

THE PROTHESIS: THE PRAYER OF OBLATION

Prayer of the Prothesis, said in the skeuophylakion as the bread is set on the paten

O God our God, who didst send forth the Heavenly Bread, the Nourishment of the whole world, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, to be our Saviour and Redeemer and Benefactor, blessing and sanctifying us: Do thou, the same Lord, bless also this oblation, and accept it on thy most heavenly Altar. Call to remembrance those who offer it, and those for whom it is offered, inasmuch as thou art good and lovest mankind; and preserve us blameless in the holy ministry of thy Divine Mysteries. For sanctified and glorified be thy most honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Amen.

THE ENARXIS: THE PRAYERS OF THE ANTIPHONS, THE LITTLE ENTRANCE AND THE TRISAGION

Prayer of the first antiphon

¹O Lord our God, whose might is ineffable, whose glory is inconceivable, whose mercy is infinite, and whose love toward mankind is unutterable: Look down, O Master, in thy tender compassion, upon us and upon this holy Temple; and deal with us and with those people who here pray with us, according to the riches of thy mercies and thy bounties. For unto thee are due

all glory, honour and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the second antiphon

2 O Lord our God, save thy people, and bless thine heritage. Preserve the fullness of thy Church: sanctify those who love the beauty of thy house: glorify them by thy divine might in recompense; and forsake not us who put our trust in thee. For thine is the majesty, and thine are the kingdom and the power and the glory, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the third antiphon

3 O thou, who hast given us grace at this time, with one accord, to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests. Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants as may be most expedient for them; granting them in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come, life everlasting. For thou art a good God, and lovest mankind, and unto thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the Little Entrance

4 O Master, Lord our God, who hast appointed in heaven ranks and hosts of Angels and Archangels for the ministry of thy glory: Cause that with our entrance may enter also the holy Angels with us serving thee, and with us glorifying thy goodness. For unto thee are due all glory, honour and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the Trisagion

5 O holy God, who retest in the Saints; who art hymned by the Seraphim with a thrice-holy cry, and glorified by the Cherubim, and adored by every heavenly Power; who out of nothingness hast brought all things into being; who hast created man after thine own image and likeness, and hast adorned him with every gift of thine; who givest unto those that ask of thee wisdom and understanding; who despisest not the sinner, but hast appointed repentance unto salvation; and hast vouchsafed unto us, thy humble and unworthy servants here, at this hour, to stand before the glory of thy holy Altar, and to render unto thee that adoration and praise which are thy due: Do thou, the

same Lord, accept from the mouths of us sinners, the Thrice-Holy song, and visit us with thy beneficence. Pardon us every transgression, whether voluntary or involuntary. Sanctify both our souls and bodies, and grant that we may serve thee in uprightness all the days of our life: through the intercessions of the holy Birth-giver of God, and of all the Saints of all the ages who have been well-pleasing unto thee. For holy art thou, O our God, and unto thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever

Prayer of the Litany of Fervent Supplication

7 O Lord our God, accept this, the fervent supplication of thy servants, and be gracious unto us, according to the multitude of thy mercy; and send down thy bounties upon us, and upon all thy people, who here await the rich mercy which is from thee. For thou art a merciful God, who lovest mankind, and unto thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

THE LITURGY OF THE CATECHUMENS

Prayer for the Catechumens

O Lord our God, who dwellest in the heavens, and lookest down upon all thy works: Look upon thy servants, the Catechumens, who have bowed their necks before thee, and grant them the light yoke. Make them honourable members of thy holy Church; and vouchsafe unto them the laver of regeneration, the remission of sins, and the robe of incorruption, unto the knowledge of thee, our true God. That with us they may magnify thine all-honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL AND THE GREAT ENTRANCE

First prayer of the Faithful

1 Thou, O Lord, hast shown us this great mystery of salvation. Thou hast graciously permitted us, thy humble and unworthy servants, to be the ministrants of thy holy Altar. Do thou enable us with the power of thy Holy Spirit for this ministry; that, standing uncondemned before thy holy glory, we may offer unto thee an oblation of praise. For thou art he who worketh all things in all men. Grant, therefore, O Lord, that our sacrifice for our own sins, and for the errors of thy people, may be acceptable and well-pleasing in

thy sight. For unto thee are due all honour, glory and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Second prayer of the Faithful

2 O God, who in mercy and bounties hast visited our lowliness; who hast set us, thy humble, and sinful, and unworthy servants before thy holy glory, to serve thy holy Altar: Strengthen us by the power of thy Holy Spirit for this ministry, and grant us utterance, in the opening of our lips, to invoke the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon the Gifts which we are about to set forth. That being kept always by thy might, we may ascribe glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the priest for himself, said during the Cherubic Hymn (Great Entrance)

3 No one who is in bondage unto carnal desires and sensual pleasures is worthy to approach, or to come near, or to serve thee, O King of Glory: For to serve thee is a great and terrible thing even to the Heavenly Powers. Nevertheless, through thine unutterable and boundless love toward mankind thou didst become man, yet without change, and without transmutation, and art become our High Priest, and hast committed unto us the ministry of this unbloody Sacrifice, in that thou art Lord over all. For thou alone, O Lord our God, rulest over those in heaven and on earth; who art borne on the throne of the Cherubim; who art Lord of the Seraphim and King over Israel; who alone art holy and retest in the Saints. Therefore do I now make my entreaty unto thee, who alone art good and art ready to listen: Look down upon me, a sinner, and thine unprofitable servant, and cleanse my soul and my heart from an evil conscience; and by the might of thy Holy Spirit enable me, who am endued with the grace of the priesthood, to stand before this thy holy Altar, and perform the sacred Mystery of thy Holy and Pure Body and Precious Blood. For unto thee do I draw near, and bowing my neck I implore thee: turn not thy face from me, neither cast me out from among thy children; but graciously vouchsafe that I, a sinner and thine unworthy servant, may offer unto thee these Holy Gifts. For it is thou who offerest and art offered, who receivest and art thyself received, O Christ our God: and unto thee we ascribe glory, together with thy Father, who is from everlasting, and thine all-holy, and good, and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer of the offering of Saint Basil

4 O Lord our God, who hast created us, and hast brought us into this life; who hast shown us the way of salvation, graciously bestowing upon us the revelation of heavenly Mysteries: Thou art he who hath appointed us to this ministry in the power of thy Holy Spirit. Graciously grant us, therefore, O Lord, to be servitors of thy new Covenant, ministers of thy Holy Mysteries. Accept us who draw near to thy holy Altar, according to the plenitude of thy mercy, that we may be worthy to offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our own sins, and for the errors of thy people: which do thou accept upon thy holy, and heavenly, and supersensual Altar for the savour of a sweet odour. Through the bounties of thine Only-begotten Son, with whom thou art glorified, together with the most holy, and good, and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Hapgood's English of the prayer stops before its last two sentences.

THE ANAPHORA: THE GREAT THANKSGIVING

The opening dialogue (Sursum corda)

1 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. [If a Bishop celebrateth, as Bishop, he saith this he turneth to the People, and blesseth with the dikiri and the trikiri.] Choir. And with thy spirit. Priest (pointing upward). Lift up your hearts. Choir. We lift them up unto the Lord. Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord. Choir. Meet and right is it that we should adore the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, one in Essence and undivided. The people's replies are worded differently in the later Orthodox text.

Preface of the anaphora

2 O thou who in verity existest, Master, Lord God, Father Almighty adorable: Meet is it, in truth, and just and befitting the majesty of thy holiness, that we should magnify thee, praise thee, bless thee, adore thee, give thanks unto thee and glorify thee, the only God which verily existeth, and offer unto thee, with contrite heart and humbleness of spirit, this our reasonable service: for it is thou who hast graciously bestowed upon us the knowledge of thy truth. And who hath power enough to express thy mighty acts, to make all thy praises to be heard, or to utter forth all thy wonders at all times, O Master? O Sovereign Master of all things, Lord of heaven and earth, and of all created things both visible and invisible; who sittest on the throne of

glory and beholdest the depths; who art from everlasting, invisible, inscrutable, ineffable, immutable, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our great God and the Saviour, our hope, who is the image of thy goodness, the seal of equal type, in himself showing forth thee, the Father, the living Word, the true God, the Wisdom before all the ages, the Life, the Sanctification, the Might, and the true Light, through whom, also, the Holy Spirit was manifested; the Spirit of Truth, the Gift of Adoption, the Earnest of an inheritance to come, the First-fruits of eternal good things, the life-giving Power, the Fountain of holiness; by whom enabled every creature endowed with reason and intelligence doth serve thee, and evermore doth send up unto thee an everlasting tribute of praise; for all things are thy servants. For Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, and the many-eyed Cherubim do laud thee. Before thee, round about, stand the Seraphim, having each six wings; for with twain do they cover their faces, and with twain their feet, and with twain do they fly, crying one to another continually, with never-ceasing praises.

Sanctus

³ Singing the triumphant song, crying, calling aloud, and saying: Choir. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Post-Sanctus: holy art thou; the creation

⁴ With these blessed Powers, O Master who lovest mankind, we sinners also do cry aloud and say: Holy art thou, of a truth, and all-holy, and there are no bounds to the majesty of thy holiness, and just art thou in all thy works; for in righteousness and true judgment hast thou ordered all things for us. When thou hadst created man, and hadst fashioned him from the dust of the earth, and hadst honoured him with thine own image, O God, thou didst set him in the midst of a Paradise of plenty, promising him life eternal and the enjoyment of everlasting good things in keeping thy commandments.

The fall and God's care for man

⁵ But when he disobeyed thee, the true God, who had created him, and was led astray by the guile of the serpent, and rendered subject to death through his own transgressions, thou didst banish him, in thy righteous judgment, O

God, from Paradise into this present world, and didst turn him again to the earth from which he was taken, providing for him the salvation of regeneration, which is in thy Christ himself. For thou didst not turn thyself away forever from thy creature, whom thou hadst made, O Good One, neither didst thou forget the work of thy hands; but thou didst visit him in divers manners, through the tender compassion of thy mercy. Thou didst send forth Prophets; thou didst perform mighty works by thy Saints who, in every generation, were well-pleasing unto thee; thou didst speak to us by the mouths of thy servants the Prophets, who foretold unto us the salvation which was to come; thou didst give us the Law to aid us; thou didst appoint guardian Angels.

The incarnation

6 And when the fulness of time was come, thou didst speak unto us by thy Son himself, by whom also thou madest the ages; who, being the Brightness of thy glory, and the Express Image of thy Person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, thought it no robbery to be equal to thee, the God and Father. But albeit he was God before all the ages, yet he appeared upon earth and dwelt among men; and was incarnate of a Holy Virgin, and did lay aside his godhead, taking on the form of a servant, and becoming conformed to the fashion of our lowliness, that he might make us conformable to the image of his glory. For as by man sin entered into the world, and by sin death, so it seemed good unto thine Only-begotten Son, who is in thy bosom, our God and Father, to be born of a woman, the holy Birth-giver of God and ever-virgin Mary; to be born under the Law, that he might condemn sin in the flesh; that they who were dead in Adam might be made alive in thy Christ. And becoming a dweller in this world, and giving commandments of salvation, he released us from the delusions of idols, and brought us unto a knowledge of thee, the true God and Father, having won us unto himself for a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation; and having purified us with water, and sanctified us with his Holy Spirit, he gave himself a ransom to Death, whereby we were held, sold into bondage under sin.

The death, the resurrection and the ascension of Christ

7 And having descended into Hell through the Cross, that he might fill all things with himself, he loosed the pains of death, and rose again from the dead on the third day, making a way for all flesh through the Resurrection

from the dead—for it was not possible that the Author of Life should be holden of corruption—that he might be the first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep, the first-born from the dead; and he shall be all things, the first in all things. And ascending into heaven, he sat down at the right hand of thy Majesty on high; and he shall come again to render unto every man according to his works.

The memorials left to the Church; the bread taken

8 And he hath left with us, as memorials of his saving Passion, these Things which we have spread forth according to his commandment. For when he was about to go forth to his voluntary, and ever-memorable, and life-creating death, in the night in which he gave himself for the life of the world, he took bread in his holy and stainless hands, and when he had shown it unto thee, his God and Father, he gave thanks, blessing it, sanctifying it, and breaking it, he gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying:

Institution: the bread

9 Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, for the remission of sins.

Institution: the cup

10 In like manner, having taken the cup of the fruit of the vine, and mingled it, given thanks, blessed it, and sanctified it, He gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying: Drink ye all of this: for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins.

Anamnesis (remembrance) and offering

11 This do, in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this Bread and drink of this Cup ye do proclaim my death and confess my Resurrection. Wherefore, we also, O Master, having in remembrance his redeeming Passion and life-giving Cross, his three days' Burial, and his Resurrection from the dead, his Ascension into Heaven, and his Sitting on the right hand of thee, the God and Father, and his glorious and terrible Coming-again: Thine own, of thine own, we offer unto thee, in behalf of all, and for all. We praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks unto thee, O Lord, and we pray unto thee, O our God.

Epiclesis: the invocation of the Holy Spirit

¹² Wherefore, O all-holy Master, we also, thy sinful and unworthy servants, whom thou hast graciously permitted to minister at thy holy Altar, not through our own righteousness (for we have done no good deed on earth), but because of thy mercies and bounties, which thou hast richly poured out upon us, now have boldness to draw near unto this, thy holy Altar; and presenting unto thee the holy emblems of the sacred Body and Blood of thy Christ, we pray thee and implore thee, O Holy of Holies, by the favour of thy goodness, that thy Holy Spirit may descend upon us, and upon these Gifts here spread forth before thee, and bless them, and sanctify and manifest them.

The blessing of the gifts

¹³ For this bread is in very truth the precious Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ. For this chalice, in very truth the precious Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ (Deacon. Amen), which was poured out for the life of the world.

Prayer for the communicants

¹⁴ And unite all us who partake of the one Bread and the one Cup, one to another in the communion of the Holy Spirit; and grant that no one of us may partake of that holy Body and Blood of thy Christ unto judgment or unto condemnation; but that we may find mercy and grace, together with all the Saints who, in all the ages, have been acceptable unto thee, our ancestors, fathers, the Patriarchs, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Teachers; and with the spirits of just men made perfect in the faith:

Commemoration of the Mother of God and the saints

¹⁵ Especially our most holy, all-undefiled, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Birth-giver of God and ever-virgin Mary: And Saint John, the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist; the holy, glorious and all-laudable Apostles; Saint N. (the Saint of the day), whose memory we commemorate; and all thy Saints: through whose prayers visit thou us, O God, and call to remembrance all those who have fallen asleep in the hope of Resurrection unto life eternal. And give them rest where the light of thy countenance shall visit them.

Intercession: the Church and those who offered the gifts

16 Have in remembrance, also, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is from end to end of the Universe; and give peace unto Her whom thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of thy Christ: and establish thou firmly this holy Temple, even unto the end of the world. Remember, O Lord, those who have offered unto thee these Gifts; and those for whom, and by whom, and in behalf of whom they have offered them.

Intercession: benefactors of the Church

17 Have in remembrance, O Lord, those who bear fruit and do good works in thy holy churches, and those who are mindful of the poor. Requite them with thy rich and heavenly gifts. Give them things heavenly for things earthly; things eternal for things temporal; things incorruptible for things corruptible.

Intercession: hermits, virgins and ascetics

18 Have in remembrance, O Lord, those who are in the deserts, and mountains, and caverns, and in the subterranean pits of the earth. Have in remembrance, O Lord, all those who continue in virginity and godliness, and in asceticism and devoutness of life.

Intercession: the emperors

19 Have in remembrance, O Lord, our most God-fearing and Christ-loving Sovereign, N. (in Russia, the Emperor of All the Russias), to whom thou hast given the right to reign in the earth. Crown him with the armour of truth, with the panoply of contentment. Overshadow his head in the day of battle. Strengthen his arm, exalt his right hand; make mighty his kingdom; subdue under him all barbarous nations which seek wars; grant unto him peace profound and inviolate; inspire his heart with good deeds toward thy Church, and toward all thy people; that through his serenity we may lead a quiet and tranquil life, in all godliness and soberness. Hapgood's prayer for the sovereign is the later Russian form.

Intercession: those in authority

20 Remember, also, O Lord, all the Reigning House. Have in remembrance, O Lord, all Rulers and Authorities, as also our brethren who are in their

Council; and all their Army and Navy. In their goodness, preserve thou the good, and through thine own goodness make thou the evil good.

Intercession: the people, the sick and the needy

²¹ Have in remembrance, O Lord, this congregation here present, and those who are absent for reasonable cause; and have mercy upon them and upon us, according to the multitude of thy mercies. Fill their treasuries with every good thing; maintain their marriage-bond in peace and concord; rear the infants; guide the young; support the aged; encourage the faint-hearted. Collect the scattered, and turn them from their wandering astray, and unite them to thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Set at liberty those who are vexed by unclean spirits; voyage with those who voyage, journey with those who journey; defend the widows; protect the orphans; free the captives; heal the sick. Have in remembrance those who are under trial, and in the mines, and in exile, and in bitter slavery, and in all affliction, distress and tribulation. Have in remembrance, O God, all those who invoke thy great loving-kindness; those also who love us, and those who hate us, and those who have enjoined us, unworthy though we are, that we should pray for them; and all thy people, O Lord our God: And upon them all pour out thy rich mercy, granting unto all such of their petitions as are unto salvation. And those whom we, through ignorance, or forgetfulness, or the multitude of names, have not remembered, do thou thyself call to mind, O God, who knowest the age and the name of each, and knowest every man even from his mother's womb.

Intercession: the Helper of the helpless; the city

²² For thou, O Lord, art the Helper of the helpless, the Hope of the hopeless, the Saviour of the storm-tossed, the Haven of the voyager, the Healer of the sick. Be thyself all things unto all men, O thou who knowest every man, his petition, his abode, and his need. Deliver, O Lord, this city, and every city and land from famine, plague, earthquake, flood, fire, sword, the invasion of enemies, and from civil war.

Commemoration of the archbishop

²³ Among the first have in remembrance, O Lord, the Most Holy Governing Synod (or Patriarch); and grant that they (or he) may rightly dispense unto thy Church the word of thy truth, in peace, safety, health, honour and

length of days. Hapgood's text is the later Russian form (Synod instead of Archbishop).

Intercession: the bishops

²⁴ Have in remembrance, O Lord, every Bishopric of the Orthodox which rightly administereth the word of thy truth. Have in remembrance, also, O Lord, my unworthiness, according to the multitude of thy bounties; pardon me every transgression, whether voluntary or involuntary, and withhold not, because of my sins, the grace of thy Holy Spirit from the Gifts now spread forth unto thee.

Intercession: the clergy; prayer for the seasons and for peace

²⁵ Have in remembrance, O Lord, the Priesthood, as also the Diaconate in Christ, and all sacerdotal orders, and put not to confusion any one of us who stand about thy holy Altar. Visit us with thy loving-kindness, O Lord; manifest thyself unto us in thy rich bounties. Vouchsafe unto us temperate and healthful seasons. Give gentle showers upon the earth, unto fruitfulness. Bless the crown of the year of thy beneficence. Make schisms to cease in the Church. Quench the ragings of the nations; speedily destroy, by the might of thy Holy Spirit, all uprisings of heresies. Receive us all into thy kingdom, making us children of the light and of the day; and grant unto us thy peace, and thy love, O Lord our God; for all things hast thou given unto us.

Closing doxology of the anaphora and the greeting

²⁶ And grant that with one mouth and one heart we may glorify and praise thine all-honourable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Choir. Amen. [And turning to the People and blessing them, the Priest saith:] And may the mercy of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be with you all. Choir. And with thy spirit.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, THE FRACTION AND THE COMMUNION

Prayer before the Lord's Prayer

¹ O our God, the God of salvation, do thou teach us how we may worthily give thanks unto thee for thy benefits, which thou hast ever bestowed and yet dost bestow upon us. Do thou, O our God, who acceptest these Gifts, purify us from every defilement of flesh and spirit, and teach us to perfect holiness in thy fear; that we, receiving a portion of thy Holy Things in the

witness of a pure conscience toward thee, may be made one with the holy Body and Blood of thy Christ; and that having received them worthily, we may have Christ abiding in our hearts, and may become a Temple of thy Holy Spirit. Yea, O our God, cause also that none of us may be guilty of these thy terrible and heavenly Mysteries, or sick in soul or in body through an unworthy partaking of the same: but enable us, even unto our last breath, worthily to receive a portion of thy Holy Things, which is a support upon the road to life eternal, an acceptable defence at the dread Judgment Seat of thy Christ. That we also, together with all the Saints who, in all the ages, have been acceptable unto thee, may be made partakers of thine everlasting blessedness, which thou hast prepared for those who love thee, O Lord.

The Lord's Prayer

2 And vouchsafe, O Lord, that boldly and without condemnation we may call upon thee, God the heavenly Father, and say: Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from the Evil One: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer at the bowing of the heads

3 Peace be with you all. Choir. And with thy spirit. Deacon. Let us bow our heads unto the Lord. O Master, Lord, the Father of bounties, and the God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, guard, strengthen, fortify those who have bowed their heads unto thee; withdraw them from every evil work; unite them to every good work; and graciously grant that, without condemnation, they may partake of these, thy pure and life-giving Mysteries, unto the remission of their sins, and unto the communion of the Holy Spirit. Through the grace, and bounties, and love toward mankind of thine Only-begotten Son, with whom thou art blessed, together with thine all-holy, good and life-giving Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer at the elevation of the bread

4 Give heed from thy holy dwelling-place, and from the throne of glory of thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, who sittest on high with the Father, and art invisibly here with us. And deign,

with thine own mighty hand, to impart thine all-pure Body and most precious Blood unto us, and through us unto all the people.

“Holy things for the holy”

5 Holy things unto the Holy.

The Fraction and the placing of the particle in the chalice

6 One only is holy, one only is the Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father. Amen. Hapgood gives only the people's response; the priest's formula of the fraction in her book is a later one.

THE THANKSGIVING AND THE DISMISSAL

Prayer of thanksgiving after Communion

1 We give thanks unto thee, O Lord our God, for the participation in thy holy, pure, immortal and heavenly Mysteries, which thou hast given unto us for the welfare and sanctification and healing of our souls and bodies. Do thou, the same Lord of all, grant that the communion of the holy Body and Blood of thy Christ may be for us unto faith which cannot be put to confusion, unto love unfeigned, unto increase of wisdom, unto the healing of soul and body, unto the turning aside of every adversary, unto the fulfilment of thy commandments, unto an acceptable defence at the dread Judgment Seat of thy Christ. For thou art our sanctification, and unto thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Prayer behind the ambo

2 O Lord, who blessest those who bless thee, and sanctifiest those who put their trust in thee: Save thy people and bless thine inheritance. Preserve the fulness of thy Church; sanctify those who love the beauty of thy house; glorify them in recompense with thy divine might, and forsake not us who set our hope on thee. Give peace to thy world, and to thy Churches, and to thy Priests: and (if in Russia, to our most God-fearing Sovereign, N., the Emperor of All the Russias), to the Army and Navy, and to all thy people. For every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh from thee, the Father of Lights. And unto thee we ascribe glory, and thanksgiving, and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Hapgood prints the later, shorter form of this prayer.

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The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great

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